



THE HISTORY OF MALDEN

THE
HISTORY OF MALDEN

Massachusetts

1633-1785

BY

DELORAINÉ PENDRE COREY

*Lift we the twilight curtains of the Past,
And turning from familiar sight and sound,
Sadly and full of reverence let us cast
A glance upon Tradition's shadowy ground.*

WHITTIER



MALDEN
PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR

1899

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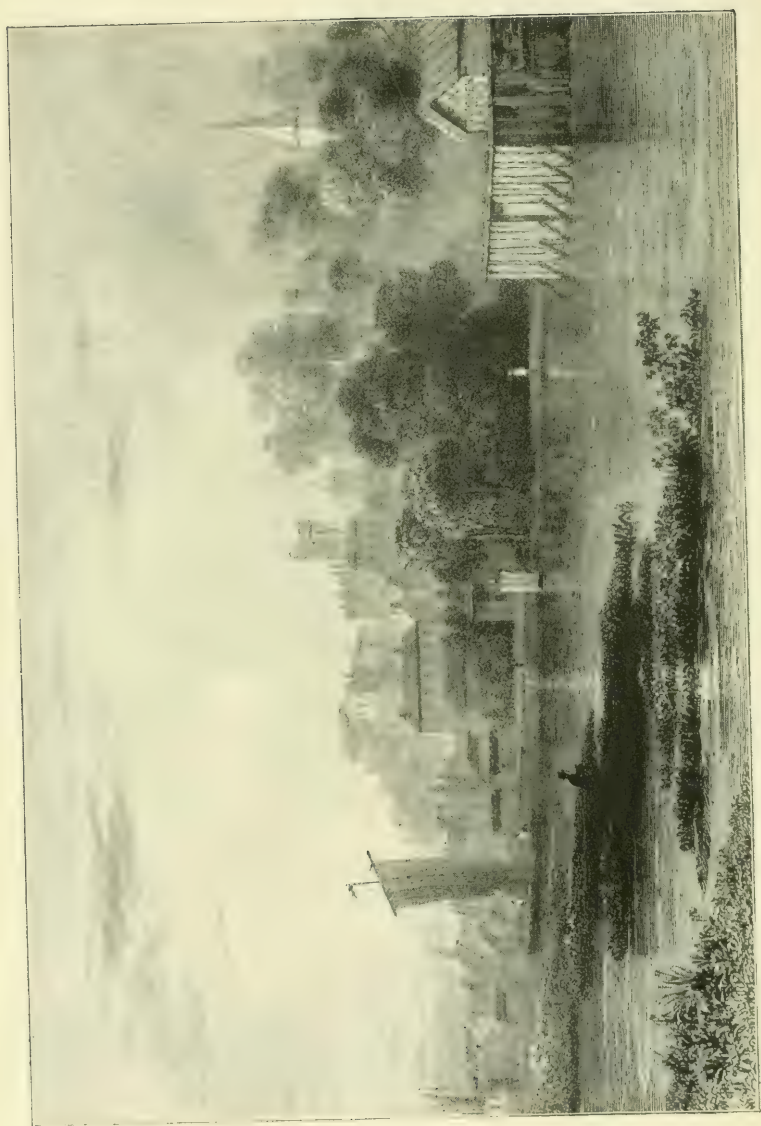
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JOHN WILSON AND SON, CAMBRIDGE, U.S.A.

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To My Wife

ISABELLA HOLDEN

AND TO

The Memory of our Son

ARTHUR DELORAINE COREY, PH.D.

THESE PAGES ARE INSCRIBED

PREFACE.

THIS volume is the result of a careful collection and verification of facts and traditions extending over a period of more than forty-five years. It embraces the history of a New England town to the close of the Revolution—to a time when old customs and systems were disappearing and new forces in political, ecclesiastical, educational, and social affairs were springing into life. It is the story of an elder day and of a life in which much appears that is strange to a later age. If we read it aright we shall better understand our indebtedness to those generations whose labors and trials made possible the freedom and prosperity of the present; and we shall avoid that effusive worship of the fathers which is a fashion rather than the result of a knowledge of the true character of the past in its weaknesses and strength.

Materials for a history of the town during the succeeding period of transition and growth have been brought together and are abundant for the preparation of a companion volume, which, with a genealogical account of the old families of Malden, the present writer has in contemplation. In the meantime a regard to the uncertainties of life and a desire to place beyond the possibility of loss that which has been gathered of the earlier history have prompted the issue of the present volume.

I am especially indebted to the Massachusetts Historical Society and to the New England Historic Genea-

logical Society for the use of manuscript matter of much interest, particularly of material relating to the Wigglesworths.

Collections of papers made by the late James D. Green of Cambridge and the late Artemas Barrett of Melrose, the former of which is now in the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, have added much to my knowledge of important affairs, which would otherwise have been imperfect.

My acknowledgments are due to Albion H. Bicknell, Frank A. Bicknell, and Henry L. Moody for the pen-and-ink sketches of old houses and bits of scenery which are here reproduced.

I have indicated authorities with care, a practice the absence of which in most local, and many general, histories is to be deplored. Where the sources of information are obvious, as in extracts from the town and parish or church records, references have not been given.

The difference between Old Style and New Style is so generally understood that an explanation here is needless. The chronology followed is always that of the records, which is Old Style to September 13, 1752, inclusive.

It may be understood from a statement made on page 80 that a settlement on Mystic Side before the close of 1640 is conjectural. That is not correct, as John Greenland had "halfe built his house" during that year, and others appear with him. The statement should be made to apply before the beginning of the year and not before its close.

D. P. C.

October, 1898.

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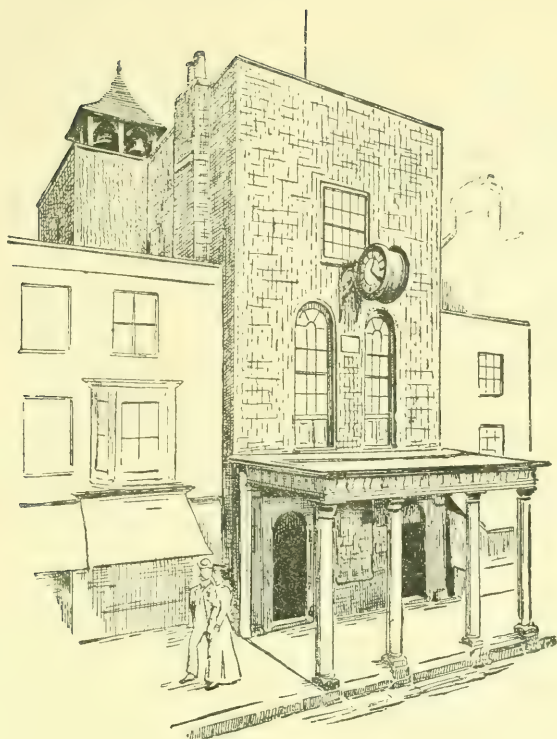
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CHAPTER I.

OLD MALDON.

ON the eastern coast of England, where the rivers Chelmer and Blackwater unite, a narrow inlet of the German Sea enters the land. In the early British days, along its shores was the land of the Trinobantes, now the modern county of Essex; and upon a pleasant sloping acclivity on its southern bank a British chief, called by the courtesy of history a king, had fixed his seat. The unfamiliar name of Cynobelin, son of Tenuantius, is only one in a roll of barbarian kings; but the life-giving touch of Shakspeare has brightened it with eternal youth as Cymbeline, the father of Imogen.

The tide of the invasion of Julius Cæsar had left in its reflux, as drift upon the shore, many remains of the arts and manners

of Latin civilization; and the use of coined money and the worship of the god Camulus — the Italian Mars — attested the enlightenment and progress of the British king. From this god the royal city of the Trinobantes took, in a Roman form, the name of Camalodunum — the hill of Camulus — which was modified in the British tongue to that of Camelot. How the blossoms and fragrance of poetry and romance gather around that name! All the tenderness, and bravery, and glory of the old Arthurian legends cling to it; for here, with all the state of one whose existence was half unreal and all romantic, King Arthur, in the unfixed and shadowy time of his realm, held his mystic court. The picture that we all know in our hearts so well, and which is all English, is as real to-day, though the many towers have passed away, as when Lancelot loved and Guinevere was fair.

On either side the river lie
 Long fields of barley and of rye,
 That clothe the wold and meet the sky;
 And through the field the road runs by
 To many-towered Camelot;
 And up and down the people go,
 Gazing where the lilies blow
 Round an island there below,
 The island of Shalott.¹

When Cymbeline had passed away, the Emperor Claudius in completing the reduction of Britain, which his generals had nearly achieved, placed a strong colony of his veterans in Camelot; and thenceforth the south-eastern portion of the island, dominated by the garrison of Camalodunum, became a province of the Roman empire.²

Less than ten years of prosperity, of fancied security, and of cruel tyranny over the Britons did the first and chief colony of Rome enjoy; for in the year A.D. 62,

The image of the Goddess of Victory at Camalodunum, without any visible cause, dropped down, and in the fall turned downward, as if it yielded to the enemy. Several women in ecstasies of frenzy foretold impending ruin. Strange noises were heard in the court; and a wild howling in the theatre, and a strange apparition in the arm of the sea,

¹ Tennyson, *Lady of Shalott*.

² Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. (32).

plainly signified the subversion of that colony. Moreover the sea looked bloody; and in the ebb dead men's bodies were left upon the shore.³

These signs were the precursors of evil; and in a short time after, the Britons under Boadicea, queen of the Icenî, who had in her own person endured the insults and cruelty of the Romans, fell upon the colony and routed with a great slaughter the ninth legion, which had come to its assistance. The town was destroyed and seventy thousand Romans and allies were killed in the general insurrection which followed.⁴

Although the place was rebuilt, its consequence was lost; and for a period of more than eight hundred years its name cannot be found. We only know that, passing from Camelot through its Roman form of *Camalodunum*, it came to be called, in the tongue of the Saxons, *Maeldune*, from a cross, say some, which stood upon the hill — *Mael*, a cross, and *dune*, a hill. Some writers, however, see in the new name only a Saxon shortening of the Latin word; as Camden, that rare old antiquary of the seventeenth century, who, taking away the first and last syllables of *Camalodunum*, found *Malodun* — *Maeldune*, *Maldon*, like the statue in the rough rock, waiting to spring into existence.

Near by, on the banks of the Blackwater, formerly the *Panta* and afterwards the *Froshwell*, stood the Saxon town of *Ithancester*, where in 653 Saint Ceada baptized the pagans of Essex into the religion of Christ. Not more completely than the town itself have saint and converts passed away. So utterly has it disappeared that an old writer supposed it to have been “swallowed up in the river Pant.”⁵

Hitherto all is vague and uncertain that relates to the Maldon which now began to emerge from the obscurity of remote time. Even its existence as a British and Roman town has been denied; and to a rival colony, the modern Colchester, its honors have been transferred. However, good and true men, both of the elder and later generations of antiquaries, hold fast

³ Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv. (32).

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Ralph Niger, quoted in Camden, *Britannia* (1695), 344.

to the Camelot of the Britons and the Roman Camalodunum as the predecessors of the Saxon Maeldune and the Maldon of to-day. Henceforward, both among Saxons and Normans, it becomes a material thing; and, though romance and poetry may still cling to it, no veil of doubt can be thrown over its entity.

The first fact in the established history of Maldon is that Edward the Elder, while in the field against the Danes, who had subdued and occupied East Anglia and the surrounding districts, encamped there in 913, "whilst the fortress at Witham was wrought and built, and a good part of the people who were before under the dominion of the Danishmen submitted to him."⁶ Four years later he rebuilt the town, and, raising a castle, furnished it with a garrison of soldiers.⁷ In 918 the Danes besieged it, and Edward came again "and drove them from before that town, and slew many thousands of them as they fled."⁸

Once more did the spirit of poetry invest with its beauty the shores of Maldon; and the death of a Saxon hero gave birth to a contemporary poem which, imperfect and mutilated as it has come to us, is one of the pearls of Old English poetry. In this old song of *Byrhtnoth's Death* the story of the battle of Maldon and the defeat of the Saxons is told with great dramatic force and deep earnestness.

Under the brothers Justin and Guthmund the Northmen in 991 made another victorious descent upon the shores of East Anglia. This band, which appears to have been composed of followers of the celebrated Christian sea-king Olaf Tryggvesson of Norway, who seems to have accompanied them, attacked and destroyed Gipeswic (Ipswich) and overran the coast of Essex to Maldon. Here their ships lay in the river and their troops were gathered together on the promontory between the Blackwater and the Chelmer. Opposed to them upon the northern shore was the Earldorman Byrhtnoth with his East Saxons; and a bridge which crossed the river between them,

⁶ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in loco.*

⁸ Matthew of Westminster, *Flowers*

⁷ Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History* (Bohn), i: 464.
tory (Bohn), i. 242.

the mediæval successor of which still remains, was defended by three Saxon champions, whose feat recalls the story of the Roman Horatius and his companions. "We will give you for tribute," shouted the old Earldorman, "our weapons for gifts, the poisoned points of our spears, our old swords, and the weight of our descending arms." He dared the vikings to meet the Saxons hand to hand, and gave them space upon the shore that they might cross the river and form without opposition. In the battle which followed, the Saxons were defeated with a great slaughter. As the old hero lay dying, surrounded by his hearth-company, who fought around him as the Greeks over the body of Patroklos, he prayed: "Thanks, Thou Ruler of Men, for the joys of the world and my life. Now need I, Maker of All, that Thou makest my spirit to pass to Thee, into Thy kingdom, O King of Souls." Said his old companion, Byrhtwold, as he fought above him: "My days have been many. By my Earl, the loved warrior, will I lay me down and go away no more."⁹ Under the great tower of Ely, England's most stately cathedral, the headless body of Byrhtnoth rested nearly eight hundred years; and the loving hand of his wife Æthelflæd wrought the story of his death on a tapestry which rivalled the famous work of Queen Matilda at Bayeux.

In vain was the death of Byrhtnoth, and in vain did others like him stand against the arms of the Northmen. Retreating to their ships when hard pressed, the invaders quickly transferred themselves to unprotected points and soon overcame the eastern coasts. Æthelred the Unready sat in the seat of Ælfred and Edward; and a heavy tribute, paid by the advice of Sigeric, Archbishop of Canterbury, stayed for a while the course of the victorious vikings, and encouraged them to greater ravages a year or two later. From this unfortunate tribute sprang the Dane-geld, or Dane-money, a burdensome tax which oppressed the nation many years until it was finally abolished by Stephen in 1136, long after the Danes had retired or been absorbed into

⁹ Cf. Ten Brink, *Early English Literature*, 93-96. The original Old-English text of the fragment which survives is printed in Thorpe, *Analecta Anglo-*

Saxonica, 131; and a modern English translation is given in Conybeare, *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, xc.

the English people. Near Maldon, on its western side, are traces of a fortification or camp which has been considered as Roman, Saxon, or Danish, as authorities differed. It covered about twenty-two acres. In the middle of the last century three sides were still visible; but already it had begun to be defaced.¹⁰ The traces which still exist are growing less distinct and will finally be obliterated.

After so many varied seasons of peace and war under the conflicting rule of the four nations which successively occupied it, Maldon found a long period of repose; and its people built churches and abbeys, founded a public library and schools, lived by trade and the fisheries, which extended twenty miles along the coast, and in their prosperity enjoyed their famous Wallfleet oysters, which were found in profusion in the waters of their bay.

Before the Norman Conquest the Saxon Ingelric, the father of William the Conqueror's beautiful Ingelrica de Peverell, founded Saint Mary's Church, now known from its situation as the Lower Church. The building of the Saxons has disappeared, but much remains of that of the Normans in the heavy buttresses and the chancel arch, which still keep their places amid later work. The massive Norman tower fell in the seventeenth century. It was rebuilt of red brick at a time when from the neighborhood was taking place that removal which carried the name of Maldon into the wilderness of New England. An hexagonal lantern which remains upon the tower was for many years a beacon for sailors. The church itself was restored in 1886 at a cost of about fifteen thousand dollars. Of several ancient brasses and slabs which formerly existed in this church, but one, that of John Fenne, 1486, now remains.

In 1056—ten years before the coming of William the Conqueror, at which time Maldon contained "one hundred and eighty houses, held by the Burgesses, and eighteen mansions laid waste,"¹¹—was built the church of All Saints, with its chancel, nave, and aisles, and a curious triangular tower. It

¹⁰ Morant, *History of Essex* (1768).

¹¹ *Domesday*, cited by Camden, *Britannia* (1695), 349.

was carefully restored in 1867, and some recent additions have been made.¹² Time and the deeds of men have fallen heavily upon this church, which still shows many traces of its former beauty. It is said that a "lamentable destruction of monuments has taken place in this once magnificent church, since the beginning of the seventeenth century." Numerous ancient brasses have entirely disappeared; and of all the costly monuments which filled the spacious D'Arcy chapel but one remains.

In All Saints might formerly be read this inscription: "Hereunder lieth the Body of John Pratt, late one of the Aldermen of this Borough Town of Maldon. Ob. 30 July, 1619."¹³ This has a familiar sound; and not only in name, but by the closer tie of relationship may this John Pratt of Essex have been connected with the Maldon in Massachusetts Bay; for Richard Pratt, who became an early settler at Mystic Side, was, it is said, the youngest son of John Pratt of Maldon, where he was baptized, June 29, 1615.¹⁴

Besides the churches named there was another—that of Saint Peter's, an ancient house, of which the tower alone

¹² Edward Bright, a shopkeeper, was buried in this church in 1750. His case was so remarkable that it was thought to deserve a place in the *Philosophical Transactions*, xlvii. 188; and a print was taken of him which may sometimes be found in the collections of antiquaries. "The body was drawn to the church in a carriage upon rollers, and lowered into the vault by means of a triangle and pulleys.

"He was a man so extremely fat, and of such an uncommon bulk and weight, that there are very few, if any, such instances to be found in any country or upon record in any books. At the age of 12 years and a half he weighed 10 stones and 4 pounds horseman's weight, i. e. 144 pounds. He increased in bulk as he grew up, so that in seven years more he weighed 336 pounds. He went on increasing, and probably in pretty near the same proportion: For the last time he was weighed, which was about thirteen months before he dyed, his neat weight was 41 stones and ten pounds, or 584 pounds. At the time of his death

as he was manifestly grown bigger since the last weighing, if we take the same proportion by which he had increased for many years upon an average, viz. of about 2 stones a year, and only allow four pounds addition for last year, on account of his moving about but very little, this will bring him to 44 stones or 616 pounds neat weight.—As to his measure he was 5 feet 9 inches and a half high. His body round the chest just under the arms measured 5 feet 6 inches, and round the belly 6 feet 11 inches. His arm in the middle of it was 2 feet 2 inches about, and his leg 2 feet 8 inches. After his death seven men were buttoned in his westcoat without breaking a stitch or straining a button. He dyed 10 November 1750, aged 29." Morant, *History of Essex*, i. 338.

¹³ Salmon, *History of Essex*, 424.

¹⁴ Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, iii. 475; Wyman, *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown*, 770. The authority for this statement has as yet escaped my search.

remains. The building itself, being in a ruinous condition, was demolished many years ago. The parish once connected with it still exists, being joined with that of All Saints.

Near the town stood the Abbey of Beleigh, a foundation of the monks of the Premonstratensian Order. Of the house built by Robert Mantell in 1180 no traces remain; but a few rooms of a later house still exist in a picturesque cluster of mediæval buildings which stands upon the bank of the Chelmer, the only monument of its monks, who were suppressed, and whose lands were taken away at the dissolution of the monasteries in the sixteenth century. A portion of these remains is supposed to date from the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

South-west of the town was the Hospital of Saint Giles, a royal foundation for lepers of an ancient and obscure date. The materials of its building show traces of a Roman origin. In the last century, in common with many monuments of the olden time, it descended to base uses and became a barn, for the purposes of which it was still used in 1894, although it had become somewhat dilapidated. There was also in Maldon a Priory of Carmelite Friars, dating from 1292. The building has disappeared as utterly as its inmates; but the garden wall remained a few years ago — perhaps remains to-day. Of this convent the learned Thomas Maldon, a native of this town, who had been Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, was prior at the time of his death in 1404.

On the site of the fallen nave of Saint Peter's, Dr. Thomas Plume, a native of Maldon and a learned man, built a brick building just before his death in 1704, which he presented to the town for the purposes of a free grammar school. In this building, from which the school has been removed within a few years, is preserved his library, which he gave to the town at his death, with a fund for its support and enlargement.

Writing in the opening years of the seventeenth century, Camden, the father of antiquaries, says of Maldon: —

At present, for largeness and store of inhabitants, it is justly reckoned among the chief towns of this county, and is called by the lawyers the Borough of Maldon. It is a pretty convenient station, and for its

bigness populous enough ; being one long street, reaching for a mile together.¹⁵

It appears that the abbey was already in ruins, and Saint Peter's had disappeared by the middle of that century ; for Dr. Holland, who visited Maldon about that time, and who seems to have taken a peevish dislike to the place, wrote as follows :

Upon the ridge of an hill answerable to the termination of Dunum, which signified an hilly and high situation, wherein I saw nothing memorable, unless I should mention two silly Churches, a desolate place of White-Friers, and a small pile of Brick, built not long since by R. Darcy, which name hath been respective hereabout.¹⁶

In its present aspect, Maldon retains many of the features which were familiar to that little band of pilgrims who, about the first of April, 1638, sailed down the river in an " Ipswich Hye." ¹⁷ Its single main street, running about a mile east and west, and now intersected by several cross streets, its venerable churches and halls, the ebbing and flowing river washing its ancient wharves, the green fields around, and all those kindly influences which have made Essex the garden of England, were often remembered by wistful hearts in New England.

Formerly the houses in Maldon were generally ancient ; but in the early part of this century a considerable change in the appearance of the town was effected by the erection of many modern buildings ; and the more recent growth of the place has tended still farther to destroy or hide the Maldon of the seventeenth century.

Besides the established churches already named, there are several places of worship belonging to Dissenters. The Maldon Congregational Church was founded in 1688, and had in 1894 a house with sittings for nine hundred and fifty persons. Beside this, there are chapels of Baptists, Brethren, Primitive Methodists, Wesleyan Methodists, and Catholics, a Society of Friends, and a meeting of Christadelphians.

¹⁵ Camden, *Britannia* (ed. 1695), 349.

¹⁶ Holland in additions to Camden, *Britannia* (1695), 349.

¹⁷ "Transported from Malden in the County of Essex to London in an

Ipswich Hye." *Deposition* of Joseph Hills, Lechford, *Note Book*, 91. A hoy is a small sloop-rigged vessel used for carrying passengers and goods along the sea-coast.

Quite a growth in the population and trade of Maldon has taken place within the century, at the beginning of which the three parishes comprising the borough contained twenty-four hundred and twenty-eight persons. In 1881 the population had increased to fifty-four hundred and sixty-eight; but it has since shown a slight reduction to fifty-three hundred and eighty-three in 1894. The trade of Maldon is principally connected with its manufactures of crystallized salt, iron, bricks, and beer. There is a custom-house, and shipping is carried on to some extent. Eleven hundred and thirty-nine vessels, of sixty-seven thousand one hundred and sixty-one tons, entered the port in 1872.

Not far from All Saints is the ancient D'Arcy Tower, which was given to the town, in 1440, by Sir Robert D'Arcy for a Moot or Town Hall. Here has been the centre of the political life of the borough for more than four hundred and fifty years; and upon the walls of the Council Chamber hang the fourteen charters which remain to attest to the independence of the Borough of Maldon, the oldest of which — an *Inspeximus* — bears the date of 1290. The older charter of Henry the Second has disappeared, although it was in the chest of the corporation in 1816.

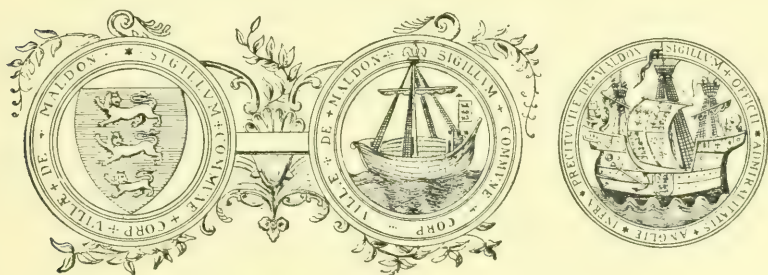
Maldon was a borough at the time of the Conquest and its corporate existence must have begun under Saxon rule; but it received its first recorded charter from Henry the Second, 1154–89. This charter was obtained by the petition of William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, who owned lands at Maldon; and it confirmed, if it did not create, a free borough, free from all service except that of finding one ship for the royal use, when necessary, for the space of forty days. The burgesses were empowered to hold “for ever free and quiet with sac and soc, tol and team, nam and infangthef, graff, hamsoc and blowyte, fythwyte and grethbreg, ordell and orestall and flemenefret, . . . by the service of free burgage;” and they were granted to “be quit of murder, of danegelt, of carriage, of summage, of scutage, of tallage, of stallage, of lastage and of all toll.”

Queen Mary, of bloody memory, gave a second charter in

1553, which was forfeited in 1768; and the borough remained in abeyance until 1810, when the present charter was granted. The corporation now consists of a mayor, deputy mayor, four aldermen, and twelve councillors. The deputy mayor is a councillor.

The ancient and somewhat singular custom of Borough English, by which the youngest son — instead of the eldest as in other parts of England — inherits lands held in socage and other burghal rights at the death of the father, prevails here. Socage, or the holding of lands by certain and determinate service, was originally peculiar to the Anglo-Danish districts, but became the tenure by which realty is generally held in England.

Besides its municipal capacity as a borough, Maldon, with an additional area and an increased population from its immediate



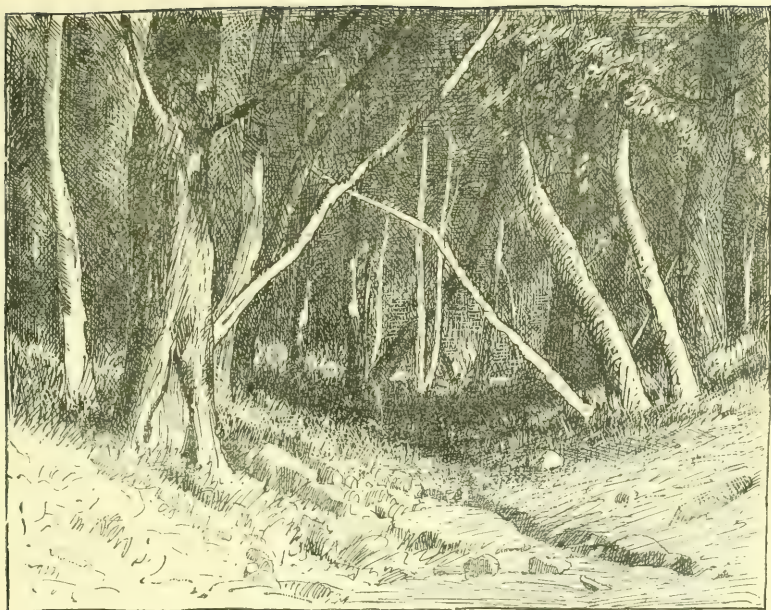
vicinity, is a parliamentary borough, having from 1329 to 1867 returned two members to Parliament. In the latter year the representation was reduced to one; and in 1884, the borough, by a readjustment, was included for parliamentary purposes in the Eastern or Maldon Division of Essex. Formerly, the elections in this borough were hotly contested. That of 1826, it is said, lasted fifteen days, and nearly two hundred and fifty thousand dollars were expended by the opposing parties. My authority says: "In later days the elections have been shorter, often sharper, and hardly less expensive."¹⁸

The ancient shield of the borough — azure, three lions pas-

¹⁸ Fitch, *Maldon and the River* am indebted for several interesting *Blackwater*, 17. To this authority I particulars.

sant reguardant, or — appears upon the town and city seals of the Massachusetts Malden.

Out of this ancient Maldon came in 1638 Joseph Hills, a woollen-draper, and with him, or a little later, John Wayte, who married his daughter Mary. In the same year and in the same month of April came Thomas Ruck, going like Hills to London from Maldon in “an Ipswich Hye,” but sailing to New England, where he arrived in July, in a different ship, — the “Castle.” These men became early holders of land in the vicinity of Wayte’s Mount on Mystic Side, and Richard Pratt settled in the vicinity of the South River. It is probable that they brought to New England the later name of the Camelot of the Britons. The misuse of many years, by substituting Malden for Maldon, has permanently fixed the incorrect form of the name which we now use.



CHAPTER II.

DISCOVERERS AND INDIANS.

ON June 24, 1497, John and Sebastian Cabot, Venetian adventurers holding a patent from Henry the Seventh of England, discovered the continent of America; and during the succeeding year the latter sailed along its shores from Labrador to Virginia. On this early discovery, the English government, in a vague way, founded its claim to the North American coast from the Gulf of Mexico to the icy cliffs of the northern sea, — although nearly a century elapsed before Sir Humphrey Gilbert asserted, at Newfoundland, its authority over a motley gathering of fishermen and adventurers of all nations. In the meanwhile, the French, Spanish, and Portuguese had explored, fished, and traded along the coast at many points, and the former had made actual settlements. After the early death of Gilbert, his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, sought and obtained a patent from Elizabeth and established an unfortunate and short-lived colony upon the island of Roanoke.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, with the exception of the fishing station at Newfoundland, which had now continued more than three-quarters of a century, "not a single European family" existed north of the Spanish settlements in Mexico;¹ and a recent writer remarks that "Colonization had been virtually abandoned in despair."² A brief attempt at settlement, which deserved success, was soon after made at Cuttyhunk, the westernmost of the Elizabeth Islands, by Bartholomew Gosnold, with the approval of Raleigh and under the patronage of Shakspeare's friend, the Earl of Southampton; and though it early proved a failure, it doubtless had a strong influence in the formation of the London and Plymouth Companies, to whom was granted, in 1606, the country between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude. To the latter was allotted the northern portion of this territory from the forty-first to the forty-fifth degrees, covering the coasts of New England and Nova Scotia, with a right in common with its sister company extending to the southern line of Maryland. While the southern company met with some success upon the banks of the James River, the operations of the Plymouth Company produced no result of importance. A feeble colony on the Kennebec merits little notice either from the character of its members or the work which they accomplished; but its failure retarded English colonization for more than twelve years. Meanwhile, the French made fresh settlements upon the coast of Nova Scotia and Maine and took formal possession of the country, to which they gave the name of Acadie, from the fortieth to the forty-sixth degrees of latitude; and the Dutch founded the dynasty of the Knickerbockers at the mouth of the Hudson. These rival settlements were hindrances and annoyances to the English for many years; and those of the French were sources of almost ceaseless negotiations and a series of disastrous wars which lasted more than one hundred and fifty years.

At length, in 1620, the old charter having passed into desuetude, a new company was formed, of which the Earl of Warwick

¹ Holmes, *Annals of America*, i. 123.

² Haven, in *Early History of Massachusetts*, 140.

and Sir Ferdinando Gorges were the most prominent members. This company, which was styled "The Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England in America," was vested with absolute authority over the regions extending from Delaware Bay to Newfoundland and westward over unknown countries to the great South Sea. From beginning to end its efforts were a series of failures, and it finally disappeared in a cloud of obscurity. It made numerous grants of its lands, of which those only which relate to our own immediate territory need be mentioned here.

The first of these was made to Robert Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and conveyed "All that part of the mainland commonly called Messachusiac, on the north-east side of the Bay known by the name of Massachuset, together with all the shores along the sea for ten English miles in a strait line towards the north-east, and thirty miles into the mainland through all the breadth aforesaid."³ This grant revived the old feudal tenure of personal service; for, while the lands were held by the earlier company "in free and common soccage," they were now conveyed to be held by the sword, "*per Gladium Comitatus*, that is to say, by finding four able men, conveniently armed or arrayed for the wars, to attend upon the Governor for any service within fourteen days after warning."⁴ The grantee came to Massachusetts Bay to take possession of his land and seated himself for a while where Thomas Weston had previously attempted a settlement, at Wessagusset (Weymouth). This was a good way out of his proper bounds, but in a location which probably suited him better at the time. The Gorges family, father and sons, were not over-scrupulous at any time in helping themselves in season and out; and had Robert lived his occupancy might have become the foundation of a claim as lasting as that of his illustrious father. While he had settled outside of the limits of his patent, he by no means abandoned his claim thereto, for he leased or granted to John Oldham and John Dorrell

³ Gorges, *Briefe Narration*, in *Maine Historical Coll.*, ii. 46.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 45.

All the lands wthin Mattachusetts Bay betweene Charles River and Abousett [Saugus] River, Contain^d in lengt by a streight lyne 5 Myles vp the said Charles River into the maine land north west from the border of the s^d Bay including all Creekes and points by the way and 3 Myles in length from the mouth of the foresaid river of Abousett vp into the maine land vpon a streight lyne S: W: including all Creekes and points, and all the land in bredth and length betweene the foresaid Rivers, wth all p^rogatives Ryall Mynes excepted.

This grant covered the lands of Mystic Side and was held to be valid by Oldham in 1629. How his claim was finally quieted is not known; but Governor Cradock suggested that he might be "p^rvented" by "causing some to take possession of the cheife pt thereof." ⁵

The settlement at Wessagusset was of short duration. Gorges returned to England, where he soon after died; and his territorial rights finally passed by purchase and descent into the hands of Mary Lenthall, who married "Mr. Levett of the Inner Temple." ⁶ Her claim was also, in time, brought forward and disappeared like that of Oldham. Some of the members of the company of Gorges returned with their leader to England; and others removed to better locations around Massachusetts Bay, where we shall meet them again.

Under the date of March 24, 1627/8, the Council for New England granted to a company of Dorsetshire gentlemen a patent, the origin of which, as well as the limits of the territory which it was intended to convey, is involved in some uncertainty. If the bounds recited in the later charter are to be considered as those of this grant it extended from three miles south "of any or every part" of Charles River to a line three miles north of the river "called Monomack alias Merrymack, or to the northward of any and every part thereof," and stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. It covered the land which had been granted to Robert Gorges, portions of which were evidently occupied by his assigns or by some of those who had been with him at Wessagusset. There are indications that

⁵ *Suffolk Deeds*, i. xiii.

son, *History of Massachusetts-Bay*, i. 6.

⁶ This was in 1691, while the new charter was being prepared. Hutchin-

Ed. 1760.

some deception was used in this matter and that the Earl of Warwick, whose influence was nearly at an end in a council where most of its members were Royalists, was inclined to make the most of his position for the benefit of his friends. That the grant was the work of the Puritan element is evident, and its results were not accepted by the other side. A readjustment of the affairs of the Council took place several years later, and the control passed into the hands of the Royalists. They repudiated the grant of Massachusetts Bay; and, finding their charter defective, they decided, in 1634½, to surrender it. They parted the lands which it conveyed among themselves in eight parcels and petitioned the king for separate patents in accordance with the division which they had made. In this assignment that portion which had then become occupied by the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, with all the country from the Narraganset to Salem, was allotted to the unfortunate Marquis of Hamilton; but the whole matter was frustrated, and the Great Council for New England itself disappeared in the political troubles and the civil war which supervened. The only patent which came out of this dissolution was that to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, which conveyed a strip of land sixty miles wide along the coast of Maine from the Piscataqua to the Kennebec. From the southern limits of this territory to Salem the country was claimed by Captain John Mason under a deed of the Council which never received the royal assent. Suits at law to establish these grants came down into the eighteenth century.

Hutchinson says, "The patent, from the Council of Plimouth, gave a good right to the soil, but no powers of government."⁷ To remedy this defect, and perhaps to prevent complications which might arise from former grants, a royal charter was obtained, March 4, 1628½, and the good offices of the Earl of Warwick were again apparent. This charter, which confirmed the rights of the new company "by the name of the Governor and Company of the Mattachusetts Bay in New England, one body politique and corporate in deed, fact, and name," gave

⁷ Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts-Bay*, i. 9. Ed. 1760.

authority and full powers of government within the limits already described. The territory thus granted was, as has been stated, liberal in its extent from east to west and exceedingly indefinite in its northern and southern bounds; for lines drawn at stated distances from streams whose courses are as irregular as those of the Merrimac and Charles may be fruitful sources of controversy; and the settlement of its borders perplexed the General Court of Massachusetts Bay for many years.

Primarily the corporation of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay was formed to secure the enjoyment of religious freedom, or rather the free enjoyment of the peculiar principles and practices of those who were to control the affairs of the new colony. But no allusion is made to spiritual matters in the charter; and it seems likely that, foreseeing that an open avowal of their wishes and intentions might be disastrous, the fathers of Massachusetts exercised that worldly wisdom which many times thereafter showed itself in their dealings, and veiled their ultimate design under the disguise of a producing and trading corporation such as those unfortunate companies which preceded them had attempted to be. It was as a mercantile company that its grant and charter were obtained. It was only by degrees and with wariness that its true intent was allowed to appear, until it grew into a mixed hierarchy — a government of elders and magistrates, absolute and uncompromising in everything that pertained to freedom of thought and life; and such it continued to be during the colonial period, growing weaker, however, as the democratic spirit of the people worked upward and through the body politic.

Under the authority of the grant from the Council for New England, and while negotiations for the royal charter were in progress, John Endicott, a gentleman of Dorsetshire and one of the original grantees, sailed in the ship "Abigail," Gauden, master, from the little harbor of Weymouth, with a small company, and arrived at Naumkeag, September 6, 1628. Others had preceded him and were seated along the shore from Cape Ann to Scituate. Among these were Roger Conant, Peter Palfrey, John Balch, and John Woodbury at Naumkeag, the Mavericks at

Noddle's Island and Winnisimmet, Thomas Walford at Mishawum, David Thompson at Neponset or Thompson's Island, William Blackstone at Shawmut, and John Bursley and William Jeffrey at Wessagusset. Some of these had been followers of Robert Gorges and had scattered in favorable trading places around the Bay; others were single adventurers or perhaps agents for those who claimed lands by former grants. Besides these, "the mad Bacchanalian," Thomas Morton, was still at Merry-Mount, and a gathering of fishermen and traders had become a permanent settlement at Nantasket.

During the next spring, six vessels with a large company of new adventurers sailed from England. As the "Talbot" passed the Land's End and the hills of Cornwall began to sink into the sea, Francis Higginson, one of their ministers who was destined to fill an early grave in the new world, called the passengers upon deck, "to take their last sight of England," saying, "Farewell, dear England! Farewell, the Church of God in England, and all the Christian friends there!"⁸ Often were those words echoed by anxious, loving hearts as they entered upon the untried perils of that sea which would forever after separate them from the dear old home. Often were they recalled in the loneliness and discouragements of the new life.

The new settlers arrived at the little town, which had been planted at Naumkeag and named Salem, in the early summer of 1629. Among them, "coming at their own cost," were three brothers, — Ralph, Richard, and William Sprague, sons of Edward Sprague of Upway in Dorsetshire. They remained not long at Salem; but during the summer "with three or four more, by joint consent and approbation of Mr. John Endicott, Governor," they undertook a journey of exploration, and passing westward were the first white men who are known to have viewed the country on the northerly side of the Mystic River. Their probable course may be traced along the Salem path, which we may believe already existed as an Indian trail. Crossing the Abousett at a ford, it ran over the Saugus plains and entered the present bounds of Malden at Black Ann's cor-

⁸ Mather, *Magnalia*, iii. (2), ch. 1.

ner, where, probably, another path, turning southerly, led to the Indian villages around Sagamore Hill and Powder Horn. Skirting the Scadan hills, the Salem path turned to the northwest over the little section of old road which remains near the junction of Salem Street and Broadway, where the Jenkins house, which disappeared in 1882, stood more than two centuries,⁹ and passed between the hills nearly in the line of the present Forest Street. Winding around the northern and western base of Wayte's Mount, known to the first settlers as Mount Prospect, it crossed the Three Mile Brook by a ford a short distance above the falls at Black Rock; and, running along the southern foot of the Middlesex Fells, it passed over the Medford plain and sought the Mystic ford. In the vicinity of the Three Mile Brook, the present Clifton Street is the modern representative of the old Indian trail, although that small portion of the way east of the brook, only, has had a continuous existence since the early days.

Passing along the southern bank of the Mystic, the travellers entered the peninsula of Mishawum, where they found Thomas Walford, a smith and an unauthorized pioneer, living in an "English palisadoed and thatched house," whom, with his wife, the distrustful magistrates ejected two years later. There, by the "free consent" of Wonohaquaham, the Sagamore John of "a gentle and good disposition," the Spragues with others settled soon after and laid the foundations of Charlestown.

They found the country over which they passed, on the northerly, or easterly, side of the Mystic, "generally full of stately timber," and "round about was an uncouth wilderness." Of the general condition of the land we are not without good evidence; for William Wood, who very likely accompanied the Spragues, for he was in New England in 1629 and tells us that "the end of his travel was *observation*," and Francis Higginson, who, though a sick man and unable to travel through the woods,

⁹ This old house, otherwise known as the Rand house, was partially destroyed by fire on the evening of November 14, 1882. It had long been in a dilapidated condition, and was soon after demol-

ished. It was popularly supposed to have been older than the town, and to have been used as a garrison house; but it was probably built towards the latter part of the seventeenth century.

doubtless talked with them on their return, wrote of the country soon after; and their accounts, although written under the influence of the glamour which a new country often casts over men's perceptions, enable us to see the New England of 1629.¹⁰

The general appearance of the country was not entirely that of "an uncouth wilderness;" for a pleasant feature which struck the early comers was the extended and frequent areas of open lands around the margins of the marshes and meadows and upon the plains,—lands ready for the plough and tillage without much labor. Higginson says that in one place might be seen "thousands of acres of ground as good as need to be and not a tree in the same;"¹¹ and Thomas Graves, who saw with the eye of an educated traveller, wrote to his friends in England:—

It is very beautifull in open lands, mixed with goodly woods, and again open plaines, in some places five hundred acres, some places more, some lesse, not much troublesome for to cleere for the plough to goe in, no place barren, but on the tops of the hils; the grasse and weedes grow up to a man's face, in the lowlands and by fresh rivers abundance of grasse and large meddowes without any tree or shrubbe to hinder the sith.¹²

These open lands and natural hay-grounds were also noticed by Wood, who wrote as follows:—

The Soyle is for the generall a warme kind of earth, there being little cold-spewing land, no Morish Fennes, no Quagmires, the lowest grounds be the Marshes, over which every full and change the Sea flowes: these Marshes be rich ground, and bring plenty of Hay, of which the Cattle feed and like, as if they were fed with the best up-land Hay in *New*

¹⁰ The main authorities for the condition of the country around Massachusetts Bay at the first coming of the English are Higginson's *Journal* and *New Englands Plantation*; Dudley's *Letter to the Countess of Lincoln*; and Wood's *New-Englands Prospect*. Useful reprints of the works of Higginson and Dudley, and a portion of that of Wood may be found in Young, *Chronicles of Massachusetts Bay*, with other papers of value to the student and of interest to the general reader. The later portion of Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts-Bay*, i. ch. 6, is compact with information. Morton, *New English*

Canaan; Josselyn, *New England's Rarities* and *Two Voyages to New-England*; and Smith, *Description of New-England and Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters*, may be consulted with advantage, as may most of the early writers upon New England.

Of recent writers, Palfrey, *History of New England*, i. ch. 1, contains a good résumé; and on all matters relating to the early history of the country his volumes are to be preferred.

¹¹ *New-Englands Plantation* in Young, *Chronicles of Massachusetts Bay*, 244.

¹² *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, i. 124.

England; of which likewise there is great store which growes commonly betweene the Marshes and the Woods. This Meadow ground lies higher than the Marshes, whereby it is freed from the over-flowing of the Seas; and besides this, in many places where the Tres grow thinne, there is good fodder to be got amongst the Woods. There be likewise in divers places neare the plantations great broad Medowes, wherein grow neither shrub nor Tree, lying low, in which Plaines growes as much grasse, as may be throwne out with a Sithe, thicke and long, as high as a mans middle; some as high as the shoulders, so that a good mower may cut three loads in a day.¹⁴

Wood's estimation of the marshes was not higher than that of the farmers for many years. Their peculiar yield of salt-hay was esteemed beyond its real value and was carefully gathered and prepared. As English grasses were gradually brought into the uplands the marsh and meadow crops grew to be of less importance, and are now considered as of no great worth, compared with the finer upland grasses, except as they add variety to the usual feed of the stable and the barn.

Thomas Morton, in his *New English Canaan*, thus accounts for the existence of the open lands:—

The Salvages are accustomed to set fire of the Country in all places where they come, and to burne it twize a yeare, viz: at the Spring, and the fall of the leafe. The reason that mooves them to doe so, is because it would other wise be so overgrowne with underweedes that it would be all a coppice wood, and the people would not be able in any wise to passe through the Country out of a beaten path. And this custome of firing the Country is the meanes to make it passable; and by that meanes the trees growe here and there as in our parks: and makes the Country very beautifull and commodious.¹⁵

This custom is also mentioned by Wood; and it was followed in some measure by the English until the country was comparatively well cleared. It is very evident that the open lands were characteristic of Mystic Side, especially in the southwestern part along the borders of the marshes of the Mystic and the North River. The earliest land evidences, made at a time when the original forests could not have been cleared to any great extent, indicate the existence of natural lea-lands; and it was

¹³ Wood, *New-Englands Prospect*, 10.
Ed. 1634.

¹⁴ Morton, *New English Canaan*, 52,
54.

upon such a tract that the first allotment of lands, in 1634, was laid out.

The country was well watered by frequent ponds and streams; and the early settlers at Mystic Side found several great springs whose waters have continued to gush forth unto the present day. The best known of these were the North and South springs, to both of which free passage and common use were carefully reserved and guarded. Public rights to the North Spring are supposed to have lapsed years ago in some unknown way; but the ownership of the South, or Waters's, Spring remained intact until 1881, when the Selectmen of Everett relinquished to a corporation of water vendors that which had been a public benefit for two centuries and a half.¹⁵

The first comers, looking upon the surface of things and seeing only the immediate returns of a virgin soil, were profuse in their descriptions of the richness of the land and the variety and quality of its products; but the expectations of the early settlers failed, and the next generation found that the rich woodland soil soon became exhausted, and that manures and careful tillage were as necessary in Massachusetts Bay as in Surrey or Essex.

¹⁵ The North Spring is still in existence near the railroad station at West Everett. It formerly supplied the water used at Baldwin's Dye House, and is now utilized by the manufacturers who occupy the ground. It is a collection rather than a single spring, and has of late years been carefully excavated and surrounded by masonry. The adjacent lands contain several good natural springs, and one which is often overflowed by the brackish tide-water exists upon an island far out upon the marsh.

The South Spring is mentioned by that name as early as 1638, and was situated at the present junction of Chelsea and Ferry Streets in Everett. With its bubbling basin of gravel and its little brooklet flowing across the low land, forming an easy and roomy drinking-place for cattle, and its accompanying clumps of gigantic willows, it was a romantic and pleasant place in former years. But it lost its ancient character

in 1852, when Chelsea Street was widened and straightened, the willows felled, and the cattle-place filled up. All the beauty of the spot vanished in a dead level of gravel grandiloquently called a square; and the bubbling spring developed into an awkward pump, whose creaking crank was the delight of small boys and a "baby-waker" for the neighborhood. Previous to its "improvement" the spring was said to give an average flow of about four hundred and fifty gallons per hour, and its temperature was uniformly about forty-eight degrees Fahrenheit.

In its new character the spring discharged thousands of gallons by the medium of a chain-pump, to the great benefit of thirsty travellers; and many hogsheads of pure water were carried to the neighboring city of Chelsea, by peddlers and others, until it ceased to supply the public needs and was applied to private uses.

Higginson, who endeavored, as he says, "by God's help, to report nothing but the naked truth," and "what I have partly seen with mine own eyes, and partly heard and inquired from the mouths of very honest and religious persons," remarks: — "All about Masathulets Bay, and at Charles river is as fat black earth as can be seen anywhere," and "the fertility of the soil is to be admired at." The open lands brought forth in abundance grains and herbs; and the country abounded "naturally with store of roots of great variety and good to eat."¹⁶ Wood, in his enumeration of the products of the ground, says: —

The ground affords very good kitchen Gardens, for Turneps, Parsnips, Carrots, Radises, and Pumpions, Muskmillions, Squonterquashes, Coucumbers, Onyons, and whatsoever growes well in *England*, growes as well there, many things being better and larger: there is likewise growing all manner of Hearbes for meate, and medicine, and that not onely in planted Gardens, but in the Woods, without eyther the art or the helpe of man.¹⁷

Higginson adds "plenty of single damask roses [sweet briar,] very sweet," and excellent vines "up and down in the woods;"¹⁸ and Graves writes about "the biggest grapes that ever I saw, some I have seene foure inches about."¹⁹ With the grapes are mentioned "mulberries, plums, raspberries, currants, chestnuts, filberts, walnuts, small-nuts, hurtleberries, and haws of white-thorn;"²⁰ and in the summer the fields were filled with strawberries of "exceeding sweetness."

Nor was the animal life less abundant than the products of the vegetable kingdom. The bays and harbors teemed with fish which filled the streams at certain times of the year; and the shores and flats yielded excellent shell-fish of many kinds. In the woods and fields, deer were common,²¹ and smaller game

¹⁶ Higginson, *New-Englands Plantation*, in Young, *Chronicles of Massachusetts Bay*, 243-246.

¹⁷ Wood, *New-Englands Prospect*, 13.

¹⁸ *New-Englands Plantation*, 247.

¹⁹ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, i. 124.

²⁰ *New-Englands Plantation*, 247.

²¹ Deer were common in this vicinity until the middle of the eighteenth century, and were frequently seen after-

ward. One was started by hunters in the Malden woods in 1773, and chased across the Chelsea marshes to the Saugus River, into which he plunged. Lewis, *History of Lynn*, 337. An act was passed in 1739, "for the better preservation of deer within this province," under which Deer-reeves were annually chosen in Malden until 1792.

in great variety afforded a plentiful sustenance to the earlier settlers when their scanty supplies had failed. Great flocks of pigeons at one time "flew over all the towns" for hours, obscuring the light and causing even the sober Dudley to fancy a portent in the unfamiliar sight.²² Partridges "as big as our hens," and great turkeys, "exceeding fat, sweet, and fleshy," were to be had for the shooting. Geese, ducks, and other sea-fowl abounded in their season, so that during the scarcity of the first year it was said "that a great part of winter the planters have eaten nothing but roast meat of divers fowls which they have killed."²³

Wood speaks of the "three great annoyances, of wolves, rattle-snakes, and mosquitoes." The former were nightly visitors among the unprotected herds and flocks. In the time of deep snows they hung around the settlements in great packs, and their fierce barking was a terror to man as well as beast. They infested the Saugus woods as late as 1753 and were not entirely extirpated until many years after. Bounties were offered for their scalps, and the grisly trophies were sometimes nailed on the meeting-houses. "For Beares," says Wood, "they be common being a great blacke kind of Beare, which be most feirce in Strawberry time."²⁴ They are said to have been seen in Malden woods within this century, and they yet prowl along sequestered roads in the traditions of old families.²⁵

Among "creeping beasts or longe creeples" the rattlesnake was especially noticed by early observers. Higginson says that they "will not fly from a man as others will, but will fly upon him and sting him so mortally that he will die within a quarter of an hour after."²⁶ John Josselyn mentions

²² Dudley, *Letter to the Countess of Lincoln*, in Young, *Chronicles of Massachusetts Bay*, 336.

²³ *New-Englands Plantation*, 253.

²⁴ *New-Englands Prospect*, 19.

²⁵ In a rock in the Middlesex Fells, near where the corners of Malden and Melrose touch the Medford line, is a deep rift in the rock called *Bears' Den*,

where tradition says a bear was killed in the early days of the present century. Brooks, *History of Medford*, 484, relates how, in 1735, "Sampson, a negro slave, was sorely frightened by a wild bear and cub, which he met in the woods near Gov. Cradock's house."

²⁶ *New-Englands Plantation*, 255. Cf. Morton, *New English Canaan*, 82.

The *Rattle Snake*, who poysons with a Vapour that comes thorough two crooked Fangs in their Mouth; the hollow of these Fangs are as black as Ink: The *Indians*, when weary with travelling, will take them up with their bare hands, laying hold with one hand behind their Head, with the other taking hold of their Tail, and with their teeth tear off the Skin of their backs, and feed upon them alive; which they say refresheth them.²⁷

Higginson speaks of the lesser annoyances mentioned by Wood, as the "little flies called mosquitoes" which "are troublesome in the night season;" and Wood adds, "Many that be bitten will fall a scratching, whereupon their faces and hands swell."²⁸

The climate does not appear to have materially changed since the advent of the English. Great snows are mentioned; and extremes of heat and cold, and droughts and seasons of excessive moisture were as frequent as of late years. One who wrote at a later period says:—

In New England, the transitions from heat to cold are short and sudden, and the extremes of both very sensible. We are sometimes

²⁷ *New-Englands Rarities Discovered*, 38-39. The *Indians'* manner of holding the reptiles, as described in the text, was practised by one of their descendants. John Elisha, a colored man of mixed blood, who claimed descent from the Natick *Indians*, resided among the hills in the north-eastern part of Malden about the year 1820. He used to catch rattlesnakes, which then abounded in the crevices of the ledges and among the angular stones which the frost had detached from the cliffs and strewn at the bases of the hills. He carried the captives home in his hands, holding them fast just below their heads, their tails being wreathed about his arms. When their fangs became hooked in a piece of stout woolen cloth, which he held for them to bite at, he would pull them out by a sudden jerk and render them harmless. If they did not bite at the cloth, he would open their mouths with a stick, as he pressed them to the ground, while an assistant would entangle their fangs in the cloth, and so extract them. Sometimes he held them down with a forked stick, and removed

the fangs with pincers. The "creeples" thus treated he exhibited in Boston and elsewhere, on public occasions, as tamed snakes, which he could handle and carry in his bosom with impunity, to the astonishment of the spectators.

Besides the "taming" of snakes, he and his family did quite a business in the preparation of rattlesnake oil, which was sold about the country as a specific for rheumatic complaints and diseases of the joints. Fifty cents for a small bottle was considered cheap by the purchaser, and amply repaid the seller. Mrs. William Hogans, who will be remembered by many old inhabitants, was an itinerant saleswoman in that line, and added to her stock skunk's fat, and roots and herbs, which she procured as ordered. (*Information of William B. Shedd.*)

In 1809 four "large Rattlesnakes taken on the Malden Turnpike, poison-tooth extracted," were exhibited at the Columbian Museum in Boston. *Boston Patriot*, 1809.

²⁸ *New-Englands Plantation*, 255; *New-Englands Prospect*, 46.

frying, and at others freezing; and as men often die at their labor in the field, by heat, so some in winter are froze to death with the cold.²⁹

But to the early writers the climate seemed perfect in the first flush of their new-found joys. Graves declared that all the bounties which Nature spread before them were "made good and pleasant through this maine blessing of God, the healthfulnesse of the countrie which far exceedeth all parts that ever I have beene in;"³⁰ and Higginson, speaking from his own experience, exceeds Graves in his commendations, and adds that oft-repeated line, "A sup of New England's air is better than a whole draught of Old England's ale."³¹

²⁹ Macsparren, *America Dissected*, 11.

³⁰ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, i. 124.

³¹ *New-Englands Plantation*, 252.

Francis Higginson, to whose description of New England reference is made, was educated at Cambridge, receiving the degree of A. B. at Jesus, 1609, and that of A. M. at St. John's, 1613; although Mather says he was of Emanuel. Having committed himself to the Puritan party, he was excluded from his pulpit at Claybrooke, in Leicester, and was soon after invited by the Company of the Massachusetts Bay to go to their new plantation at Naumkeag, where he arrived early in the summer of 1629, and was ordained August 6 of that year. He lived but twelve months longer, and his case has much in common with many others which occurred in the early days of the settlements. He was both sickly and enthusiastic. That he was the latter, his exaggerated description of New England amply proves. That he had been troubled with long continued ails, he himself informs us. "I have for divers years past been very sickly," he tells us in his journal. Young, *Chronicles of Massachusetts Bay*, 236.

When he had passed but a few summer weeks in the new land, he wrote: "The temper of the air of New-England is one special thing that commends this place. Experience doth manifest that there is hardly a more healthful place to be found in the world that agreeth better with our English bodies. Many

that have been weak and sickly in Old England, by coming hither have been thoroughly healed, and grown healthful and strong. For here is an extraordinary clear and dry air, that is of a most healing nature to all such as are of a cold, melancholy, phlegmatic, rheumatic temper of body. None can more truly speak hereof by their own experience than myself. My friends that knew me can well tell how very sickly I have been, and continually in physis, being much troubled with a tormenting pain through an extraordinary weakness of my stomach, and abundance of melancholic humors. But since I came hither on this voyage, I thank God I have had perfect health, and freed from pain and vomiting, having a stomach to digest the hardest and coarsest fare, who before could not eat finest meat; and whereas my stomach could only digest and did require such drink as was both strong and stale, now I can and do oftentimes drink New-England water very well. And I that have not gone without a cap for many years together, neither durst leave off the same, have now cast away my cap, and do wear none at all in the day time; and whereas beforetime I clothed myself with double clothes and thick waistcoats to keep me warm, even in the summer time, I do now go as thin clad as any, only wearing a light stuff cassock upon my shirt, and stuff breeches of one thickness without linings. . . . I think it is a wise course

It is not surprising that, with all these exaggerated excellencies of climate and soil, New England became to the English Puritans a veritable Canaan, a land overflowing with milk and honey, where they might rest secure in the shadow of their own vines and fig trees. And the political condition of England and the dangers which surrounded them there, were added incentives for removal. In 1637, eight years after the arrival of the Spragues, the English population of New England is supposed to have approached twelve thousand souls.

Thomas Dudley was of a less enthusiastic mind, or he saw with a clearer vision than did his companions; for he wrote to Bridget, Countess of Lincoln: "Honest men, out of a desire to draw over others to them, wrote somewhat hyperbolically of many things here."³² A woman, who longed, I suspect, for the green hedges and old homes of England, wrote a few years later: —

When I remember the high commendations some have given of the place, and find it inferior to the reports, I have thought the reason thereof to be this, that they wrote surely in strawberry time. The air of the country is sharp, the rocks many, the trees innumerable, the grass little, the winter cold, the summer hot, the gnats in summer biting, the wolves at midnight howling. Look upon it, as it hath the means of grace, and, if you please, you may call it a Canaan.³³

The exaggerations of the first comers, with other causes, added to the tide of immigration, which was very much

for all cold complexions to come to take physic in New-England." *New-Englands Plantation*, 251-252.

Poor fellow! he had experienced the bracing effects of a not unpleasant sea-voyage, and fondly thought that the "extraordinary clear and dry air" of New England had done in a few weeks that which came from the healthy air of the sea. He had yet to meet the untried rigors of an exceeding hard winter; and in the privations and severities of that season, amid the suffering, disease, and death which ensued, the delusive promise of health and strength departed, and "the hectic attacked him, which was to close his earthly career."

He lingered until August, 1630, when, in the words of Cotton Mather, "in the midst of many prayers, he fell asleep, in the forty-third year of his age."

He had seen the new world in a rosy light, and the messages which he sent back to England were colored by his desires and hopes. Sharp and bitter was the truth which to him and many who followed him came too late.

A memoir of Higginson, by the late Rev. Joseph B. Felt, is in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, vi. 105-127.

³² Dudley's letter, in Young, *Chronicles of Massachusetts Bay*, 324.

³³ Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts-Bay*, i. 483. Ed. 1760.

increased in 1630, and Cambridge, Boston, Dorchester, and other places received their first inhabitants. The disappointments and sufferings of those who were not well prepared to meet the hardships and dangers of a pioneer's life were, no doubt, as strongly set forth to their friends in England as had been the attractions and advantages of the country before. As a consequence, in part, immigration nearly ceased, and some returned to England. But after a year or two ship after ship continued to arrive in the harbors of Salem and Boston; and growing communities of sturdy Puritans attested at once the troubles which had befallen the mother land, and the permanence of the refuge which Providence had opened upon the bleak shores of Massachusetts Bay. A new empire had been founded; and upon a narrow strip of country, between unknown forests and the barren sands and sombre rocks of an unkind coast, a handful of earnest men and women, in the language of the time, "chosen vessels" and "precious seed," began to work out that problem of freedom which forecasts the coming Glory of the Ages. From the green lanes and ancient towns of Essex, full of the traditions and associations of a thousand years, to the tangled forests and the wild shores of a new world; from the old English homes to the land which God had prepared for the chosen seed whose fruitage was to be a great nation, — these are to us of the nineteenth century but the turning of a leaf; but to the men and women of 1628 a stormy waste of waters and many weeks of anxiety and distress, of weeping and praying, lay between the homes of their childhood and the unknown land where they were to watch and work and lay their bones to rest.

In the year 1614 Captain John Smith, observing the shores of Massachusetts Bay, remarked that "the sea Coast as you passe shewes you all a long large Corne fields, and great troupes of well proportioned people."³¹ It may be that the redoubtable champion and bearer of "three Turks heads, which with his sword, he did overcome, kill, and cut off," indulged somewhat in the exaggeration to which he was prone; but the

³¹ Smith, *Generall Historie*, ii. 194. Ed. 1819.

corroborating testimony of other writers renders it certain that around the mouths of the Charles and the Mystic and along the shores and upon the islands of Boston harbor were gathered many villages of the aborigines. Hubbard mentions this section as "the general rendezvous of all the Indians;"³⁵ and Hutchinson says, "That circle which now makes the harbors of Boston and Charlestown, round by Malden, Chelsea, Nantasket, Hingham, Weymouth, Braintree and Dorchester, was the capital of a great sachem, much revered by all the plantations of Indians round about."³⁶ South of the Charles, among and around the Blue Hills, were the Massachusetts; and northward, extending to the Piscataqua and Penacook, were the Pawtuckets, an extensive and once powerful tribe, a portion of whose domain we occupy.

At the dawn of authentic history the latter tribe, or rather combination of tribes, for it included "the Pennakooks, (Concord Indians,) Agawomes, (at Ipswich) Naamkeeks, (at Salem) Pascatawayes, Accomintas (York) and others,"³⁷ was led by the Sachem Nanepashemet, who lived at Saugus on the border of the wide marsh which stretches from the easterly portion of Malden through Revere³⁸ to the sea. Westward towards the Connecticut River, the Nipmucks owed him a rude allegiance. In 1615 the Tarratines, whom Mr. Lewis styled "the Goths and Vandals of aboriginal New England,"³⁹ in revenge for an

³⁵ Hubbard, *General History of New England*, 32.

³⁶ Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts Bay*, i. 460. Ed. 1760.

³⁷ Gookin, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, i. 149.

³⁸ Called by the English Rumney Marsh, which name it has retained to the present time.

Rumney Marsh, its English counterpart, from which it doubtless received its name, is an extensive tract of rich land in the county of Kent, which Camden called *the gift of the sea*. It embraces more than forty-four thousand acres of land, which has been thrown up by the sea or left by the changes of the coast line and the courses of the small rivers which intersect it; and it is

protected from the ocean by a strong earthen wall of a great antiquity. Much has been added to its extent within the range of history. It possesses a soil of great fertility, which nourishes numerous herds that are sent there to graze; and its reedy creeks and fens shelter large flocks of wild fowl. Hardly a hedge or tree breaks its expanse, save a few near the villages, which are scattered here and there in convenient places. Cf. Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of England*, ii. 490; Camden, *Britannia*, 210. Ed. 1695. There is a map of the district in Harris, *History of Kent*, copied from Dugdale, *History of the Fens*.

³⁹ Lewis, *History of Lynn*, 33. The Tarratines were a branch of the Aben-

injury, invaded the lands of the Pawtuckets and Massachusetts and overran the region from the Penobscot to the Charles. Gorges describes the slaughter as "horrible to be spoken of."⁴⁰ Nanepashemet retired from the banks of Rumney Marsh to a hill near the head-waters of the Mystic, where he built a fort which was seen by Edward Winslow of Plymouth in 1621.

About this time the natives attacked and burned a French trading vessel which was lying at anchor near Peddock's Island in Boston Harbor. The men were slain or distributed among the neighboring villages. One of these men, daring to rebuke the Indians for their wickedness, was told, "they were so many that God could not kill them." Thomas Morton of Merry Mount tells the result: —

In short time after the hand of God fell heavily upon them, with such a mortall stroake that they died on heapes as they lay in their houses; and the living, that were able to shift for themselves, would runne away and let them dy, and let there Carkases ly above the ground without buriall. For in a place where many inhabited, there hath been but one left a live, to tell what became of the rest; the livinge being (as it seemes) not able to bury the dead, they were left for Crowes, Kites, and vermin to pray upon. And the bones and skulls upon the severall places of their habitations made such a spectacle after my comming into those partes, that, as I travailed in that Forrest nere the Massachussets, it seemed to mee a new found Golgatha.⁴¹

Cotton Mather, in an apparent spirit of thankfulness, wrote: —

The *Indians* in these Parts had newly, even about a Year or Two before, been visited with such a prodigious Pestilence; as carried away not a *Tenth*, but *Nine Parts of Ten* (yea 't is said *Nineteen* of *Twenty*) among them: so that the *Woods* were almost cleared of those pernicious Creatures to make Room for a *better Growth*.⁴²

This pestilence, which was described by various names, is supposed by recent writers to have been the small-pox, which

aquis nation and inhabited, if a people of their roaming habits may be said to have a fixed habitation, the region east of the Penobscot River. Williamson, *History of Maine*, i. 513, gives a specimen of their language. Nicholas John Crevay, who was killed at Spot Pond in

1813, by Samuel Angier and others of Malden, was probably a Tarratine.

⁴⁰ Gorges, *Briefe Narration*, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxvi. 90.

⁴¹ Morton, *New English Canaan*, 23.

⁴² Mather, *Magnalia*, i. ch. 2.

in later instances caused a great mortality among the Indians.⁴³ Gookin, writing half a century later, says of this sickness: —

Doubtless it was some pestilential disease. I have conversed with some old Indians, that were then youths; who say, that the bodies all over were exceeding yellow, describing it by a yellow garment they showed me, both before they died, and afterward.⁴⁴

What the hatchet and the knife of the Tarratines had spared of the nation of the Pawtuckets, the plague devoured, so that but a feeble remnant remained to uphold the waning authority of Nanepashemet. So great was the loss that, out of about three thousand men which the united tribes could once muster, “not above two hundred and fifty men, besides women and children,” remained when Gookin wrote.⁴⁵

But the Sachem only escaped the plague to fall by the hands of his old enemies, the Tarratines, who again swept over the land and slew him in his fort near Mystic Pond in 1619. Two years later, Edward Winslow passed along the banks of the Mystic and thus recorded his observations in *A Relation of Ovr Voyage to the Massachusetts*: —

On the morrow we went ashore, all but two men, and marched in Armes vp in the Countrey. Having gone three myles, we came to a place where Corne had beene newly gathered, a house pulled downe, and the people gone. A myle from hence, *Nanepashemet* their King in his life time had liued. His house was not like others, but a scaffold was largely built, with pools and plancks some six foote from ground, and the house vpon that, being situated on the top of a hill.

Not farre from hence in a bottome, wee came to a Fort built by their deceased King, the manner thus; There were pools some thirtie or fortie foote long, stucke in the ground as thicke as they could be set one by another, and with these they inclosed a ring some forty or fifty foote ouer. A trench breast high was digged on each side; one way there was to goe into it with a bridge; in the midst of this Pallizado stood the frame of an house, wherein being dead he lay buried.

About a myle from hence, we came to such another, but seated on the top of an hill: here Nanepashemet was killed, none dwelling in it since the time of his death.⁴⁶

⁴³ *Massachusetts and its Early History*, 261.

⁴⁴ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, i. 148.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, i. 149.

⁴⁶ *Mourt Relation*, 58. It was doubtless the burial place of Nanepashemet's men, or of their ancestors, which was disturbed in 1882, as related in the fol-

After the death of the Sachem and the retirement of the Tarratines his people again gathered around the Mystic and Rumney Marsh, where they dwelt, at the time of the settlement of the English, under the general government of the widow of Nanepashemet, the Squa Sachem, and the local rule of her sons, Wonohaquaham and Montowampate.⁴⁷

The Squa Sachem appears to have had a large share of the masculine spirit in her character and to have been equal to the task of ruling the scattered bands of the roving Pawtuckets. She succeeded in establishing and maintaining authority over the domain of her deceased husband from Agamenticus to the Connecticut River. In 1621 Obbatinewat of Shawmut complained that she was his enemy.⁴⁸ In accordance with an Indian custom she married Webcowet, the powow or physician⁴⁹ of the

lowing extract, which, in its historical allusions, is as trustworthy as the average newspaper articles upon local history. Sagamore John died in 1633, among the English. They would hardly have taken the trouble to carry his body and those of his men from the lower Mystic and Rumney Marsh through the wilderness to Medford. The "Carkases" of Indians who had died of the small pox would have been more likely to be thrown into the nearest hole.

"A year ago last September, while workmen were engaged in excavating the earth for the large barn of Mr. Francis Brooks at West Medford, the skeletons of eighteen Indians were uncovered, found in sitting posture, together with implements of war, pipes, etc. These bones were preserved, and last week Mr. Brooks erected a monument to the memory of the red men, on a spot between his residence and that of Mr. Conant, his foreman, which is believed to have been the burial place of Sagamore John and those Mystic Indians who inhabited this region. It is about ten feet high, with a rough boulder weighing about one ton on the top, is rough throughout, with the exception of the panels, on which are the following inscriptions: 'In memory of Sagamore John and those Mystic Indians whose bones lie here; '1630-1884.'

Sagamore John, a friendly man, once saved a white settlement from a brutal massacre, by pitching his tent on the high rock on Mr. Edmund T. Hasting's premises to command the river, thus warning the people that the Indians were in ambush to slay them all. All the bones saved were put in a black box in a brick vault laid in cement, in which were also placed the different kinds of coins of this year, and copies of the Medford papers. The whole was covered with a large slab and firmly imbedded in cement." *Malden Mirror*, Aug. 2, 1884.

⁴⁷ "[December y^e 24, 1694.] The Testimony of John Devoreaux of Marblehead aged about Eighty years Testifieth & Saith y^e about y^e yeare of Our Lord One thousand Six hundred & Thirty J came ouer from old England to New England & y^e place of my abode and residence has been at Salem & Marblehead Euer Since & when J came hither here was an old Sqwah Called old Sqwaw Sachem y^e Sqwaw of y^e Dec^{ed} Sachem Which had three reputed Sons viz John James & George whoe were y^e Reputed Sachems & Owners of all y^e Lands in these parts as Salem Marblehead Linn & as farr as Mistick." *Essex Co. Deeds*, xi. 132.

⁴⁸ Mourt, *Relation*, 57.

⁴⁹ *Powow*, priest, conjuror, or sorcerer.

tribe, of whom we know but little beyond the fact of his marriage. He subscribed to some papers, and he is mentioned as taking an interest in the efforts, which were being made, in 1647, to christianize the Indians.⁵⁰

In 1639 the two signed a deed by which they conveyed to the inhabitants of Charlestown, with some reservations, all the lands which the Court had granted them, including the bounds of the present cities of Malden and Everett and the town of Melrose. This document is of interest to us as being the first and only conveyance of the aboriginal title in the territory which we occupy. The consideration, or "satisfaction," proves how little the Indians valued their rights and how cheaply the settlers quieted their claims.

The 15th of the 2. m^o. 1639

Wee Web Cowet & Squaw Sachem do sell vnto the Inhabitants of the Towne of Charlestowne, all the land with in the lines granted them by the Court (excepting the farmes and the ground, on the West of the two great Ponds called misticke ponds, from the South side of m^r Nowells lott, neere the vpp^r end of the Ponds, vnto the little runnet that cometh from Cap^t Cookes mills which the Squaw reserveth to their vse, for her life, for the Indians to plant and hunt vpon, and the weare above the Ponds, they also reserve for the Indians to fish at whiles the Squaw liveth, and after the death of Squaw Sachem shee doth leave all her lands from m^r Mayhues house⁵¹ to neere Salem to the present Governo^r, m^r Jn^o Winthrop Sen^r, m^r Jncrease Nowell, m^r Jn^o Wilson, m^r Edward Gibbons to dispose of, and all Indians to depart, and for

⁵⁰ Shattuck, *History of Concord*, 25.

⁵¹ By "m^r Mayhues house" is meant, I am convinced, the house built by Governor Cradock's people on the east bank of the Mystic, which is still standing and which was known in the early days as "Meadford house." I base my belief on the following affidavits in *Middlesex Court Files*, *in loco*.

"The testimony of Richard Beers, Benjamin Crispe and Garret Church, Testifieth and Saith that M^r Thomas Mayhue lived at Mistick alias Meadford in y^e year one thousand six hundred thirty and six. Charls-Towne the 17th of the 10th, 1662."

"I Joseph Hills aged about 60 yeares testify that about 1638, M^r Davison lived

at Meadford house, who shewed me the accomodations of the farme, being about to take y^e said farme and stock of him and captaine Will. Ting: and I testify that M^r Mayhew did not then dwell at Meadford house to y^e best of my Knowledge. 17, 10. 1662."

Nicholas Davison was Cradock's agent and Mayhew had probably occupied the farm as tenant.

"1634, 14 May. M^r Thomas Mayhew is intreated by the Court to examine what hurt the swyne of Charlton hath done amongst the Indean barnes of corne, on the north side of Misticke, & accordingly the inhabitants of Charlton p^rmiseth to giue them satisfaction." *Mass. Colony Records*, i. 121.

satisfaction from Charlestowne, wee acknowledge to have received in full satisfaction twenty and one coates ninten fathom of Wampon, & three bushels of corne. Jn witnes whereof we have here vnto sett o^r hands, the day and yeare above named. the marke of SQUA SACHEM. m^c
the marke of WEB COWET. m.

Subscribed in the
p^rsenc^e off

JN^o HUMPHERY
ROBERT FEAKE.⁵²

This is to testifie that the aforementioned purchase was made at the charges of the Inhabitants of Charlestowne, and to their vse, and for so much as lyeth with in their limitts, we do accordingly resigne, and yeld vp all our interest therein to the vse of the said towne, according to the trust reposed in vs. 10th m^o 18th, 1639.

JN^o WINTHROP *Gou^rn^r*.

JNCREASE NOWELL.

JN^o WILSON.

Entred & Recorded. 23th 8m^o 1656.

By THOMAS DANFORTH *Recorder*.⁵³

In 1644 the Squa Sachem, with others, formally submitted to the colonial authority by subscribing an instrument in which the hand of the Indian is little apparent:—

Wossamegon, Nashowanon, Cutshamache, Mascanomet, & Squa Sachim did voluntarily submit themselves to us, as appeareth by their covenant subscribed wth their own hands, hear following, & oth^r articles to w^{ch} they consented.

Wee have & by these presents do voluntarily, & wthout any constraint or perswasion, but of o^r owne free motion, put o^rselues, o^r subijects, lands, & estates under the government & iurisdiction of the Massachusetts, to bee governed & protected by them, according to their iust lawes & orders, so farr as wee shalbee made capable of understanding them; & wee do promise for o^rselues, & all o^r subijects, & all o^r posterity, to

⁵² Frothingham, *History of Charlestown*, 67, makes this, Robert Heake—an unknown name. Robert Feake, the witness, was of Watertown, where he died February 1, 1662 $\frac{3}{4}$. Mount Feake in Waltham was named in his memory.

⁵³ *Middlesex Co. Deeds*, i. 190 (original vol.). It will be noticed that seventeen years elapsed before this deed was recorded. When it was finally put upon record the Squa Sachem had been dead five or six years, and Sagamore

George had begun to "trouble" the English about his land. January 13, 1639 $\frac{1}{4}$, the Squa Sachem and Webcowet, in consideration of "many kindnesses and benefites" and "for our tender loue & good respect" deeded to Jotham Gibbons the reversion of the lands around the Mystic ponds which had been reserved in the Charlestown deed. *Suffolk Co. Deeds*, i. 43; *Middlesex Co. Deeds*, i. 191.

bee true & faithfull to the said government, & ayding to the maintenance thereof, to o^r best ability, & fro^m time to time to give speedy notice of any conspiracy, attempt, or evill intension of any which wee shall know or heare of against the same ; & wee do promise to bee willing fro^m time to time to bee instructed in the knowledg & worship of God. In wtnes whereof wee have hereunto put o^r hands the 8th of the first mo, @ 1643-1644.

CUTSHAMACHE,
NASHOWANON,
WOSSAMEGON,
MASKANOMETT,
SQUA SACHIM.⁵⁴

Several questions relating to morals followed the signing of this "voluntary" submission, the answers to which are fully set forth in the Colony Records. Two of them would be regarded as especially creditable to the Indian character, did we not remember that the vices referred to are vices of civilized and not of savage life. They said "they know not wt swering is among y^m," and that it was their custom "to honor their parents and their superiors." At the close they gave the English twenty-six fathoms of wampum and received five coats of red cloth and a potful of wine.

Little is known of the Squa Sachem beyond what has been related. With other Indians she had sold a large tract of land at Concord, in 1637; and she had conveyed to Jotham Gibbons the reversion of her lands which she had reserved in the Charlestown deed. In 1640 the General Court ordered Cambridge "to give Squa Sachem a coate every winter while shee liveth." This order apparently was not obeyed, for the next year "Cambridge was enioned to give Squa Sachem so much corne as to make up 35 bushels, & 4 coates for the last year and this."⁵⁵ Her needs

⁵⁴ *Mass. Colony Records*, ii. 55. Cutshamache was a sachem, or sagamore, from near the Blue Hills; Nashowanon, a Nipmuck from Wachuset; and Maskanomett was that sagamore of Agawam who is elsewhere called Mascononomo. Drake, *History of the Indians*, 106, supposes Wossamegon to have been no other than the great Wampanoag, or Pokanoket, chief Massasoit, whose

friendship for the English formed so great a contrast to the enmity of his savage son, Metacomet, or Philip.

⁵⁵ It appears by these orders that she had some special claim on the town of Cambridge; and a clause in the deed to Jotham Gibbons, *Suffolk Co. Deeds*, i. 43, indicates that she may have conveyed land there. Cambridge agreed, April 10, 1643, "to pay to Squa Sachem

seemed not to require attention for a while; but in 1643, the Court granted her "haulfe a pound of gunpowder" and ordered "her peece to be mended;" and in the fall of the same year she was allowed to buy "1 lb of powder & 4 lb of shot."⁵⁶ After the submission and catechizing of 1644, she disappears from sight and nothing more is heard of her. A pathetic story is told of her as being old, blind, and worn-out; and with little reason it has been supposed that she was the "ould" blind Nipmuck squa who died in 1667 in consequence of ill treatment received from a party of Narragansetts; but the testimony of Richard Church, preserved in the Court files of Middlesex County, shows that she died about the year 1650.⁵⁷ Old she may have been, but there is no evidence that she was blind.

Wonohaquaham, or Sagamore John of Winnisimmet, "of gentle and good disposition,"⁵⁸ whom Thomas Dudley describes as "a handsome young man, conversant with us, affecting English apparel and houses, and speaking well of our God,"⁵⁹ dwelt "upon a creek which meets with the mouth of Charles River."⁶⁰ This is the creek, now known as Island-End River, or Chelsea Creek, which runs through the marshes between Powder-Horn Hill and Winnisimmet into the Mystic at Wormwood Point⁶¹ in Everett. Here, on the south side of the creek, near its mouth, Samuel Maverick built a fortified house in 1625, which the savages attacked. They were so warmly received that they "never attempted it more," to their sincere regret in after years.⁶² John gave Ralph Sprague and his brothers "free

8 bushels of Indian corn, after next harvest;" and again, November 11, 1643, "Agreed, that the cow-keepers shall pay six bushels of corn to Squa Sachem for the damage done to her corn, upon the Sabbath day, through the neglect of the keepers in the year 1642." Cf. Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 384.

⁵⁶ *Mass. Colony Records*, i. 292, 317; ii. 36, 44.

⁵⁷ Testimony of Richard Church, Jan. 15, 1659/60: "soone after Squaw Sachems Death wch to the best of his remembrance was in the yeare 1650." *Middlesex Court Files*, in *loco*.

⁵⁸ *Charlestown Records*, in Young, *Chronicles of Massachusetts Bay*, 374.

⁵⁹ Young, *Chronicles of Massachusetts Bay*, 307.

⁶⁰ Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts Bay*, i. 461. Ed. 1760.

⁶¹ Sometimes corrupted to Wormal's Point; and at different times known as Sweetser's, Beacham's, and Van Voorhis's Point, from the owners of the adjacent lands.

⁶² Maverick, *Briefe Discription of New England*, in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, xxxix. 38.

consent" to settle at Mishawum, where they founded the town of Charlestown in 1629.⁶³ His tendencies towards civilization did not prevent him from going with thirty men, in 1632, to the assistance of the celebrated Narragansett chief Canonicus, who was fighting the Pequots in Connecticut.⁶⁴

Montowampate, called James by the English, was the sagamore of Saugus. Compared with his brother Wonohaquaham he is said to have been "of a far worse disposition, yet repaireth often to us."⁶⁵ In 1629 he married Wenuchus, daughter of the great Bashaba Passaconaway of Pennacook.⁶⁶ There is a romantic and somewhat amusing story of Indian stubbornness and fatherly dignity connected with this marriage, which the curious reader may find in Morton's *New English Canaan*,⁶⁷ and which Mr. Whittier has embalmed in his "Bridal of Pennacook," transferring, however, with a poet's licence, the husband's place to his brother Wenepoykin and the time to a later generation.

In 1631 the Mystic Indians were terrified by another inroad of their old enemies, the Tarratines, "who they said would eat such Men as they caught alive, tying them to a Tree, and gnawing their flesh by peece-meales off their Bones;" and many of them fled among the English for protection.⁶⁸ During this inroad, both Wonohaquaham and Montowampate, who perhaps had gone to the assistance of their fellow sagamore, Mascononomo, were wounded at Agawam; and Wenuchus was carried away captive as far east as Pemaquid, where she was ransomed by Abraham Shurte.⁶⁹ Tradition says that soon after Montowampate went to England in search of a man named Watts, who had "forced him" of twenty beaver skins.⁷⁰

About the same Time the *Indians* began to be quarrelsome touching the Bounds of the Land which they had sold to the *English*; but God ended the Controversy by sending the Small-pox amongst the

⁶³ *Charlestown Records*, in Young, *Chronicles of Massachusetts Bay*, 374.

⁶⁴ Winthrop, *History of New England*, i. 72.

⁶⁵ Dudley's Letter, in Young, *Chronicles of Massachusetts Bay*, 307.

⁶⁶ On the Merrimack, now Concord, N. H.

⁶⁷ Morton, *New English Canaan*, 38-40.

⁶⁸ Johnson, *Wonder-working Providence*, 50.

⁶⁹ Hubbard, *History of New England*, 145; Winthrop, *History of New England*, i. 61.

⁷⁰ Cf. Winthrop, *History of New England*, i. 49.

Indians at *Saugust*, who were before that Time exceeding numerous. Whole Towns of them were swept away, in some of them not so much as one Soul escaping the Destruction. There are some old Planters surviving to this Day, who helped to bury the dead *Indians*, even whole Families of them all dead at once.⁷¹

Other writers attest the truth of this story. Edward Johnson writes: —

The mortality among them was very great, and increased among them daily more and more, insomuch that the poore Creatures being very timorous of death, would faine have fled from it, but could not tell how, unlesse they could have gone from themselves; Relations were little regarded among them at this time, so that many, who were smitten with the Disease died helpless unless they were neare, and known to the *English*.⁷²

This disease spread among the Indians from the Connecticut to the Penobscot. Seven hundred of the Narragansett tribe, alone, are said to have perished. Many of the English took their lives in their hands and went among the sick and dying, administering relief and consolation. They "were very frequent among them for all the noysomenesse of their Disease, entring their *Wigwams*, and exhorting them in the Name of the Lord." Governor Winthrop records that Elias Maverick of Winnisimmet, who buried above thirty of Wonohaquaham's people in one day, "is worthy of a perpetual remembrance. Himself, his wife, and servants, went daily to them, ministered to their necessities, and buried their dead, and took home many of their children. So did other of the neighbours."⁷³

Wonohaquaham, falling sick, was taken among the English at his own request, promising, "if he recovered, to live with them and serve their God." He died December 5, 1633, "in a persuasion that he should go to the Englishmen's God." His son, a child whom he gave to Rev. John Wilson of Boston, "to be brought up by him," probably died also, as we hear nothing more of him,⁷⁴ and but three of the children who were taken by

⁷¹ Mather, *Early History of New England*, 110.

⁷² Johnson, *Wonder-working Providence*, 51.

⁷³ Cf. Johnson, *Wonder-working*

Providence, 51; Winthrop, *History of New England*, i. 120.

⁷⁴ Johnson says he had two sons, *Wonder-working Providence*, 52. Perhaps one died before the father.

the English were living three months later. One of them was living in the family of Governor Winthrop and "was called Know-God, (the Indians' usual answer being when they were put in mind of God, Me no know God)." ⁷⁵

By the death of Wonohaquaham and Montowampate, their brother Wenepoykin, then about seventeen years of age, became chief of the small band of Indians remaining in this vicinity.⁷⁶ He was known to the English as George Rumney-Marsh, from the place of his abode near Powder-Horn Hill; and he married Ahawayet, daughter of Poquanium, or Black William, who sold Nahant to Thomas Dexter for "a suite of Cloathes," and soon after resold it, together with Swampscott and Sagamore Hill, to William Witter "for two pestle stones." The latter sale appears to have been considered of importance by the Indians, as Montowampate, Wonohaquaham, Wenepoykin, Mascononomo of Agawam, and others were present.⁷⁷ The Indians had very limited ideas of the transfer of property, and there is no lack of proof that they were often outwitted in their transactions.

George Rumney-Marsh had a son, Manatooquis,⁷⁸ and three

⁷⁵ Winthrop, *History of New England*, i. 124.

⁷⁶ He had lived at Naumkeag, where he had a village, and came to the Mystic after the death of his brothers. The Rev. John Higginson, "Pastor of y^e Church at Salem," testified, December 25, 1694:—

"To y^e best of my Remembrance when J came Ouer with my father to this place in y^e yeare 1629 being then about 13 yeares old there was in these parts a Widow Woman Called Sqwaw Sachem who had 3 Sons Sagamore John kept at Mistick Sagamore James at Saugust & Sagamore George here at Naumkeke Whether he was an Actual Sachem here J Cannot Say for he was young then about my Age & J thinke there was an Elder man y^t was at least his Guardian but y^e Indian Towne of wigwams was on y^e North Side of y^e North riuier not farre from Simondes^s & yⁿ both y^e North & South Side of that Riuier was together Called Naumkeke So that J remember Seuerall that

wrote ouer Then to Thier friends in England S^d y^t y^e Indian name of y^e place where they were building a Towne Called Salem was Naumkeke." *Essex Co. Deeds*, xi. 132.

⁷⁷ *Essex Court Files*, April, 1657. This double sale did not prevent Wenepoykin himself from transferring the same territory at a later date; for, April 1, 1652, he mortgaged to Nicholas Davison, for twenty pounds "dew many yeeres since vnto m^r mathew Craddock deceased all that Tracke or necke of Land Comonly Called Nahant." *Suffolk Co. Deeds*, i. 205. This mortgage was to have been satisfied "within twenty dajes;" but no record of its discharge appears, and it was not recorded until May 21, 1652, some time after the twenty days had expired.

⁷⁸ Otherwise Samuel Manatooquis, or Manatahqua. This only son died before Sagamore George, leaving by his squa, Abigail, two sons, Nonupanohow, or David Kunkshamooshow, and Samuel Wattanoh, who were living in

daughters, Petagunsk, Wattaquattinusk, and Petagoonaquah. The unpoetic Puritans called one Cicely, Su George, or Susanna, and to another gave the name of Sarah.⁷⁹ Ahawayet was transformed to Joan, and Wenepoykin, himself, became in after years "old Sagamore George No Nose," perhaps from a facial peculiarity. But little is known of Sagamore George until after the death of his mother, the Squa Sachem, when he presented to the General Court the following petition and declaration: —

*To y^e Rigt Wor^d y^e Go^r: the Wor^d Dept Go^rno^r: & magistrates of
this hon^{ed} Courte.*

The humble Petticon of George Indian, humbly Requesting Whereas yo^r Peticon^r, hath often besought this hon^{ed} Courte to consider his condicon, & weighing sure Grounds & euedenc as he hath produced to declare & manifest his interest & Just Title to the Lands of his late brother deceased, on mistick side, & conceiueing the hon^{ed} courte to be soficiently informed & possessed with the truth & equitie of his cause in and aboute the same That now at Last out of yo^r Great clemency & compastion towards yo^r poore Jndian & Petitioner, you will bee pleased to vouchsafe him somme small parte parcell or proportion of his inheritance for himselfe & company to plant in, which he only is bould to put you in Remembranc of as hertofore not doubt-

1686, and joined in the several deeds which were given to the English in that and the preceding year.

⁷⁹ Lewis, *History of Lynn*, 39, gives these Indian girls three English names, and affects to distinguish between them. He says they were Cicely or Su George, Sarah, and Susanna; but I cannot separate Cicely, Su George, and Susanna, which appear to me as names of one person in the three deeds of the Rumney Marsh, and Lynn and Reading lands given in 1685 and 1686. As "Cisly and Sarah two Surviving daughters of the s^d Saggamore George" are mentioned, and Thomas Poquanum, brother of Ahawayet, testifies that "Sagamore George left two daughters name Sicilye and Sarah," it is evident that one of the three had previously died. Su George had a son John Tontohquon, who joined in a deed with his mother in 1686. Wat-

tatinusk, wife of Peter Ephraim of Natick, appears in the same deed, and may have been a daughter of Sarah Wattaquattinusk, who also appears at the same time; but perhaps it is more probable that she was daughter of Yawata, the sister of Wenepoykin.

Mr. Lewis further informs us that the daughters of George were collectively "called Wanapanaquin, or the plumed ones." In the Indian deed of Marblehead, Sarah is called by an evident change of spelling, "Sarah Wanapanequin," being elsewhere in the same paper referred to as "Sarah Wenepawweekin," and her sister as "Susannah Wenepawweekin," both daughters of "George Saggamore als Wenepawweekin." *Essex Co. Deeds*, vii. 1-2. Mr. Lewis saw through a veil of romance which was unfavorable to accuracy.

ing of his grante from yo' Greate fauor toward him, whoe is willing to be now & euer

An humble seru' to this honnered courte & country

GEORGE JNDIAN.⁸⁰

Quachamaquine saith : when George Jndians brother was sick of the pox before his death he spake to him & Egawam with him & said when I die I give all my wompam & coates & other things to my mother & all my ground to my owne brother meaning the Ground about powder horne hill, vnles his own sonne did liue but if his sonne dyed then none to haue the Ground but his brother George Jndian, and Egawam saith the same : & they both say that seauen dayes after this John Sagamore Georges Brother dyed.

21 $\frac{3}{mo.}$, 1651.⁸¹

There is a touching simplicity in these documents. As we read them the whole story of injustice — an injustice perhaps unavoidable but not the less an injustice — is brought before us. The last chief of a once powerful tribe asks for “somme small parte” of his own inheritance of those who asked of his brother, the “gentle and good” Wonohaquaham, leave to settle in his lands. When the whites were weak they courted the red men's friendship. It was quite another thing when war and sickness had weakened the Indians and the Colony of the Massachusetts had become strong. There is also much simplicity in the answer by which the General Court showed its “Great clemency & compastion” towards the petitioner: —

[1651 : 22 May.] George Indian, complayninge of land wrongfully detaynd from him on Misticke side, is referd to bringe his action agaynst any that withold it, in some inferior Court.⁸²

There is worldly wisdom as well as simplicity in this advice; and its practical value — to the English — is proved by the fact that “George Jndian” was twice defeated in attempting to recover his own. The following petition is interesting as showing the extent of his claims and the position of the planters: —

⁸⁰ *Mass. Archives*, xxx. 19.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Mass. Colony Records*, iii. 233.

To the Right wo^r John Endicot Gouv.^r etc. The humble petition of John Newgate, John Coggin, Robert Keayne, Samuell Cole, Nicholas Parker, & other inhabitants of Rumne Marsh Showeth

That whereas this Honored Court hath formerly giuen that necke of Land, caled by the Name of Rumne Marsh: diuers years since to Boston, for the accomodation of that Towne and the Townsmen thereof hath deuided the same to many of there Inhabitants, Some whereof hath sould & passed ouer there Alotments to others, and many alsoe haue bought much of there Land there, and Layd out the greatest pt of there estates, in Buildinge, ffensing, plantinge &c, and have inioyed the same peacably for these sixtene years & vpwards: as is the condition of most of yo^r Petitione^{rs}: And yet now haue the Title of there Land called into Question by sagamore George and Indian, by some pretence of clayme that he makes thereto, and vpon that pretence (though he haue lye quiet soe many years & neuer made any clayme thereto, yet Lately by the instigation of some discontented, or disaffected persons as we verely suppose, he hath bine full of molestation to yo^r petitione^{rs}. and hath by way of Petition brought vs twice into the Gene^l Court, who after strict inquire by committes chosen on purpose to examine it found no Just ground of clayme, & there vpon reiected his Petitions. yet after this. by Petition agayne, he brought vs before oure Honored Magistrates. at countie Court at Boston. who after hearinge all that he could aledge & some that pleaded for him, it was determined that they saw no right he had, nor any Just ground of his molestation, but that he ought to be quiet, wth w^c we thought he had bine fully satisfied, and that we should neuer haue heard more of it, yet the Last country Court at Boston, he serued vs all agayne by way of question, wherafter we had attended all that Court, we at Last Nonsuted him, & had costs granted vs. And yet he still threttens vs wth farther sutes.

Vpon all w^{ch} grounds, as alsoe because this is not ou^r case alone, but the case of many other Townes, & soe by consequence of the whole cuntrye: for if he can preuayle to draw vs to any composition, or to pt wth any of ou^r Land. than he intends to doe the Like to Lyn &c as he hath threatned. And accordinge to his successe other Indians wilbe incoraged to Lay clayme, not only to the ffarmes belonginge to other Townes, but to the Townes them selues, as some haue bine forward enough to expresse them selues that way.

Therefo^r yo^r petitione^{rs} pray this Honored Court to take it into there wise consideration and to provide some way by some Order of Court, that no Indian shall make clayme nor any of the English shall tender composition, after soe many yea's quiet posession as some other Courts haue done, or how else you in yo^r wisdomes shall judge best,

that soe not only yo^r Petitioners may haue Jndemnitie agaynst such continuall and vniust molestations (haueinge no other way to helpe ou^r selues. for if we recoue^r any thinge they haue nothinge to pay) but alsoe the whole cuntry may be cleared from such pretended Titles. w^{ch} if not timely preuented may proue of very bad consequenc And Yo^r Petitione^{rs} shall euer pray. &c

ROBERT KEAYNE

JOHN COGAN

JOHN NEWGATE

JAMES PENN

SAMUEL COLE

GEORGE BURDEN.⁸³

The answer to this petition is thus recorded: —

[1651: 14 October.] Capt Robt Keayne, M^r Joh Coggan, M^r Newgate, M^r Pen, Samuel Cole, & George Burden, preferinge a petition for releife in respect of vnjust molestation, as they conceiue, from Sagamore George, pretending a tittle to certayne land at or about Runny Marsh, in answer to which this Courte doth order that their petition be graunted, provided that the petitiono^{rs} lay out twenty acors of good plantinge land in some convenient place, such as this Courte shall approue off, for Sagamor George to make vse off; but if Georg Sagamor sell it, the petition^{rs} are to haue the refusall of it. And it is also further ordred that if the petition^{rs} shall refuse to lay out twenty acors of good planting land, as is before exprest, that then the sd Sagamor is permitted the benefitt of the law to recouer what right he hath to the land.⁸⁴

The democratic deputies, as appears elsewhere, would have increased this meagre allowance to forty acres; but the conservative magistrates refused to concur in so liberal a measure.⁸⁵ The "poore Indian & Petitioner" was silenced for a time, if not satisfied, by this paltry grant, which appears not to have been laid out at once; for we have evidence that he again presented his "clajme," eighteen years later. Unfortunately the petition which he presented to the General Court is not in its place in the Massachusetts Archives, and we can only guess at its tenor;⁸⁶ but the answer which he received is before us, and

⁸³ *Mass. Archives*, xxx. 26.

⁸⁴ *Mass. Colony Records*, iii. 252.

⁸⁵ *Mass. Archives*, xxx. 26.

⁸⁶ It may be said that many documents are not in their *proper* places in

that unfortunate disarrangement of papers which is a disgrace to the State and a cause of vexation to scholars. The paper in question has not been found. By the crude system of arrange-

shows how hopelessly closed, to the Indian, were the avenues which led to justice: —

[1669: 19 May.] In ans^r to the petition of Georg Sagamore, the Court declares that his clajme mentioned in his petition concernes not the Generall Court to determine, but leaue him to the proprietors of the land to give him as they & he shall agree.⁸⁷

It would be interesting to know if the parties were able to agree; and we might find that the grant was located, if at all, in some eligible place where it would not be likely to interfere with the settlers. The strength of his friendship for the English thereafter does not appear to have been strong.

Having by the death of the Squa Sachem become the chief of the Pawtuckets and the nominal, if not the real, head of the Nipmucks, who occupied the land westward to the Connecticut River, he joined Philip in the bloody war of 1675-6. About the same time, the few remaining Rumney Marsh Indians left the banks of the Mystic and the Abousett and retired among their brethren, the Praying Indians, at Natick and at Wamesit, now Tewkesbury, near the Pawtucket Falls. There is evidence that, while some of the Christian Indians remained faithful to their pledges and performed important services for the English, there were many who resumed their savage habits and were far from being agreeable or safe neighbors. Accordingly, it was considered prudent to put them under restraint; and it was ordered by the Court, October 13, 1675, "that all the Naticke Indians be forthwith sent for, & disposed of to Deare Island, as the place appointed for their present abode."⁸⁸

At the same time, those of Wamesit were "vehemently suspected to be actors & consentors to the burning of a haystacke at Chelmsford;"⁸⁹ and two strangers, who were seized and sold as suspected spies, but who were really peaceable Indians who had come in from Wannalancet of Pennacook, were found among them. And so, "It is ordered, that the majo^r generall

ment which prevails it should be under "Indians"; it may be classified with "Taverns," or hidden in the bulky volumes which are labelled "Miscellaneous."

⁸⁷ *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (2), 428.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, v. 57.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

forthwith take order to secure the Indians at Wamesicke, & about Chelmsford.”⁹⁰

It cannot be supposed that the condition of the Indians upon the bleak islands of Boston Harbor, where they were now placed, during a long winter, was particularly pleasant, or that they were supplied with many comforts beyond the mere necessities of life, although there were appointed “meet p^rsons to vissit them from time to time,” and the Treasurer was ordered to make provision, “so as to p^rvent their perishing by any extremity that they may be put vnto for want of absolute necessities.”⁹¹ At the same time: —

It is *ordered*, that none of the sajd Indians shall presume to goe off the sajd islands voluntarily, vpon paine of death; and it shallbe lauffull for the English to destroy those that they shall finde stragling off from the sajd places of theire confinement, vnlesse taken of by order from authorjty, and vnder an English guard.⁹²

There seems to have been a strong feeling against them in the community — a natural fear, perhaps, which was not without cause. Out of eleven hundred and fifty Praying Indians, who were supposed to be in the towns just before the war, not over five hundred were ever confined upon the islands. Some, like James Rumney Marsh and Thomas Quanapowitt, kinsmen of Wenepoykin, were with the English army or acting as scouts and spies in the Indian country; but many more were with the enemy upon the frontier or were skulking about the woods, singly or in small parties, thieving and murdering as opportunities appeared. Some former teachers of the gospel were known to be with Philip. That the English looked upon the prisoners in the harbor, poor and wretched though they were, with distrust was not unnatural: that some of the baser sort endeavored to compass their destruction was not strange. There is good evidence of the latter fact.

15. 12. 75 Thomas Shepard of charlstown [Mystic Side] being exam^d Saith y^t y^e last 6th day of y^e week Abram Hill of Mauldon asked him if he would goe with him to Deare Jland. His words were these.

⁹⁰ *Mass. Colony Records*, v. 58.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, v. 64.

⁹² *Ibid.*

Will you go with vs to Deare Jland to destroy y^e Jndeans for ab^t 30 : of Linn men are intended to go thither ab^t y^e work and wee are intended to get as many as wee can at Mauldon. & then go down thether. And the place of meeting is to be at Rumney marsh at Gm Muzzey's house.⁹³ or there ab^t Hee did not speak as though they had come to an agree-m^t to meet there. but named y^t place as most fitting. & spake also of doing it in a moone light night.

THOMAS SHEPPARD.

This Examⁿ taken vpon oath y^e day & year above written

Before THOMAS DANFORTH *Assist^t*

The Subtanc of y^s Abraham Hill owned before y^e Council 15 febr 75.⁹⁴

Meanwhile the poor Indians, among whom were Old Waban and Piamboho, who were the earliest to receive the teachings of the Apostle Eliot at Nonantum, were passing through a long winter; and their "want of absolute necessities" was so well met that they were found to be in a suffering condition in the spring. The Court made a provision for them — on paper — as follows: —

[May 5, 1676] This Court, considering the p^rsent distressed condition of the Indians at the island, they being ready to perrish for want of bread, & incapacitated to make provission for the future, doe *order*, that there be a man wth a boate provided, who, wth some of the Indians, shallbe employed in catching of fish for their supply, and that if any of the English townes doe moove for some of them to imploy in scouting, labouring, or otherwise, with some of their owne men, (the said townes bearing the charge,) they shallbe accom^modated in that respect, the which improvement of them may tend much to their supply, & much more to our security, and that the rest may be improved in planting the island or islands where they now are.⁹⁵

⁹³ Goodman Muzzey. This was Benjamin Muzzey, who was then in the occupation, as tenant, of the Keayne farm at Rumney Marsh. His house, the site of which is now marked by that of John P. Squire, was a convenient place for the proposed meeting, being on the only road which led from Lynn and Malden to Pullen Point and the shore opposite Deer Island.

⁹⁴ *Mass. Archives*, lxviii. 136. There appears to have been some provocation to this plan of destruction. Edward Page deposed [February 15, 1676,] in relation to a boat full of Indians, who

acted strangely, coming to "Mannings Moone Jsland," where he was. He said, "J was affraide & durst not proceed in that J went aboute but hauing gunns & Amunition J went to strengthen the house." He further testified: "J haue intelligence that the indians haue sayd that when the spring comes they shalbe fetched of the Jsland by the other Jndians & that they will make Boston especially the magistrates pay deare for euery houre they haue been kept there." *Mass. Archives*, lxviii. 136.

⁹⁵ *Mass. Colony Records*, v. 84.

At the same session of the Court they were ordered to be removed "as neere as they may wth safety to their oune planting feilds;" and English garrisons, in which they were to lodge, "on pajne of death," were established for their protection or their intimidation. The Rumney Marsh Indians returned to Natick and to the banks of the Merrimac, and so the feeble remnant of the tribe of Nanepashemet was dispersed and finally disappeared.

What part Wenepoykin took in the massacres and burnings of those eventful years I know not; for he cannot be distinguished in the crowd of howling demons who drew a line of blood and flame around the frontier towns of New England. At the close of the war he again appears, and was sent, with hundreds of other prisoners, into West Indian slavery.⁹⁶ By some means he was finally enabled to return to Massachusetts Bay; and he died in or before 1681,⁹⁷ at Natick, in the house of his kinsman, Muminquash, who was otherwise known by the English as James Quanapowitt or James Rumney Marsh.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ The following document may refer to the sale of Wenepoykin:

"To all people who shall see these presents or heare them read, greeting. Know yee that Lancelott Talbott and Joseph Smith have bought of the Treasurer of this Collony seaven Indians, viz: George, William, Hawkins, Great David, Rouley, John Indian and Tommoquin, which Indians were sentanc'd to be sould for slaves: to which end the said Talbott and Smith may transport them to any place out of this continent. In testimony of the truth hereof, I have caused the publike seale of the Collony to be affixed hereunto, this 22 of 9^{br} 1675, Ano^oq. Regni Regis Coroli, secundi nunc Aug xxvii.

"John Leverett, Gov^r."

In *Boston Book of Possessions*, 145.

⁹⁷ Lewis, *History of Lynn*, 264, says, with admirable pretension to exactness, that he died in 1684, at the age of sixty-eight years, "sad and broken-hearted, . . . in a lone wigwam, in the forest of Natick, in the presence of his sister Yawata." Ahawayet and others, in consideration of "Six Indian Coats and other things,"

conveyed lands at Rumney Marsh and elsewhere to Thomas Savage of Boston, by a deed, December, 8, 1681, in which she is called "Jone Indian Relict of Sagamore George No-Nose dec^d." *Suffolk Co. Deeds*, xiii. 190.

⁹⁸ Lewis, *History of Lynn*, 40, erroneously makes this James Rumney Marsh to have been a son of Yawata. Yawata, daughter of Nanepashemet, and sister of Wenepoykin, became the squa of John Awansamug, or Oonsumog, and was living in 1686. Her husband was living in 1682, when with Waban, Peter Ephraim, Piamboho, John Magus, Andrew Pittimee, and Great John, he sold lands in Sherborn to John Hull. *Suffolk Co. Deeds*, xii. 264. They appear to have had sons, John and Amos, who deeded land near Maspenock Pond in Mendon in 1692. *Suffolk Co. Deeds*, xxvii. 293.

James Quanophkownatt, or Quana-powitt, "alias James Rumney Marsh," was of Natick in 1686, and appears at all times as a near kinsman of old George No-Nose. His mother is mentioned as "Joanna Quanophkownatt, relict and widow of old John Quanophkownatt."

With him the line of the Pawtucket sachems came to an end. Members of his family were living sixty years later; but they went, long ago, into their nameless graves and are forgotten, save by the antiquary who pores with aching eyes over the faded and crumbling records of past generations.

Wenepoykin never abandoned his claim to the broad lands which he considered his own; and he died leaving his uncertain heritage in the lands from Naumkeag to the Mystic to James Rumney Marsh, who appears to have been a leader among his kinsmen.⁹⁹

The Testimony of Daniel Tookuwompbait & Thomas Wauban Saith that Sagamore George when he came from Barbados he lived Sometime and dyed at y^e house of James Rumley Marsh y^e Said Daniel heard y^e Said Sagamore George Speake it & y^e Said Thomas Saith he heard his father Old Wabun Speak it that all that land that belonged to him that is from y^e Riuer of Salem alias Nahumkeke riuer: up to Malden mill brooke running from a pond called Spott pond that before his death he left all this land belonging to him vnto his kinsman James Rumley Marsh vpon y^e Condition that he would looke after it to procure it. This they offer to Testify vpon oath y^e 2^d day of October 1686 as Witnis thier hands

DANIEL TOOKUWOMPBAIT

THOMAS WAUBAN

In the Indian deed of Salem she appears with "Yawataw relict Widow of Jn^o Oonsumoo." *Essex Co. Deeds*, vii. 126. At the same time, "Jsrael Quanophkownatt Son of s^d James" appears. The temptation to dwell on the story of Indian kinship is not great and the liability of error is evident.

James Quanapowitt was employed by the English in 1675 as a spy among the Nipmucks; and his testimony was used against the old chief Matoonas who was shot to death by three Indians on Boston Common. He was a useful scout and forewarned the English of the assault on Lancaster. He had a brother, Thomas Rumney Marsh, who was a Christian Indian and did good service against Philip.

Indians bearing the surname of Rumney Marsh were frequently in the service during the early part of the last century; and the name of "James Rumlymarsh" is on a roll of those who joined the expedition against the Spanish West Indies

in August, 1740. *Mass. Archives*, xci. 326. Thomas, son or grandson of Awan-samug and Yawata, owned a house lot in Natick in 1742. Barry, *History of Framingham*, 19. Widow "Rumne-marsh" was living in the same place in June, 1749. *Mass. Hist. Coll.* x. 135.

⁹⁹ He had given some portion of his claims to James Rumney Marsh, under conditions, before Philip's War.

"Georg Sagamore wth: no nose appeared in y Court held at Natick among the Indians y^e 15th of 6 month 1672 & also there appeared Jone Quanopokowait Kinsman to y^e s^d George they both agreed & declared in open Court y^t all y^e right of George Saggamore in the Lands of Marblehead of Antient tyme, George he Consents y^t: James shall have it, dispose of it & he will joyne wth him to make y^e deed for it ap^{on} Condition y^t Georg Saggamore is to reseeve one moiety of y^e paye & y^e other Contraty to reseeve y^e other half." *Essex Co. Deeds*, vii. 9.

The Two persons above named Viz Daniel Tookuwompbait pastor of y^e Church at Natick aged about 36 yeares & Thomas Waban a member of y^e Church aged 25 yeares being Examined touching y^e Nature of an Oath they both made Oath before me this Second of October 1686, vnto y^e Truth of the above s^d Testimony as is Attested p^r me.

DANIEL GOOKIN, *Justice
of peac & Ruler of y^e Christian Indians.*¹⁰⁰

While the settlers had but the Indians between them and the ownership of the soil, there was no difficulty in maintaining possession and little real attention was paid to their demands. What went into the courts seldom came out with advantage to the savage and a slight present quieted less pressing claims. But the political ruin which threatened the Colony during the reign of the last Stuart induced some appearance of tardy justice towards the former occupants of the land. Then the English, fearing the alienation of the lands which they had occupied for a half a century, began to seek a title older than that of the charter which had been annulled; and the claims of the Indians began to have a slight market value. Under the pressure of the times, several conveyances were obtained from those whom the English affected to recognize as the lawful heirs of Wenepoykin and others. Under these conditions and at this time, the peninsula of Boston, Deer Island, and the Rumney Marsh Lands were conveyed; ¹⁰¹ but no deed, save that of the

¹⁰⁰ *Essex Co. Deeds*, xi. 131. John Waabaquin, alias John Magus of Natick, "Susannah Potoghoomaquah," and others testified soon after in relation to the Indian claims. The testimony of Old Mahanton, then aged about ninety years, "Saith that y^e Land that is Testified about by Seuerall ancient Indians that are Deceased which did belong to Sagamore George as is Expressed in y^e Evidence is y^e Truth & properly doth now belong to Dauid that is old Sagamore George his Grandchild & Scicily & Sarah y^e daughters of Sagamore George & y^e wife of John Owusumug now a widow Peter Ephraims wife & y^e wife of Appoquahamock thier daughter & old mahanton & James Rumney Marsh by right of his Mother

a neer kinsman of Sagamore George in his life time." *Essex Co. Deeds*, xi. 131.

¹⁰¹ An unrecorded deed of the Rumney Marsh lands, April 9, 1685, is printed by Chamberlain in his *Studies in Chelsea History in Chelsea Telegraph*, December 18, 1880; and others conveying neighboring lands are recorded in *Suffolk Co. Deeds*, xiii. 190, 281, 364. The deed of the territory of Lynn and Reading, September 4, 1686, is printed from *Essex Co. Deeds* in Lewis, *History of Lynn*, 51-54; and that of Salem, October 11, 1686, is in *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vi. 278-281, and Felt, *Annals of Salem*, i. 28-33. The deed of Marblehead lands, July 18, 1684, is earlier than those of Salem and Lynn, and is recorded in *Essex Co. Deeds*, vii. 1-2, 9. James Rumney Marsh and David

Squa Sachem and Webcowet of 1639, is known to have been given for the Mystic Side and Malden Lands.¹⁰²

"As property is defined," says Judge Sullivan, "there may be a question, how far the savages had acquired one in the soil of this wilderness;"¹⁰³ and the practice of the settlers of New England indicates that they were of the same opinion and were inclined to take advantage of the doubt. They saw in the apparently aimless wanderings of the Indians no traces of that occupancy and subjugation of the earth which civilization has made a necessity and the Scripture enjoins as a duty.¹⁰⁴ The aborigines cleared no land, taking only for the temporary purposes of their rude agriculture such spots as might be found ready to their hands. They made no permanent enclosures; nor had they any clear idea of the nature of inheritance. Their occupancy had little more of fixity in it than that of the wild beasts that divided with them the scanty sustenance which nature, not their own exertions, afforded them. Notwithstanding the apparent solemnity and earnestness which attended their several treaties with the English, it is not difficult to see how imperfectly they understood the contracts which they made, and how much more important, to their minds, than the lands or privileges conveyed were the few necessities or useless trinkets which they were to receive. Nor did they appear to recognize in these formal contracts anything binding beyond the immediate future; for their claims were repeatedly renewed when the supplies which they had so easily secured were exhausted or a fresh band of unsatisfied kinsmen appeared.

On the other hand, there is too often an appearance of over-reaching on the part of the grantees. Liberal and indefinite bounds were secured, and considerations, ridiculous in their

Kunkshamooshow conveyed land lying in Lynn and the pan-handle of Boston, near Reading line, to Daniel Hitchens, July 28, 1686, *Essex Co. Deeds*, vii. 88. All these were given by heirs of George No Nose, and they are the sources of most of the information which has been gathered in relation to his family.

¹⁰² In one of the Rumney Marsh

deeds a small tract is described as "lying in Charlestowne and Mauldin Bounds." *Suffolk Co. Deeds*, xiii. 364.

¹⁰³ Sullivan, *History of Land Titles in Massachusetts*, 23.

¹⁰⁴ Gen. i. 28, ix. 1. In 1633 the Court measured the rights of the Indians by these references. *General Lawes and Libertyes*, 40. Ed. 1660.

scantiness, were rendered to the unsophisticated savages. Treaties and covenants were couched in language which it is impossible that the Indians could have understood. The handful of beads, the red coat, or the pot of wine was of more present consequence than the meaningless words which were read to them from the strip of paper on which they made their rude marks. There is no substantial evidence that the English themselves regarded the titles gained under such circumstances as of any great importance, except as they served to answer present purposes, until they sought them as a possible defence against the arbitrary measures of Andros. There is somewhat of grim justice in an incident which is related of that unpopular governor, who, on being shown "an Indian Deed for Land, said that their hand was no more worth than a scratch with a Bear's paw."¹⁰⁵

The best that can be said of the Indians is, that they were often friends in need and that their virtues were those of simplicity and ignorance. The worst that can be said of them is, that they were savages and were true to their nature whether friends or foes. Their presence forms a romantic background in the history of New England; but it is a background blackened with terror and stained with blood. While the treatment which they received and the means employed in their removal were not always honorable to the settlers nor just to the Indians — sometimes wicked and cruel — humanity has not suffered by their disappearance. They were in the way of civilization, and, opposing it, they were doomed as surely as the wild beasts that infested the forests and have disappeared with them.

Tradition has preserved the memory of the red men in Malden, and still points with uncertain finger to the places of their former abode on the high lands and in the valleys in the vicinity of Powder Horn Hill; and, to enforce this vague testimony, the tool of the laborer has at times uncovered the bones of the lords of the forest. Near by, the name of Sagamore Hill, so called as early as 1641,¹⁰⁶ and now superseded by the some-

¹⁰⁵ *The Revolution in New-England Justified*, in *Andros Tracts*, ii. 92; also *Mass. Archives*, xxxv. 169.

¹⁰⁶ *Mass. Colony Records*, i. 340.

what inflated and less distinctive title of Mount Washington, recalls the memories of the old days; and traces of habitation around it and scattered implements and broken utensils, often found, are tangible proofs of the reality of the Indians' former presence.¹⁰⁷ On the old road to Winnisimmet there remained until within a few years the Nichols farm house, a well preserved relic of the seventeenth century, within whose walls the visitor might see the spot where household legend said the axe of the settler clove the head of an Indian and insured safety to the wife and child who were hidden from sight in the ample fireplace near by.¹⁰⁸

Some remembrance or traditions of their former dwelling places may have lingered long in the Indian mind; for in the early part of this century a party from a distance visited Sagamore Hill and remained in its vicinity several months.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ A skull and other portions of a skeleton were found on the Nichols farm in Everett in 1874; and skeletons were disinterred there about thirty years before. *Malden Tribune*, March 28, 1874. — A skeleton, with a pipe and other relics, was found in Revere twenty years ago. *Boston Journal*, March 23, 1878. — Remains of Indian habitations, with shell heaps and implements, have been found in the vicinity of Sagamore Hill and upon Powder Horn Hill in Chelsea. *Chelsea Telegraph*, December 11, 1880. — In 1888-90, burial places were found and interesting discoveries made at Winthrop on several occasions. *Boston Post*, April 30, 1888; August 23, 1888; February 21, 1889; April 4, 1890. — The *Malden Messenger*, March 19, 1859, contains a short article on the Indian works at Sagamore Hill, by the late William B. Shedd. — Indian bones and relics were found upon the Ballard farm at East Saugus in 1891. *Malden City Press*, December 26, 1891.

¹⁰⁸ This old house, which stood on the hill on the north side of the road, about half-way from Waters's Spring to Everett Avenue, was the homestead of John Nichols, who bought it of John Marble in 1746. It had been removed at some time from its original location at Moulton's Island, and then consisted

only of the great chimney and the two or three rooms which leaned against its eastern side. About the year 1759, Nichols enlarged it upon the western side, employing therefor Benjamin Blaney, afterwards the Revolutionary captain, who had just completed his service as an apprentice. With its overhanging second story it was a most interesting example of a house of the colonial period; and it retained its peculiar characteristics until its removal, some time before 1879, to Central Avenue, near Hancock Street. It was then changed beyond recognition.

The tradition relating to the killing of the Indian is as briefly related in the text. The tribe to which he belonged is said to have lived in the vicinity, and to have exonerated the white man. No names are mentioned; but the story, which seems probable, must relate to events which took place at an early date at Moulton's Island.

¹⁰⁹ "Between the years 1806 and 1810, some Leominster Indians visited Sagamore Hill, and the late Mr. Robert Pratt's father let them occupy a house which stood near the residence of Dr. Cheever. Their chief man was named Comanche Brown." Chamberlain, in *Chelsea Telegraph*, December 11, 1880.



CHAPTER III.

ALLOTMENTS AND SETTLEMENT.

IT was not long after the Spragues passed over the land before the pleasant southern and western exposure of the uplands from Powder Horn Hill¹ to the head of the North River, with the open lands of the plains, and the natural hay-fields of the meadows and salt marshes, lying in close proximity, attracted the attention of the new-comers on the other side of the Mystic; and the "uncouth wilderness" began to be fitted for the uses of civilization. Governor Cradock's men had already crossed the river and built, west of Wilson's Point, the first house, probably a temporary one, upon its northern bank; and Governor Winthrop, with Increase Nowell, John Eliot, and others, viewing the country, February 7, 163½, had found

¹ So called by the earliest settlers.

"[Novemb^r 7th 1632] It is ordered that the necke of land betwixte Powder Horne Hill & Pullen Poynte shall be-long to Boston, to be enjoyed by the inhabitants thereof for euer." *Mass. Colony Records*, i. 101.

The origin of the name is unknown. Its shape hardly suggests it; but it may have come from the winding creek in

the marshes near by, which in 1640 was known as "pouder horne Creeke, parting betweene the land of M^r Bellinghame and M^r Nicholas Parker." *Boston Town Records*, i. 49. The neighboring hill was known as Sagamore Hill in 1641. The Chelsea hills in 1740, and long after, were covered with forests. Tuckerman, *Anniversary Sermon*, 8.

A very great pond, having in the midst an island of about one acre, and very thick with trees of pine and beech; and the pond had divers small rocks, standing up here and there in it, which they therefore called Spot Pond. They went all about it upon the ice. From thence (towards the N. W. about half a mile,) they came to the top of a very high rock, beneath which, (towards the N.) lies a goodly plain, part open land, and part woody, from whence there is a fair prospect, but it being then close and rainy, they could see but a small distance. This place they called Cheese Rock,² because, when they went to eat somewhat, they had only cheese, (the governour's man forgetting, for haste, to put up some bread).³

The territory thus passed over by John Winthrop and his companions, was the wildest and most picturesque which could be found in the country around; and Middlesex Fells still holds within its borders many traces of its old-time beauty. The exploring party had looked out upon the pleasant plain of Stoneham, and the hills above Mystic Side had met their view as their eyes ranged around the horizon to the glimpses of the distant sea; but they had not noticed the valley of the Three Mile Brook which was hidden by the forest and the hills. That was first to be settled.

1633 It is *ordered* that the ground lyeing betwixt the North
 2 July. Ryyr & the creeke on the north side of M Mauacks, & soe
 vpp into the country, shall belonge to the inhabitants of Charlton.⁴

This order of the General Court confirmed to the Charlestown settlers the land between the Island End River and the North River, running northwardly to indefinite bounds. It may have been that some had already entered upon this land as settlers, but it is doubtful. Elias Maverick was seated at Winisimmet, where he had been, perhaps, for several years, on the land now occupied by the United States Government. Of this place, Samuel Maverick, one of the "old planters," wrote in 1660:—

² This was Bear Hill in Stoneham, from which on a clear day they might have seen the distant Wachusett and Monadnock, lifting their heads from

forests into whose depths no white man had entered.

³ Winthrop, *New England*, i. 69.

⁴ *Mass. Colony Records*, i. 106.

One house yet standing there which is the Antientest house in the Massachusetts Government. a house which in the year 1625 I fortified with a Pillizado and flankers and gunnes both belowe and above in them which awed the Indians who at that time had a mind to Cutt off the English, They once faced it but receiveing a repulse never attempted it more although (as now they confesse) they repented it when about 2 yeares after they saw so many English come over.⁵

Opposite the Maverick plantation, upon the Malden side of the river, were good grounds upon Wormwood Point and Moulton's Island, which would be likely to be the earliest occupied of the Mystic Side lands.⁶ Edward Johnson, writing of the arrival of Winthrop and his party in 1630, says: —

On the North side of *Charles River*, they landed neare a small Island, called *Noddells Island*, where one Mr. *Samuel Maverick* then living, . . . had built a small Fort . . . to protect him from the *Indians*. About one mile distant upon the River ran a small creeke, taking its Name from Major Gen. *Edward Gibbons*, who dwelt there for some yeares after.⁷

This led Mr. Frothingham, and several writers after him, to declare that Gibbons had his house on the easterly bank of the Mystic in Malden. This would commend the old soldier to us as the earliest known settler of Mystic Side, did not a closer examination show that the river and the neck of Charlestown

⁵ Maverick, *Briefe Discription of New England*, in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, xxxix. 38.

⁶ Wormwood Point has since been known as Sweetser's, Beacham's, or Van Voorhis's Point, as its ownership has changed. It was known as Wormwood Point as early as 1644. *Suffolk Co. Deeds*, i. 17. In a survey of the streets of Charlestown, 1713-14, the old name was preserved. *Charlestown Archives*, xxxiv. 265, 266. It was sometimes mentioned as Wormall's or Wormore's Point. *Malden Town Records*, 1738; March 5, 1744.

Moulton's Island was that long, smooth hill in the marshes on the South River, of which a small section remained in 1898, most of the hill having disappeared before the shovels and carts of

improvement. It received its name from Thomas Moulton, an early settler, who may have built near the landing there; and when, in the course of years, Moulton gave place to his son-in-law, Thomas Mitchell, its name was changed to Mitchell's Island. Latterly it has been known as the Island or Main Street, and the river has become the Island End River. Island End must not be confounded with Island Hill, a rocky hill on the west side of Main Street, between Forest Street and Pine Banks Park, which in early days was surrounded by the meadows of Three Mile Brook. That, too, in 1898 is gradually crumbling before the steam drill and cartridge of restless improvement.

⁷ Johnson, *Wonder-working Providence*, 37.

divided him from that honor. The Charlestown Records expressly declare that, with three others, he "went and built in the maine on the north-east side of the north-west creeke of this town."⁸ This places him on the southerly side of Somerville, where Gibbons's River, as mentioned by Johnson, preserved his memory for many years.

West of the North River, and between that and the territory afterwards covered by the Cradock grant of 1634,⁹ which became in time "a peculiar town" under the name of Medford, were the lands which soon became the subjects of the following grants: —

Apr. 1st. There is two hundred acres of land graunted to Mr I.
1634. Nowell, lyeing & being on the west side of the North Ryyv, otherwise called the Three Myle Brooke.

There is two hundred acres of land graunted to Mr J^o: Wilson, pastor of the church of Boston, lyeing nexte the land graunted to Mr Nowell on the south, & next Meadford on the north.¹⁰

The Wilson farm included that promontory which juts into the marshes near the mouth of the North River, and which was formerly known as Wilson's Point, as Blanchard's Point, and now as Wellington. It extended from the Mystic to the little creek, which parts Medford and Malden, and from the North, or Malden, River, to the easterly line of the Cradock grant. A house was standing upon it in 1651, which I am led to believe was built before 1640, perhaps as early as the Cradock house. Traces of its cellar and chimney could be seen upon

⁸ Frothingham, *History of Charlestown*, 59.

⁹ The grant of 1634 appears to have merely confirmed to Cradock the territory of about twenty-five hundred acres which his men had already occupied. It did not include the Wellington farm, as Mr. Frothingham states, *History of Charlestown*, 90, as that was the tract granted to Mr. Wilson. This large grant, known as Medford, passed by purchase in 1652 into the hands of Edward Collins, who soon after sold sixteen hundred acres and the house, which still stands upon the bank of the Mystic, to Richard

Russell. It was afterwards divided among the Wades, Tufts, and others; and it gradually passed from its original form of a manor or plantation into that of a town, which it finally accomplished in 1684. This view, as stated by Mr. Frothingham, *History of Charlestown*, 89-93, is generally accepted, although a recent local historian has, with little success, attempted to disprove it. The original form of its name may have had a natural origin in its surroundings — Meadford, the ford in the meadow.

¹⁰ *Mass. Colony Records*, i. 114.

the highest part of the Wellington farm in 1855.¹¹ A landing-place was established on the North River, near by, which was reached by a way across the marsh. Mr. Wilson retained possession of this grant until February 12, 1659¹, when he sold it to Thomas Blanchard, of Braintree, for two hundred pounds.¹² After the death of Thomas Blanchard, in 1654, the house and lands were divided between two of his sons, George and Nathaniel; and the latter, in 1657, sold one-half of his land to their younger brother, Samuel, who was then building a second house on one acre of the land "called & known by the name of the flax ground, lying length ways betwixt the high way side, and some Swamp or waste ground."¹³ The lands gradually went out of the Blanchard family, by sale, and in 1795 the only house which was standing upon the point was owned and occupied by Captain Wymond Bradbury, a retired mariner.

The Nowell grant, which was situated north of the Wilson lands, covered the present Edgeworth ward and extended out upon the Medford plain to the Cradock farm. On the north it was separated from the common lands by land which it was proposed, in 1635, to divide as hay-lots, and which Nowell described as "Joining [to] my ffarme betweene [it] & the Salem Highway."¹⁴ For some reason the division was not made, and the intervening land became a portion of the seventh range of the allotment of 1638. The two hundred acres were sold to Peter Tufts in 1663 by Parnell Nowell, as executrix,¹⁵ and with large additions, gained by purchase from the Cradock farm, remained in the family of the purchaser many years. A house was built upon the firm land jutting out towards the river, near where the property of the United States is now situated on Medford street. Here in 1792 a bridge was built

¹¹ Brooks, *History of Medford*, 39. Mr. Brooks is in error in attributing the building of this house to Cradock's men. The Cradock grant, as I have before shown, did not extend so far east. It was undoubtedly built by Wilson. Drake, *History of Boston*, 176, and others have given the impression that this land was

exchanged for a grant at Mount Wollaston; but Wilson received and retained the land at both places. *Boston Town Records*, i. 4.

¹² *Suffolk Co. Deeds*, i. 223.

¹³ *Midd. Co. Deeds*, ii. 51, 96.

¹⁴ *Charlestown Archives*, xx. 33.

¹⁵ *Midd. Co. Deeds*, iii. 85.

across the river by Stephen Tufts, which, however, had disappeared before 1820. In 1823 this portion of the farm, comprising seventy-five acres, was sold by Joseph Warren Tufts to Amos Newton,¹⁶ and was occupied by the buyer and his son until it became a part of the extensive purchases of the Edgeworth Company. The grants of Wilson and Nowell, forming a part of Charlestown on Mystic Side, separated Malden and Medford until 1726, when they were annexed to the former town.

The order of 1633 having loosely defined the bounds of the Charlestown lands north of the Mystic, that town appointed, October 13, 1634, a committee, of which one member was William Brackenbury, who was afterwards a selectman of the town whose foundations were being laid, to divide the common land in the territory which now was first known as Mystic Side and Mystic Field. This division, which had been voted, January 9, 163¾, gave ten acres to each inhabitant, but during the next year twenty-nine of them "Willingly Surrendred for the good of the Towne pt of theire ground on mistick side." The records may be understood to indicate that all finally acquiesced, and that each alternate five-acre lot was reserved for future settlers. The record of the completed allotment, which was made two years later, shows seventy-five proprietors; and although it is a list of Charlestown inhabitants, it is of interest here as being the roll of the first white landholders of the future town of Malden.

The first Division of Lands one Mistick syde Ten Acres to A house : wher of five were again resigned for the accommodatting of After comers.

No: of Lot	4:	M ^r Increase Nowell	5
		pt. of Thō: Hubberd.	
	5:	Edward Jones	5
	6:	Thomas Moulten	5
	7:	William Learned	5
	8:	Thomas Squire	5
	9:	George Whitehand	5
	10:	Sam: Richeson	5

¹⁶ *Midd. Co. Deeds*, cclxxii. 312.

No :	of Lot	11 :	William Baker	5
		12 :	John Hodges	5
		13 :	Peter Garland	5
		14 :	Mr Zacha: Symes	5
		15 :	Walter Palmer	5
		16 :	Robert Hale	5
		17 :	George Felch	5
		18 :	Tho: Minor	5
		19 :	John Greene	5
		20 :	William Dade	5
		21 :	Rice Cole	5
		22 :	Nicho Stower	5
		23 :		
		24 :	Thō. James	5
		25 :	Seth Switzer	5
		26 :	Edwa: Gibbons	5
		27 :	Edwa: Convers	5
		28 :	M Andrews	5
		29 :	Rich: Palgrave	5
		30 :	M ^{rs} Higginson	5
		31 :	John Haule	5
		32 :	John Woolrych	5
		33 :	Will: Brakenbury	5
		34 :	Mr Eason of Hauks	5
		35 :	Abrah: Palmer	5
		36 :	James Browne	5
		37 :	Tho: Squire : Tho: Ewer	5
			of Jos. Hubbe :	
38 :	39 :	Mr Hough		20
	40 :	Ralph Sprague		5
	41 :	James Tomson		5
	42 :	Abra: Palmer of m ^r . Crow		5
	43 :	Edwa: Burton		5
	44 :	Tho: James		5
	45 :	m ^{rs} . Eason		5
		Beniamine Hubbard		5
		Henry Lawrence		5
		William Johnson		5
		John Lewis		5
		Samuell Haule		5
		Michael Bastowe		5
		Ezekiell Richeson		5
		James Pemberton		5
		Robert Longe		5

Robert Sedgwick	5
John Palmer	5
Widdowe Harwode	5
Widdowe Wilkins[on]	5
Richard Kettell	5
Thomas Peirce	5
George Hepbourn	5
John Mowsall	5
William Nash	5
Ralph Mowsall	5
Thomas Richardson	5
Edward Sturgis	5
George Hutcheson	5
James Heyden	5
Edward Carrington	5
Thomas Ewer	5
Rice Morris	5
Thomas Knowler	5
Thomas Lyne	5
Edward Mellowes	5
Richard Sprague	5
William Frothingham	5
Robert Rand	5
George Buncker	5
Abraham Mellows	5
Nicholas Davis	5 ¹⁷

These lands, which were laid out in lots of ten poles wide by eighty poles long, began at the south-east corner of Mystic Side at a point near the westerly slope of Powder Horn Hill and upon the Boston line, which was soon after defined. The first lot was assigned to Thomas Hubbard, or Hobart, and soon transferred to Increase Nowell, who may be considered as the

¹⁷ *Charlestown Archives*, xxxiv. 82. The record of this allotment was made, or probably copied from the committee's report, in 1637, which has led a recent editor to state that this first division of Mystic Side lands was made in that year. *Report of the [Boston] Record Commissioners*, iii. 73. Those lots which appear unnumbered in the record were made by dividing the original lots; and the order of the names in the numbered and unnumbered lists indicates very

nearly the relative order of proprietorship. Thus Nowell and B. Hubbard would have occupied the two divisions of lot 4, and Jones and Lawrence those of lot 5; but by some arrangement or bargain, Jones and Hubbard exchanged places when the ownership was settled in the Book of Possessions. A few such changes are found in the final ordering of the division; but the sequence of the lists was generally followed.

first recorded land owner of Mystic Side east of the North River. It was described in 1638, as

ffive Acres of woodland scituate and lying in misticke feilde ; butting to the south upon Rob. Long his meadow, to the north upon M^r Simmes, bounded on the east by Boston line and on the west by [Edward Joanes.]¹⁸

From this the lots ran westerly along the edge of the salt marshes of the South, or Island End, River to the neck of firm land which runs down to Wormwood Point and the Mystic. They then ran northerly, along the meadows and uplands, towards the head of the North River and apparently beyond Sandy Bank, where the burying ground was afterwards begun.¹⁹ Though these lots are described as woodlands, I am inclined to believe that they were of light, open growth on the upper portions and generally clear land towards the meadows.

On the inner or country side of the lots ran a land-way, parting them from the reserved or common land; and on the other side ran a drift-way or cattle-way along the marshes and meadows. The present Chelsea Street in Everett, from the Chelsea line to Everett Square, is certainly, from its position, a portion of the old drift-way, although in a later record it is described, perhaps inadvertently, as running at the head of the five-acre lots. It then turned to the south-west, and, running in the line of School Street, met the way to the Mystic, where the house of James Barrett stood as early as 1648.²⁰ This house, or its successor, became known as the Call house, and was razed not many years ago. The way to the Mystic formed the eastern line of the lots running northerly, and ultimately became the settled way to Reading. Bow Street in Everett and

¹⁸ *Charlestown Archives*, xxxiv. 26. This lot became a part of the farm of Thomas Whittemore.

¹⁹ At the head of the river was the lot of Mrs. Easton, numbered 45 in the list, which is often referred to as the lot of Thomas Beecher, to whom it was originally granted. Beecher was a sea-captain who died before 1637. He had married Christian Copper, a widow of Wapping, near London, who, when the

allotment was recorded had married her third husband, Nicholas Easton, afterwards President and Governor of the colony of Rhode Island. This lot was the most northerly of the ten-acre lots of the earlier plan.

²⁰ This house stood on three acres of land which Barrett bought of George Felt in 1648. *Charlestown Archives*, xxxiv. 121.

the portion of Broadway near Malden Bridge follow the ancient way. The drift-way on the westerly side, towards the North River, remains only in the form of ancient rights of way to the salt marshes.

It had been voted, April 2, 1634, "That the Hay Land bee Laid out as soone as convenient for w^{ch} 13 men were chosen to ord^r y^t bussines;" and, later, it was ordered, February 12, 1635/6, that "None [are] to have right to Hay ground y^t resigne not halfe their 10 Acre Lotts at mistick side." Soon after "It was agreed y^t Ezek. Richeson, W^m ffrothingham, Tho: Peirce, W^m Baker, Edmo^d Hubberd Junio^r, and Tho^s: Squire, should goe & stake out the Hay ground, bettwene each stakes for two Cowes,"²¹ The allotment was agreed upon by the committee, February 9, 1635/6, and it divided among the inhabitants two hundred and seventy-seven lots, of varying size, of which by far the greater number were on Mystic Side, a few being at Menotomy, now Arlington, and others on the western bank of the lower Mystic. The lots upon Mystic Side, which are not as readily identified as the grants of arable and wood land, were in the marshes and meadows, which, as has been stated, produced a plentiful growth of native grasses, and ran between the rivers and the drift-way which formed the outer bound of the five-acre lots. Along the marshes of the North River, each lot generally ran from the upland to the river, although in some cases, where the bends of the river carried it far from the firm ground, intervening lots were granted with rights of passage over the adjacent marsh. Many of the larger lots have retained to the present day small pieces of hard land at their upper edges, or have prescriptive rights to land and cure hay upon the neighboring upland — a probable survival of the ancient drift-way and the privileges which it afforded. Besides the hay-lots along the five-acre lots, several were laid out in the meadows beyond Mount Prospect, now better known as Wayte's Mount.

While the arrangements were being made for the apportionment of the hay-lands, the following entry was made in the Charlestown records: —

²¹ *Charlestown Archives, xx. in loco.*

[1635.] Edw^d Convers, W^m Brackenbury & M^r Abrā. Palmer were desired to goe upp into the Country upon discovery 3 or 4 daies for w^{ch} we agreed they should bee satisfied at the Charge of the Towne.²²

A tradition in relation to this expedition has come down to us. It is said that a party, having been sent out into the country, "returned and reported, that, having reached a mountainous and rocky country, they deemed it best to come back, as there was little probability that the settlement would ever extend beyond these mountains."²³ They had seen the line of the Middlesex Fells or the hardly less wild range eastward of Wayte's Mount, bounding the Scadan woods.²⁴ However, the explorers saw something better than the dark forests which covered the rocky northern hills. They found the agreeable table lands which stretch from Powder Horn Hill to the head of the North River, and now form the most pleasant parts of Malden and Everett. Beyond the Great Swamp they saw the fair plain of Scadan, lying at the feet of its abrupt hills; and, farther west, was the fertile valley of Harvell's Brook, now in the centre of a growing city. Still farther west, they may have passed over the wide plain which lies beyond the Three Mile Brook and extends within the bounds of the Cradock grant.

²² *Charlestown Archives*, xx. *in loco*.

²³ Rev. John G. Adams, D.D., in *Bi-Centennial Book of Malden*, 95.

²⁴ Scadan, the former name of the territory east of Faulkner. It is to be regretted that a tasteless affectation has in many instances destroyed the familiar names of earlier years. The sturdy sense which has preserved in London the titles of Rotten Row or Cheapside would have retained in Malden those of Scadan and Tyot. Certainly the elder names would have been as dignified as those of Maplewood and Linden, or Oak Grove.

I have sought diligently for the origin of *Scadan* without a great success. *Sceadan* in the old English, which our fathers may have brought here, was *separate* or *send away*, and it might have applied to the Great Swamp which separated the lands of Mystic Side, or sent the traveller away from a direct path into the crooked trail among the north-

ern hills. Or, it may have been the spot which separated the sources of Harvell's Brook and the Pines River and sent away their waters on the one hand to the Mystic and on the other to the Abousett.

An Indian scholar, on being asked by the writer what Scadan should be, inquired if it were a locality, and said that it must be a low or swampy place near many great rocks. This certainly described the swamps and rocky hills of our Scadan, of which he had no knowledge. On the contrary, the eminent authority, the late James Hammond Trumbull, whose knowledge in the Indian tongues no man could equal, writes:—

"Scadan, as it stands, is not an Indian name, though it may be an abbreviation or a remnant of an Indian name. I can find in it no trace of the meaning you assign to it."

The report of the explorers, doubtless, prepared the way for a further division of the lands of Mystic Side.

Concerning which division of Lands it was Jointly Agreed

That y^e Lotts on Mistickside should be one hundred Pole in length each five Acres being eight Pole in breadth, to begin next Powder horne hill at & to goe by A Streight Line to A marked Tree at the end of Tho: Beecher's Lott at the head of the North River, & from thence to goe backe againe to Boston Bounds, & from thence againe to returne & to the end of the Plott toward the Written Tree: the oth^r Plott at the head of the North River to begin at M^r Nowell's ffarme whe. the form^e is Laid out:

And it was farth^r ord^d y^t where these Lands are so devided, convenient Highwaies shalbe allowed in the most convenient places through any such allotm^{ts} at the discretion of those who shalbe designed to Lay them out: And what Land is not found within the Plotts is to bee laid out after the Plotts in y^e most convenient places.

A reservation was then made by the following order: —

[1638. 20. 2^{mo}.] It was ordrd y^t all the Land on Mistickside at the head of y^e 5 Acre Lotts to y^e strait Line from Powd^r horne hill to the head of the North River shalbe reserved (togeth^r with so much as shall make it up 300 Acres above M^r Craddocks ffarme where it may bee convenient) in y^e hands of y^e Towne for y^e use of such desireable persons as shalbe received in with anoth^r officer, [*or minister.*]²⁵

The reserved land embraced a tract nominally of two hundred acres, which was found upon measurement to amount to about two hundred and sixty acres, lying above the five-acre lots upon the plain in the vicinity of Corey and Bucknam Streets in Everett, and upon the highlands above it. Northward it extended beyond the line of Cross Street in Malden. We shall notice its final division hereafter. The portion reserved above the Cradock farm was not within the bounds of the future town of Malden.

The great allotment was made April 23, 1638, and divided the lands of Mystic Side and a larger tract above the Mystic Ponds in that part of Charlestown which soon became Woburn, to one hundred and fourteen inhabitants, of whom one hundred and seven received lots on Mystic Side. The record gives in three

²⁵ *Charlestown Archives*, xx. 18.

columns: — first, “y^e number of Acres on Misticke side;” second, “the number of Acres above y^e Ponds;” and third, “the five Acres y^t wee had in Possession Afforetime.” The latter refers to the allotment of five-acre lots in 163¾.

Land Laid out by Lot on Mistickside & above the Ponds the three & twentieth day of y^e second month 1638

	Mr [Increase] Nowell	60 - 135 - 5
	Mr [Zackary] Sims	40 - 100 - 5
	Mr [John] Greene	45 - 50 - 5
	Ralph Mousall	15 - 40 - 5
N ^o 2 :	Richd Miller	5 - 15 - 5
N ^o 3 :	Sam ^{ll} Cartar	5 - 5 - 0
N ^o 4 :	Jn ^o Goulde	10 - 25 - 0
N ^o 5 :	Tho ^s Cartar	25 - 55 - 0
N ^o 6 :	Tho ^s Wickes	5 - 10 - 0
N ^o 7 :	Robt Blott	15 - 35 - 0
N ^o 8 :	James Greene	5 - 15 - 0
N ^o 9 :	John Martin	10 - 20 - 0
N ^o 10 :	Edw ^d Convers	35 - 80 - 0
N ^o 11 :	Tho ^s Moulton	10 - 30 - 5
N ^o 12 :	Mr [Jn ^o] Crow	25 - 50 - 0
N ^o 13 :	Dan ^{ll} Shepherdson	10 - 20 - 0
N ^o 14 :	Seth Switzer	10 - 30 - 5
N ^o 15 :	Edw ^d Gibbons	15 - 45 - 5
N ^o 16 :	Hen; Bullocke	5 - 25 - 0
N ^o 17 :	Jn ^o Burrage	5 - 5 - 0
N ^o 18 :	W ^m Smith	5 - 5 - 0
	Jose; Ketchering	5 - 15 - 0
		} 10 - 20 - 0
N ^o 19 :	Sam ^{ll} Haule	20 - 40 - 5
N ^o 20 :	James Tomson	5 - 30 - 5
N ^o 21 :	W ^m Powell	5 - 10 - 0
N ^o 22 :	Abra; Pratt	10 - 20 - 0
N ^o 23 :	Isack Cole	10 - 20 - 0
N ^o 24 :	W ^m Batchelor	15 - 30 - 0
N ^o 25 :	Geo; Hutchinson	5 - 30 - 5
N ^o 26 :	Tho ^s Lynde	35 - 80 - 5
N ^o 27 :	W ^m Brackenbury	15 - 40 - 5
N ^o 28 :	James Pemberton	5 - 30 - 5
N ^o 29 :	Peter Garland	5 - 15 - 5
N ^o 30 :	Robt Rand	15 - 35 - 5
N ^o 31 :	Ezek ^{ll} Richeson	35 - 85 - 5
N ^o 32 :	John Hodges	5 - 30 - 5

N ^o 33 :	Rice Cole	10 - 50 - 5
N ^o 34 :	M ^r Jn ^o Harvard	60 - 120 - 0
N ^o 35 :	Rich ^d Sprague	20 - 55 - 5
N ^o 36 :	Tho ^s Goble	15 - 35 - 0
N ^o 37 :	James Browne	15 - 40 - 5
N ^o 38 :	Robt Hawkins	10 - 20 - 0
N ^o 39 :	goo: Tho ^s Caule	5 - 15 - 0
N ^o 40 :	Jose: Coleman	5 - 15 - 0
N ^o 41 :	W ^m Nash	5 - 30 - 5
N ^o 42 :	W ^m ffrothingale	20 - 40 - 5
N ^o 43 :	M ^r Nicho ^s Trarice	15 - 35 - 0
N ^o 44 :	Robt Shorthus	5 - 20 - 0
N ^o 45 :	Benia ⁿ Hubberd	10 - 25 - 5
N ^o 46 :	Mrs. Ann Higginson	20 - 45 - 5
N ^o 47 :	Nich ^s Davis	5 - 30 - 5
N ^o 48 :	Jn ^o Haule	5 - 25 - 5
N ^o 49 :	Rich ^d Kettle	5 - 20 - 5
N ^o 50 :	John Palmer	0 - 10 - 5
N ^o 51 :	W ^m Dade	5 - 30 - 5
N ^o 52 :	Jn ^o Lewis	0 - 15 - 5
N ^o 53 :	Jn ^o Woolrich	5 - 25 - 5
N ^o 54 :	Wido: Wilkeson	5 - 15 - 5
N ^o 55 :	James Hubberd	5 - 10 - 0
N ^o 56 :	Tho ^s Pearce	15 - 50 - 5
N ^o 57 :	Rich ^d Palgrave	20 - 50 - 5
N ^o 58 :	Edw ^d Burton	0 - 10 - 5
N ^o 59 :	Tho ^s Richeson	0 - 15 - 5
	Abra: Hill	5
N ^o 60 :	John Mousall	20 - 45 - 5
N ^o 61 :	Geo: Hebourne	5 - 30 - 5
N ^o 62 :	James Mathews	10 - 20 - 0
N ^o 63 :	Abra: Palmer	20 - 55 - 0
N ^o 64 :	M ^r [W ^m] Witherall	15 - 30 - 0
N ^o 65 :	Walter Palmer	30 - 65 - 5
N ^o 66 :	Geo: Buncker	75 - 180 - 5
N ^o 67 :	Geo: Knore	5 - 10 - 0
N ^o 68 :	Edw ^d Carrington	5 - 15 - 5
N ^o 69 :	Jn ^o Brimsmead	5 - 15 - 0
N ^o 70 :	Phillip Drincker	10 - 20 - 0
N ^o 71 :	Geo: ffelch	5 - 20 - 5
N ^o 72 :	Edw ^d Sturges	0 - 5 - 5
N ^o 73 :	Rice Morris	5 - 15 - 5
N ^o 74 :	Joshua Tedd	5 - 15 - 0

N ^o 75 : M ^{rs} [Widow Kather ⁿ] Coitemore	20 - 40 - 0
N ^o 76 : John Sibley	10 - 20 - 0
N ^o 77 : Edw ^d Johnson	40 - 80 - 0
N ^o 78 : Hen: Lawrance	0 - 15 - 5
N ^o 79 : W ^m Johnson	5 - 30 - 5
N ^o 80 : James Hayden	5 - 15 - 5
N ^o 81 : Tho ^s Knore	5 - 20 - 5
N ^o 82 : ffra: Norton	25 - 45 - 0
N ^o 83 : Robt Long	30 - 65 - 5
N ^o 84 : Robt Cutler	10 - 25 - 0
N ^o 85 : Nicho ^s Stowers	25 - 60 - 5
N ^o 86 : John Tedd	10 - 20 - 0
N ^o 87 : W ^m Baker	5 - 20 - 5
N ^o 88 : Geo: Whitehand	10 - 30 - 5
N ^o 89 : Robt Leach	5 - 10 - 0
N ^o 90 : Robt Hale	15 - 40 - 5
N ^o 91 : Tho ^s Brigden	15 - 25 - 0
N ^o 92 : Math ^w Smith	5 - 15 - 0
N ^o 93 : Abra: Mellowes	10. 35. 5 }
Edw ^d Mellowes	25. 60. 0 }
N ^o 94 : Widow Harwood	0 - 15 - 5
N ^o 95 : W ^m Lerner	15 - 40 - 5
N ^o 96 : Sam ^l Richerdson	15 - 40 - 5
N ^o 97 : Mich ^l Barstow	10 - 25 - 5
N ^o 98 : Steph ⁿ fforsditch	20 - 40 - 0
N ^o 99 : ffaintnot Winds	5 - 10 - 0
N ^o 100 : Capt ⁿ Robt Sedgwick	35 - 160 - 5
N ^o 101 : Theophi ^s Higginson	5 - 10 - 0
N ^o 102 : Tho ^s Ewer	25 - 60 - 5
N ^o 103 : Ralph Sprague	35 - 90 - 5
N ^o 104 : James Garrett	10 - 30 - 0
N ^o 105 : Tho ^s Squire	5 - 20 - 5
N ^o 106 : Edw ^d Jones	5 - 25 - 5
N ^o 107 : W ^m Quicke	5 - 10 - 0
N ^o 108 : Tho ^s Coitmore	35 - 70 - 0 ²⁶

²⁶ *Charlestown Archives*, xx. *in loco*. Of Nowell, Symmes, and Greene, the first three in the list, it is said, "These were agreed to have the first without Lott." Forty-five acres were allotted to Greene, the ruling elder of the church, but in the *Book of Possessions* he is credited with fifteen only. James Hayden (No. 80) received ten acres in his lot.

It will be seen that Richard Sprague (35) and Ralph Sprague (103) received, according to the allotment, fifty-five and ninety acres respectively in the land "Above the Ponds." In the *Book of Possessions* they are given sixty and ninety acres, adjoining, in "Pond feilde," southwest of Ell Pond; and there is nothing to correspond with the allot-

The lots on Mystic Side, *east* of the North River, were north of a line drawn from Powder Horn Hill to the head of the river, and ran in six ranges, each one hundred poles in width, northwest from the Boston line. Northerly, they were limited by the rocky hills of Scadan, and by the Long Meadow — the marshes at the head of the North River and along the banks of Pemberton's or Harvell's Brook. On and beyond those hills, too wild and rocky for immediate use, were the commons, which were not divided until 1695.²⁷

The first lot of the lower range was the forty acres of the Rev. Zechariah Symmes, the greater part of which became a portion of the farm of Thomas Whittemore and his descendants and so remained until 1845, when it was sold to Nathaniel Sands of New York, and became the subject of an unfortunate speculation which involved a large tract of land in that vicinity. Sagamore Hill, named by a tasteless generation Mount Washington, was within or near its bounds. Next was the unnumbered portion of Increase Nowell, which being sold to Robert Burden, the progenitor of the Burditt family, was a part of his possessions in 1667, when he died. In the same range was the lot, numbered twelve, of John Crow. Fifteen acres of this lot were sold by William Roberts to Rowland Lahorne in 1648. Six years

ments about the Mystic Ponds. This may be explained by the following entry:—

"[18. 12^m 1638.] Inasmuch as it app^{rs} y^t the Land in the great Lotts y^t was laid out to Thomas Line & Rich^d Sprague prooves altogeth^r unusefull being nothing but Rockes w^{ch} was wholly besides o^r intent, & only through oversight of the Surveyo^{rs} wee Judge it to bee Just & equall y^t they have allowance elsewhere to theire satisfaction they leaveing the affores^d Rocks to lye Common." *Charlestown Archives*, xx. *in loco*. Cf. note 35, this chapter.

²⁷ The completion of the great allotment was marked by the compilation of the *Charlestown Book of Possessions*, now preserved as *Charlestown Archives*, xxxiv., which is fully described in the following extract from the *Charlestown Town Records*.

"1638.

"On the 28th day of the X month was taken A True Record of all such houses & Lands as are Possessed by the Inhabita^{nts} of Charlestown, wheth^r by purchase, by gift from the Towne, or by allotments as they were devided amongst them by A Joynt Consent aft^r the Gen^l Court had settled theire Bounds, by granting eight miles from the old Meeting house into the Contry Northwest Northly, &c. the bounds of the s^d Towne Lying or being bettwixt Cambridge *alias* New Towne, on the West South west, & Boston Land on the East as it app^{rs} upon Record by the sever^{ll} grants of Gen^l Courts to all the affores^d Bounds."

This volume, which has been printed in the *Third Report of the [Boston] Record Commissioners*, is the Domesday Book of Mystic Side.

later Lahorne transferred his purchase, with a house, to Thomas Skinner, "victualer;" but it is soon found in the occupancy of Thomas Call, as a grantee or tenant of Skinner. The marriage of Skinner with Call's widow, Lydia, after 1678, returned the house and land to their earlier possessor. The later history of this house, which stood near the corner of Cross and Walnut Streets, is given in another place.²⁸ Farther north, the lot nineteen bordered the Long Meadow, and its twenty acres, forming a sharp angle to the north-east, closed the first and began the second range.

In the second range, lot thirty-one had the Great Swamp near it upon the east; and lot thirty-four, passing through several hands, became the "westernmost" of the farms of Job Lane. Here in 1652 were Turkey Hill, afterwards known as Burden's or Burditt's Hill, and a path, the former of which remained almost unscarred by the works of man until 1892, when it began to be built upon. In the latter, perhaps, we may trace the origin of the present Elm Street in Everett. This land was for forty years the home of the Mudges, then of the Chittendens. Lastly, it was the farm of Leavitt Corbett, who will be remembered by many. It is now a portion of the Woodlawn Cemetery Company's lands. Lot forty, a triangle of five acres, met the Boston line and closed the second range.

In the third range, the first three lots, forty-one to forty-three, having been acquired by Nicholas Parker, were sold to Job Lane in 1656 and formed, with some adjoining lands, the "easternmost" of his farms. Before 1688 it was occupied by John Scolley and John Ross,²⁹ and in that year it was improved by Thomas Wayte, who purchased it in 1704 of the Lane heirs. It was the home of the Waytes for nearly a century, when, the last male of the name in that branch having passed away, it was sold, in 1787, to Captain Naler Hatch of Revolutionary fame.³⁰ The "Mansion" which was probably built by Job Lane, who was himself a house-carpenter, stood near the present gate of the Woodlawn Cemetery and was demolished by the Cemetery

²⁸ *Vide* chap. xiii. note 11.

²⁹ John Scolley had been a ferryman. His wife was Hannah, daughter of James

Barrett. John Ross was his brother-in-law, having married Mary Barrett.

³⁰ *Midd. Co. Deeds*, xiv. 14; xcv. 210.

Company. The farm itself is rapidly becoming a city of the dead.

Next to the lots just mentioned, on the Boston line in the fourth range was a triangle of six acres which was accounted as a part of the twenty-five acres of Francis Norton, the remainder of his allotment forming the first lot in the fifth range, bounded likewise by the Boston line. This land, which in time became the property of the Sayes women and after them of James Millinor, is elsewhere noticed.⁸¹

Across the centre of these ranges ran the Great Swamp, some remnants of which still remain east of Cross and Ferry streets. Fifty years ago, in its extent and dense growth, it was worthy of the ancient name which it still bore. Slight attention appears to have been paid to its disadvantages, unless some of the lots may have been made larger in consequence; and there are one or two indications of an allowance for waste land.

A seventh range, beginning above the Nowell grant, *west* of the North River, ran eastward to the vicinity of the Three Mile, or Spot Pond, Brook, embracing the territory through which afterwards ran the Medford road, our present Pleasant Street. Above it was the common, and once a highway is mentioned as running along its northern side. This was the Indian trail, known as the Salem Path, which Nowell noted as running north of his farm in 1635. This range comprised five acres of number ninety-seven⁸² and the remaining lots of the division, all of which were west of the Three Mile Brook, except that of Thomas Coytmore, whose thirty-five acres were on the eastern side, and the two lots of Edward Jones and William Quick, which covered the piece of upland between the marshes of the two brooks in the vicinity of Middlesex and Centre Streets.

The lot numbered one hundred was transferred to Joseph Hills and, passing from his possession, formed, with the adjoining lot of Faintnot Wines, Samuel Eldred's farm of forty acres,

⁸¹ *Vide* chap. xi. note 48.

⁸² Lot 97 was the ten-acre portion of Michael Barstow, of which the five acres here mentioned were at the extreme western limit of the future town of

Malden, while the remaining five acres formed a triangular piece at the end of the sixth range of the larger division, far east on the Boston line, at or near the present Black Ann's Corner.

which was taken in 1660 on an execution in favor of Edward Lane.³³ It was afterwards occupied by the blacksmith, George Durand. Richard Dexter purchased this with other lands in 1663 and it remained in the Dexter family without division until the present generation. On the adjoining land, allotted to Stephen Fosdick, the almshouse was built in 1821. The allotment of Richard Sprague, descending to his heirs, ultimately absorbed all the range east of the Dexter land, including a portion of the Coytmore lot east of Three Mile Brook. On the northern end of his farm in the vicinity of Clifton Street, between Washington and Summer streets, Richard Sprague settled very early. Summer Street, and perhaps a portion of Pleasant Street, was a lane leading from Sprague's house to a landing-place — Sprague's Bank, on the river at the lower extremity of his lot.

How far east the lot of Thomas Coytmore, on the easterly side of Three Mile Brook, extended cannot now be ascertained. Certainly it was bounded on the south by the meadows of Pemberton's Brook, and on the north, as at first granted, it ran not far beyond the falls, near the bridge by which Mountain Avenue now crosses the brook. On the east it reached the vicinity of Sprague Street, for the easterly line of the High

³³ *Suffolk Co. Deeds*, iii. 375; *Midd. Co. Deeds*, iii. 132. How Eldred got the land from Joseph Hills, or who built the house, which was standing upon it in 1663, I do not know. The old house stood near the south-easterly corner of the present Dexter and Rockland Streets, where a few years ago its ancient foundation was found and the depression which marked its site was filled. The Salem Path ran upon the northerly side of the rocky hill near by, nearly in the line of Clifton Street. West of the Village Lane, now Summer Street, fifty years ago, bars in the walls and traces of an old way across the fields remained to show the location of the Indian trail. Still farther westward, evidences of several ways were visible in 1890, by one of which the old path sought the Medford plains.

Towards the end of the seventeenth

century, a second house was built farther south under the great elm which still remains. Tradition says that this tree, which in its later years has been known as the Washington Elm, and which spreads its branches over a hundred feet, was a large one even at that time. With a girth of twenty-seven feet in its largest part, it is still vigorous and shows few signs of decay. It is the only relic of the primal forest which once covered the town.

Some of the material of the first was used in the second house, which in its later days was an interesting example of the domestic architecture of the colonial period. It was demolished in 1848 and the present house was built upon its site by Richard and Samuel G. Dexter, in whose possession and occupancy it still remains. *Information of Samuel G. Dexter.*

School land, which represents the limit of the Coytmore allotment in that direction, is one of the few ancient boundaries which can still be recognized with almost absolute certainty. However it may have been bounded at first, it was after a few years limited to the narrow strip of land west of Main Street by unrecorded transfers to Joseph Hills on the northerly side of Salem Street, and to Abraham Hill on the southerly side. Before its diminution, however, it was enlarged on its northerly side by the following grants: —

[May 29, 1640] M^r Tho^r Coitmore was granted the end of his Lott bettwixt y^e Mount Prospect & the River for his p^rper use in case he goe on with building the Mill w^{ch} if hee doe not hee is then to Leave 4 Acres to the use of such as shall have Liberty to build y^e Mill to bee sett out by such as shall be appointed.³⁴

[Feb^y 15, 1649¹.] M^r Tho: Coitmore was granted the ground above his Lott over the Mount Prospect to the Land Laid out to Tho: Line to runne upon A Streight Line from y^e parting line bettwixt him & m^r Jose: Hills.³⁵

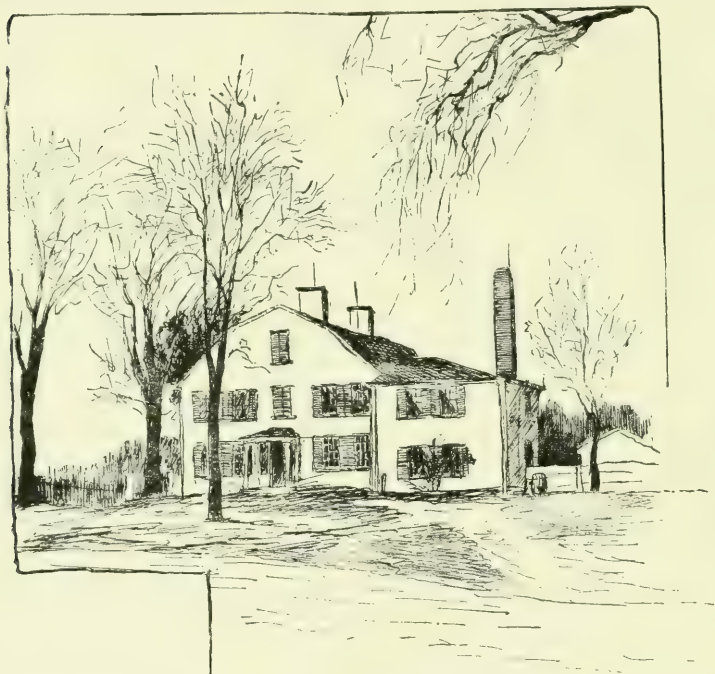
Beyond the line of the Coytmore land and extending to the hills and swamps toward Scadan was a plain, on which are now located the populous sections of the fifth ward and Faulkner, which was not covered by the grants of the great allotment,

³⁴ *Charlestown Archives*, xx. *in loco*.

³⁵ *Ibid*. In 1638, Thomas Lynde owned three acres of meadow "on the north side of mount prospect," which he had evidently received in the division of hay-lots. The eighty acres which were assigned him "above y^e Ponds" in the great allotment, proving "altogeth^r unusefull being nothing but Rockes," it was agreed, August 26, 1639, "y^t Tho: Line shall have some Land by the Mount Prospect, if upon view it may bee had by his Hay ground." *Charlestown Archives*, xx. *in loco*. This land, which was laid out, as proposed, on the north side of Wayte's Mount, was a part of the large property which Thomas Lynde and his descendants afterwards held. Here, as the Lynde family increased, several houses were built, the oldest of which was probably built by Thomas, the grantee, on the

site of the brick-end house now standing near the entrance of the cemetery on Forest Street. The old house, with about forty acres of land on both sides of the road, was sold, in 1753, by Jacob Lynde to Ebenezer Harnden, and by the latter, in 1761, to Thomas Pratt, whose son John, to make room for the present house, demolished it about 1830. The older part of the house, known as the Joseph Lynde house, now standing at the corner of Main Street and Good-year Avenue, was built about 1720. The view of this house which is given in the text was taken in 1873. In the cellar of this house there was formerly "an oak log, a little larger and taller than a barrel, scooped out like a mortar, with an iron hoop around the top; the pestle is gone. In this the corn was pounded and ground." Goss, *Historical Address*, 11.

except on its easterly side, where a portion, at least, of the lot of Walter Palmer appears to have passed into the hands of George Bunker.³⁶ The unappropriated portion remained not long in its primitive condition; and the entry which records the grant introduces us to one who became prominent and "helpful" to both church and state.



[July 30, 1638.] M^r Joseph Hill [*Hills*] was admitted A Townsman, & is granted 25 Acres of Land on mistickside by M^r Coitmores Lott, & 50 more aft^r the great Lotts are finished.³⁷

The twenty-five acres were located east of the Coytmore land. Farther east were twenty acres of the Palmer land, which,

³⁶ This was No. 65 of the allotment, which covered the westerly ends of the third and fourth ranges of the first division. Of this lot, seventeen acres were north and thirteen acres south of Long Meadow, or Harvell's Brook; and both divisions were evidently east and south of the present Cross Street.

³⁷ *Charlestown Archives*, xx. *in loco*. The fifty acres were probably laid out on the south side of Smith's Pond. Mr. Hills sold his sixty-acre lot at that place to Henry Evans in 1660. *Midd. Co. Deeds*, ii. 131.

before the end of the year, George Bunker sold to Thomas Ruck, and which in time became a part of the possessions of Joseph Hills. On its eastern side was afterwards laid out that way "between M^r Hils & M^r Bunkars farmes," which, known for many years as Harvell's Brook Lane, became in time a part of the present Cross Street. These three lots were covered by the forest, and the whole territory was bounded by the Three Mile Brook, by the common which contained Mount Prospect, or Wayte's Mount, and the Faulkner hills, by the Scadan swamps, and by the meadows of Pemberton's Brook between Salem Street and Eastern Avenue. In the Charlestown Book of Possessions [1638] these lots are described as follows:—

[COYTMORE.] Thirtie and five acres of woodland, scituate and lying in mistik feilde, N^o 108, length, and in breadth, butting to the south upon the meaddow, to the north upon the common, bounded on the west by the fresh riverett, and on the east by M^r Hiles.

[HILLS.] Twentie and ffive acres of woodland, more or lesse, scituate in mistick feilde, butting south upon long meaddow, north upon the comon; bounded on the west by Thō Coytemore and on the east by Thō Ruck.

[RUCK.] Twentie acres of land, more or lesse, scituate in mistick feilde, bounded on the north by the common, on the west by Josseph Hiles, and on the south east by a swamp and meade.³⁸

The unappropriated land between the five-acre lots and the lots of the great allotment, as has been seen, was reserved for such as might be received with another minister, that is for the use of those new comers who should bring the strength necessary for the formation of a new church; but the town having called Thomas Allen, "a studyent" from England, to fill the office left by the deceased John Harvard, and new settlers having come in, it was divided as follows:—

[The 28 day of y^e viij month 1640.] Abram Palmer & Robt Hale were appointed to Lay out the 200 Acres of Land on mistick side to the men appointed in w^{ch} they are first to accomodate M^r Serieant, Tho: Martin then M^r Tho: Allen and y^e rest by Lott.

³⁸ *Charlestown Archives*, xxxiv. 9, 28, co. Essex, in England, or its vicinity.
61. Thomas Ruck was from Maldon, Lechford, *Note-Book*, 78, 91.

[*In the margin.*] This is p^t of y^t 300 Acres reserv^d y^e 6 of y^e ij^d month 1638 call^d heere but 200 Acres at Mistickside, tho at measuring it held out 260 Acres there, laid out to m^r Tho: Allen (now called to the office of Teacher of this Church) and to the rest heere imediatly aft^r mentiond.

A devission of the Land lying bettwene the five Acre Lotts at the head of them allotted out as heereafter exprest.

Names of Persons	Acres	Names of Persons	Acres
M ^r Thomas Allen	25	Bro: Robinson	3
M ^r [W ^m] Seargeant	20	Tho: Gould	4
Tho: Martin	10	W ^m Stitson [Stilson]	20
Abra: Hill	2½	Jn ^o Pentecost	3
Robt Leech	2½	Edw ^d Wood	5
Walter Popes Child	5	Goo: [Tho:] ffrench	2½
Gaudy James	2½	Goo: [W ^m] Smith Tailor	2½
Tho: Weilder	2½	Jn ^o Seer	2½
Alexand ^r ffield	2½	Rich ^d Lowden	3
goo. [Jn ^o] Whitman	2½	Tho: Graves	20
M ^r [Robt] Cooke	10	John Allen	20
Ralph Woorie	6	Manus Jackson	4
Micha ^l Long	4	John Martin	4
W ^m Phillips	10	Isack Cole	4
Bro: [Jn ^o] Baker, y ^e Tailor	3	Robt Nash	4
		goo: [Jn ^o] March	4
		M ^r [Rich ^d] Russell	20
		ffra: Willoughby	20
		goo: Edw ^d Larkin	3
		Augustine Walker	4 ⁸⁹

Several lots of this division may be identified. The most northerly was the twenty acres of John Allen, which, being sold to John Lewis, who died in 1657, passed into the hands of the Greens and others. Out of it came the six and one-half acres of the Rev. Michael Wigglesworth, which in 1657 was bounded on the north by the common field in the vicinity of the present Newhall Street, west by the ministry land, and south by the highway which is now Cross Street. The corner of High and Ashland Streets is upon this lot.

South of the Allen lot was the land of Thomas Graves, which, being purchased by James Green of Richard Harrington in 1656, remained in the possession of the Greens until 1765, when it was sold by Darius Green to Joseph Perkins of Danvers and

⁸⁹ *Charlestown Archives*, xx. 93, 94.

continued with the descendants of the latter another century. South of this lot was that of Robert Cooke.

The great lot of Francis Willoughby was farther south. It was sold to William Bucknam in 1649 and formed a part of that farm, the memory of which is preserved in the name of Bucknam Street in Everett.⁴⁰ South of this was the allotment of the Rev. Thomas Allen, which was sold to William Johnson, the brickmaker, in 1651. Eight acres of the easterly portion of this lot were purchased by William Sargeant in 1654; and the remainder, accounted as fourteen acres, was sold to Joses Bucknam in 1677, when it was bounded, north-west, west, and south, by the highway at the head of the five-acre lots — the present Norwood Street. This land, which was known as "Johnson's Playn," may still be recognized by its bounds opposite the head of Corey Street. A part was for many years in the possession of the late Captain Solomon Corey, whose land on the south side of Norwood Street was apparently within the limits of the five-acre lots.

North of the Willoughby lot was that of William Phillips; and on the west was the twenty-acre lot of Richard Russell, which was sold to William Stilson. The latter occupied the level land west of Bucknam Street and the slope of the woodland towards the marshes; while still farther west lay the four acres of Augustine Walker, which were sold to Edward Carrington.

⁴⁰ Upon the Bucknam farm was the interesting old house, known in its latter years as the Swan house, which was demolished in 1875. A portion, being the northwest corner, was the first house built upon the land. Around or against it a later construction was raised in the early part of the eighteenth century. A highly imaginative article, which was reprinted from the *Boston Herald* in the *Malden Mirror*, August 14, 1875, gives the early date of 1630 to its erection; but there was evidently no house standing there in 1649. It was not upon the Willoughby lot that William Bucknam, who was himself a carpenter, built, but upon an adjoining and later purchase. At his death, March 28, 1679, the house, which was in

Malden very near the Charlestown line, standing upon four acres, is mentioned with the Willoughby lot of twenty acres. When his son Joses died, August 24, 1694, he left to his son Samuel the house with its four acres and the twenty-acre lot, with six acres adjoining "buting To the homstead so as it may Reach to the Spring for y^e benefit of wating." Lieutenant Samuel probably built the addition above mentioned, and he lived in the house until his death, July, 1751. His descendant, Joseph Swan, who resides upon the site of the old house, has family papers to which I am indebted for information of interest. A view of the old house is given in *Everett Souvenir*, 9.

ton in 1652, being bounded on the west by the "highway bordering on John Upham," or the way to Penny Ferry. North of Walker was the lot of John March, and on the south was that of John Martin. Beyond Willoughby's land, on the east, was the allotment of William Sargeant, occupying the brow of that highland above Everett Square, on the line of Broadway, which was long known as Sargeant's Hill.

The bounds between Boston and Charlestown were not definitely fixed by the order of 1633, but two years later the following order and report were entered upon the Colony Records: —

¹⁶³⁵
^{6 May.} It is referd to M^r Holgraue, M^r Colbran, & S^{ie}ant Sprage, to sett out the bounds of land betwixte Boston & Charlton on the nore-east of Misticke Ryver.

¹⁶³⁵
^{8 July} The bounds betweene Boston & Charlestowne are from the creeke along the creeke vpward in the same till wee come to a little neck of land that come from the east side of the same neck: there the first stake stands a little on the east side of it, & from thence to a m^ked tree at the foote of the marsh agreed vpon of all sides, & from that tree to another that lye right opposite over a hill, & from thence to a high, tall pine, that stands vpon a point of rock, on the side of the high way to Mistick [upon the] other side of Rumney Marsh, & from outside to outside by a straight line.

p^r JOHN HOLGRAVE.⁴¹

The line between the towns, in its remoter course, was settled by the following agreement: —

The 28th day of the first moneth, 1636.

Agreed by vs, whose names are vnder written, that the bounds betweene Boston & Charles Towne, on the nor east syde Misticke Ryver, shall run from the m^ked tree vpon the rocky hill above Rumney Marshe, neere the written tree nore-nore west vpon a straight lyne by a meridean compass vpp into the countrie.

ABRAHAM PALMER,
WILL^M CHEESEBOROUGH,
WILL^M SPENCER.⁴²

In the meantime the Court settled the extent of the territory of Charlestown on the north by the following order: —

⁴¹ *Mass. Colony Records*, i. 148, 150.

⁴² *Ibid.*, i. 162.

163% . Ordered, that Charles Towne bounds shall run eight myles
 3 March. into the country from their meeteing howse, if noe other
 bounds intercept, reserueing the p^rprietie of ffermes graunted to John
 Wintrop, Esq^r, M^r Nowell, M^r Cradocke, & M^r Wilson, to the owners
 thereof, as also ffree ingresse & egresse for the serv's & cattell of the said
 gentⁿ, & common for their cattell, on the backside of M^r Cradocks
 fferme.⁴⁸

The limit of eight miles from the meeting house carried the Charlestown line nearly to Smith's Pond, where it met the indefinite line of the Saugus (Lynn) plantation. By a liberal allowance of distance, it finally fixed itself at the northeast corner of the pond, at a point which may be readily ascertained by an extension of the north-easterly line of Melrose. Within this bound was included that part of the present town of Wakefield now known as Greenwood. At the extreme northern point, bounded by the pond, was a lot of sixty acres belonging to Joseph Hills, which was probably the grant of fifty acres, which he was appointed to have after the great allotments were settled.

In 1639 the Court appointed a committee "to settle the bounds betweene Charlestowne, Boston, & Lin;" but I have not found a report of the result. A document written by Captain Thomas Brattle is extant, which gives the line as run between Malden and Rumney Marsh in 1678.

We whose names are underwritten being Appointed by the Selectmen of the Towne of Boston to be perambulators to runn the line betwixt the town of Maulden and this towne, we accordingly did goe to Leivtenants Smiths house where wee meeting some of Maulden men appointed for that service being on the 15th day of Aprill 1678 Captaine Weight and Leivtenant Sprague being tow of the men for Maulden wee began the line at the Corner of A stone Wall next unto Aaron Wayes house save one and Contined it over the Corne field to an Oak tree at the Corner of the same fence from thence to A stake nere unto the house called Job Lanes house where augment to the heap of stones about the saide Stake, and from thence to A pine tree on the side of A rocky hill over Against the Way yt goeth from Winnesimmet into Salem path from Malden and from thence to A heape of stones, and from thence on A North north West lyne to A tree to the westward

⁴⁸ *Mass. Colony Records*, i. 168.

of his house which we marked M \times B and laide stones to the root of it, from thence renewing sevrall marks untill we came to A greate oak yt was felled which had m & B on it and its stub A great heape of stones the which we renewed, and from thence to A forked oake on A playne with A stone in the Cratch of it the line goeing A litle Westerly of it and from thence to A small Oake marked M \times B with A heape of stones at the roote of it on the top of hill before we came to doctor Waldrons house and from thence leaving Doctor Waldrons house on the right hand to An Oake standing on the top of A hill by the saide Waldron house marked M \times B and so to A heape of stones in Malden line where Redding and Boston head line meett

these bounds were runn by Capt hutchinson Cap^t fairweather Leift Smith & my Self for this Towne & Cap^t waite Leift Sprague & Corporall Green the 15th day of April 1678 and agreed vpon Coppy in the towne house.⁴⁴

The line fixed as the easterly bound of Charlestown in 1636 has never been changed and still marks the eastern limits of Everett, Malden, and Melrose. The "point of rock on the side of the high way to Mistick"—the Salem Path, may still be recognized and is a prominent feature near Black Ann's Corner; but the "high, tall pine" which crowned it, after having been a landmark for more than a century, came to be, in 1738, "an old Pitchpine tree marked B. M." Twenty-one years later it was only "an old pitch pine stump with an heap of stones about it," and so it disappears from our view.

The eastern boundary being settled, the Court ordered:—

1640
7 October.

M^r Tynge, M^r Samu: Sheopard, & Goodm. Edward Converse are to set out the bounds betweene Charlestowne & M^r Cradocks farme, on the north side of Mistick Ryver.⁴⁵

This completed the settlement of the bounds of Mystic Side. By the close of 1640 all the larger grants of the lands south of the Scadan hills and the rocky edge of the western fells had been made; but the more rocky and remote portions north of these lines remained common land until 1695. That some settlers may have entered upon their allotments or purchases is possible, perhaps probable, but an assertion to that effect can

⁴⁴ *Mass. Archives*, cxii. 246.

⁴⁵ *Mass. Colony Records*, i. 304.

only rest upon conjecture. In 1638, when the compilation of the Charlestown Book of Possessions, by Abraham Palmer, gives an opportunity to ascertain with a great degree of certainty the location of most of the allotted lands, no house is mentioned.

The first hint of a settlement is found in the following petition ; but whether the petitioner or his neighbors, Moulton and the widow Wilkinson, first built, I cannot determine. That a settlement was first made at Sweetser's Point or Moulton's Island, where the river afforded a convenient means of communication with Charlestown and Boston, I am convinced. That Thomas Moulton⁴⁶ settled at an early day upon the island which bore his name is probable ; but, however it may be, we have here the first notice of actual settlers at Mystic Side.

JOHN GREENLAND *carpenter petitions the Court*

That yo^r petitioner hath bin an inhabitant in Charlestowne by the space of two yeares last past and all that while sojourned in other mens houses because he had none of his owne at length he spake to some of the Townesmen to entreate them to be a meanes to the rest that he might have a house lott given him whereon he might build an house but he received answere that the Towne had no house lott to give & therefore the said Townesmen wished him to buy one Whereupon yo^r petitioner hath bought of Samuel Richardson of Charlestowne five acres of land within Charlestowne bounds on Misticke syde near to Thomas Moulton & the widdow Wilkins⁴⁷ and hath begun & halfe built his house upon it as yo^r petitioner conceiveth it was lawfull for him to do seeing that he hath built on five acres of ground. Notwithstanding some of

⁴⁶ Thomas Moulton was an inhabitant of Charlestown in 1631. His early settlement at Island End, or Moulton's Island, while a matter of conjecture, is one of great probability. He shared in the allotments and afterwards purchased of Walter Palmer the five-acre lot in number eleven which had been assigned to William Baker. This lot was between those on which George Felt and James Pemberton built ; but no house was upon it in 1646, when it was sold to Richard Dexter. He died, December 24, 1657.

⁴⁷ Widow Prudence Wilkinson was in Charlestown in 1630, having been, perhaps, a passenger in the Winthrop fleet. She received her portions in the

two allotments, and apparently built upon her five-acre lot somewhere to the eastward of the way to the Mystic and near the marshes of the South River. A slight clue to its location may exist in the fact that Wilkinson's Creek was that stream which, running into the South River, received, itself, on its easterly side the waters which came down from the South Spring. Its early name long since passed out of use and is unknown to those now dwelling in its vicinity. Widow Wilkinson died in 1655, leaving her homestead to her only son, John. Other land was left to her grandson, John Bucknam, whose troubles are elsewhere mentioned

the said Towne have given forth words to discourage yo^r petitioner to goe on to plant there w^{ch} may turne to his great hinderance if he should be now caused to remove. Yo^r petitioner humbly prayeth this wor^{ll} Cort to be pleased in consideration of the premises to confirme yo^r petitioners said planting on misticke syde in the place aforesaid. And yo^r petitioner shall pray for this Cort, &c.⁴⁸

This petition, which remains in the note-book of Thomas Lechford, who wrote it, has disappeared from the colonial archives; but ample evidence of its presentation and consideration exists in the answer which it received.

1640: John Greenland is granted his petition, w^c is to plant
7 October. upon a five acre lot in Charles Towne bounds on Mistick side.⁴⁹

We can easily identify the spot on which John Greenland "halfe built his house." The portion of Samuel Richardson comprised the westerly five acres of the lot numbered ten in the allotment of 1634. In 1638 it was described among his possessions as follows: —

five Acres of woodland in misticke feilde N^o 10, butting to south upon the highway toward Cap. Robert Sedgwick his meadow; and to the north upon the misticke feilde, bounded on the west by the highway and upo the East by Micheall Bastow, 80 pole in length and tenn pole in bredth.⁵⁰

The subsequent conveyances of this land are very clear, and unlike those which attach to many ancient titles, they form an unbroken line of evidence to the present time. The highway towards Captain Sedgwick's meadow was that part of Chelsea Street in Everett which is east of the South Spring; and the highway upon the west was the narrow way leading into the great allotments, which in time became Ferry Street. Greenland, who afterwards acquired the adjoining five acres of Barstow, lived here, continuing a resident within the bounds of Charlestown, until his death, in 1694.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Lechford, *Note-Book*, 178.

⁴⁹ *Mass. Colony Records*, i. 309.

⁵⁰ *Charlestown Archives*, xxxiv. 10.

⁵¹ Greenland received an additional grant from the town:

"[10. 11^{mo} 1641] Jn^o Greenland was

granted the Wast ground bettwene him & Geo: ffelt, to begin A Pole above Geo: ffelts house from the South Spring upwards to the head of the 5 Acre Lotts." *Charlestown Archives*, xx. *in loco*.

He left his housing and lands on

To the three settlers who had planted upon the allotments were soon added others, who before the close of the year 1640 had built in the vicinity of the South Spring. It is difficult to understand why the older settlers at Mishawum opposed the settlement of Mystic Side; but it is certain that the troubles which Greenland encountered continued after the action of the Court in his favor. I have found no evidence that the following petition was ever presented to the authorities. Like that of Greenland, it was written by Lechford and is preserved in his note-book. It is probable that the grievances of which the petitioners complained ceased without the intervention of the General Court.

To the right worth the Governor Council & Assistants

The humble petition of James Pemberton Prudence Wilkinson widow Lewis Hulett George Felt George Knowe John Greenland and Thomas Whittimore

Mystic Side to his only surviving son, John, with the use of the house to his widow, Lydia, during her natural life. What time the son, Deacon John Greenland, removed into the bounds of Malden is uncertain; but it was probably about the time of his marriage with Lydia Sprague in 1670, and it is sure that he was here in 1673. He built upon a piece of rising land in the woodland west of the Great Swamp, where his father, in 1655, had acquired a portion of the lot numbered thirty-one in the great allotment. His farm, which he left by will to his grandson, John Shute, the long-lived deacon and town clerk, was that which, lying east of Ferry Street, became in later years the property of Captain Henry Rich, and more recently of George A. Sammet.

How long the widow lived to enjoy her rights in the Mystic Side house is unknown; but apparently it was not long. In January, 1700, it was sold with its ten acres, and other lands, to John Ridgeway, mariner, who already occupied it. Ridgeway died of the small-pox in 1721; and his son John, having purchased the rights of his brothers and sisters, sold it to Ebenezer Pratt, boatman, in 1725. Whether the house which was then transferred was, wholly or in part, that which

was built by Greenland in 1640 is uncertain; but it is sure that the house in which the younger Ebenezer Pratt was born in 1725, was that which remained unto the present generation. With the exception of about two years, when it was in the hands of Samuel Waite, it was owned and occupied by the Ebenzers, father and son, who were large holders of land in that vicinity, until it was purchased, in 1782, by the Revolutionary captain, Isaac Smith.

After the death of Captain Smith, the house, with a large tract of adjoining lands which he had acquired, passed by purchase into the possession of Nathan Nichols, who had married his daughter Dorcas. A portion of these lands, which occupied the extensive tract now known as Nichols's Hill, was sold by the heirs of Captain Nichols to a party of operators who formed the Nichols Land Association. The old house stood until May 18, 1874, when, with the exception of a modern addition, it was burned. Recent improvements have nearly obliterated the old landmarks. *Midd. Co. Deeds, in loco; Information of the late John Smith Nichols.* A view of the house is in *Everett Souvenir*, 12.

The petitioners shewe that whereas they having bin heretofore inhabitants in Charlestowne and could not there have accommodation to live comfortably they were forced to crave leave of the Cort to build and plant upon Mysticke syde w^{ch} they did by the leave of the Court afores^d and have expended a great parte of their estates therein, Some of the Towne endeavoring to straighten the petitioners and to hinder others from comming to them as they say have procured divers orders to be made in the Towne meeting w^{ch} to the petitioners are very prejudiciall and they thinke unreasonable viz^t that any of the petitioners shall pay for every swine taken in the marsh 2^s 6^d a tyme besides the dammage, whereas the orders for the towne are but to yoake & ring the swine or els to pay double dammage. 2^{ly} whereas yo^r petitioners cannot live to pay rates to Towne & Country except they have some convenient common allotted them to keepe some cattel about them, their said opponents have procured a towne order to be made for the making of a common fence a great way from yo^r petitioners houses w^{ch} will not keepe out swine and yet would have the petitioners contribute and afford wood to the said common fence w^{ch} yet tends to their undoing, whereas the fence is made for the present only to defend the Townesmens medow ground w^{ch} the petitioners were willing to joine wth them so they would only have fenced in the medow and left the petitioners convenient common. These things yo^r petitioners humbly desire the Court in their wisdome to consider and to order that they may have a convenient common allowed them and may have equall remedie in their said greivances. And they shall as their duty bindes them pay for yo^r wor^{pp^s 52}

⁵² Ichford, *Note-Book*, 203. James Pemberton received the easterly half of the ten-acre lot, No. 12 in the first allotment, on which he evidently built a house, which in 1717 was occupied by Isaac Wheeler. This was the third five-acre lot west of the way which is now known as Ferry Street in Everett. The intervening lots on Chelsea Street were those of George Felt and Thomas Moulton, which are elsewhere noticed. Pemberton is supposed to have been a passenger in the fleet of Winthrop in 1630. In 1647 he was at Hull; and afterwards he removed to Rumney Marsh, where he lived upon the farm of Robert Keayne, being mentioned in the will of Captain Keayne in 1653, which gave "Vnto James Pemerton, & his wife, sometimes my Servant, now partner with me at my ffarme, forty shillings."

The sometime servant was his second wife, Margaret, who outlived him. After the death of Keayne in 1656, he became an inhabitant of Malden, where he had a house, standing on a lot of ten acres, and land in the Great Swamp and in the salt marsh. He died here, February 5, 166½, leaving his Mystic Side house to Edmund Barlow, the husband of his daughter Mary, and his Malden property to his widow and his son John. Pemberton's Island in Boston Harbor, upon which stands Fort Warren, bears in its name the record of his early and disputed ownership; and Pemberton's Brook preserved his memory in Malden until it was superseded by the later name of Harvell.

Of Lewis Hulett little is known and that little is not creditable. He was in Charlestown in 1636, and afterwards

It is evident that the allotments in other parts of Mystic Side, as well as those around the South Spring, were beginning to receive inhabitants and that occasions to pass and repass the Mystic were frequent; for the inhabitants of Charlestown voted, April 2, 1640, that Philip Drinker should keep "a ferry at the Neck of Land with a sufficient boat." For his service he was to have two pence for one person and a penny each "when there goe any more." This was the beginning of the Penny Ferry which served the inhabitants of Malden and the upper towns until 1787, when it was superseded by the Malden Bridge.⁵³

appears as the reputed owner of a lot on the west of the Mill Hill; but his possessions are not specifically noted.

"[December 3, 1639.] Lewes Hewlet, for his extortion, was fined 20 sh^s, & was bound over in 10l to the first month for his contemptuous speeches." *Mass. Colony Records*, i. 284.

"[March 3, 1638 $\frac{3}{4}$.] Lewes Hewlet, not appearing, forfeited his recognisance of 10l." *Ibid.*, i. 286.

Besides this, I have met nothing relating to him. He evidently was not long at Mystic Side.

George Knower received no land in the allotments and he may have come as a tenant rather than as a landowner. He died in Malden, February 13, 167 $\frac{4}{5}$; and his lands and those of his descendants were within the limits of this town, near the Boston line, north of Sagamore and Turkey Hills.

Thomas Whittemore did not participate in the allotments, but he purchased the five-acre lot of Increase Nowell and other lands around it and above it at Sagamore Hill. His homestead, which was bounded upon the east by the Boston line, continued in the possession of his descendants until it was sold in 1845, as has been stated. A house, which was doubtless that built by Thomas Whittemore, stood upon the premises until 1806, when a second house was built in its place, or near, by Joseph Whittemore, which remained until destroyed by fire in 1866. In 1898, the site was still marked by a cellar hole and an old cherry tree on the northerly side of Chelsea Street, a short distance west of Everett Avenue.

⁵³ Drinker, who died June 23, 1647, was succeeded a few months before his death by Peter Tufts, who afterwards became a large landholder on Mystic Side and in Malden, and the owner of the Nowell grant. He was assisted by his brother-in-law, William Bridge. In 1651 it was voted to let the ferry for one year to John Harris; but for some reason the vote was not carried out, and the ferry was soon after granted to Philip Knight, a cooper, who agreed "to attend the ferry carefully, and not to neglect it, that there be no just complaint." Frothingham, *History of Charlestown*, 147. Little Island, by some supposed to be that since known as White Island, over which the railroad now passes, but more probably an island in the marsh afterward known as the Ferry Island, on the southerly side of which the ferry-ways were built, was granted to the ferry, which continued to be maintained by the town of Charlestown, and at a later period produced a small income. The causeway over the marsh and some traces of the ways remained upon the easterly side of the present street until its widening covered them. A few years earlier, remains of piles might be seen in the mud of the river. The position of ferryman was far from being a permanent one and its holders were often changed. Paul Wilson, who is noted in many records as a sinner and a roysterer, appears in 1664, but soon left it to "keep the cows in the stinted Pasture." Many names appear until 1726, when the ferry was leased for twenty-five years to Joseph Frost of Charlestown and Samuel

That settlers were beginning to gather in the fields and woods of Mystic Side is still more plainly evinced by the building of a corn mill by Thomas Coytmore, whose grant for that purpose, in 1640, has been noticed. It is certain that he built a dam at Black Rock at once, for the next year the town passed the following vote: —

[27. 6^m 1641.] It was granted y^t Thos: Coitmore should have one daies worke throughout the whole Towne, to helpe to breadthen A Damm (at the 3 mile brooke) to A convenient highway for horse & Cart; & y^t hee shall have Liberty to appoint what number hee shall thincke ffitt for A day: proceeding accord^g to the Liste of the Surveyo^r for the Highway.⁵⁴

The “convenient highway for horse & Cart” has continued to the present time to be a travelled way, and Mountain Avenue, formerly Mill Street, is laid over the dam which was “bread-thened” by the men of 1641. Although the dam was built in the place where it continued to furnish power until recent years, the original mill stood far away, near the present Middlesex Court, between Pleasant Street and the river. For this purpose, Coytmore appears to have acquired the lot of Thomas Squire on the westerly side of the brook, and perhaps that of James Garrett; and he also apparently purchased those of Edward Jones and William Quick on the south side. When the dye works of Benjamin W. Dodge were being built, about 1835, charred timbers were found in the ground; and an old lady was living in the neighborhood who remembered to have heard that the old mill stood there and was burned. Afterwards traces of the water-way, leading down from the dam, were found on the side of the hill near Barrett’s Lane, now Dartmouth Street.⁵⁵ In

Sweetser of Malden, each paying five shillings a year. The former assumed control of the southerly side and the latter that of the northerly; and each agreed to maintain good ways to low water and to keep good boats for the accommodation of the public. It was settled by the Court “y^t the fair for every person be stated at two pence for each person, & Seven pence for

man & Horse.” *Midd. Court Records — General Sessions*, July 12, 1726. Frost does not appear to have long followed the craft of ferryman; but Sweetser continued therein, and was followed by his son Stephen, who is supposed to have used the oars until the bridge was built.

⁵⁴ *Charlestown Archives*, xx. *in loco*.

⁵⁵ *Information of Charles Hill*, 1888.

this connection the testimony of the Hills, given about 1731, is of interest.

Isaac Hill of malden Aged about 63 yeeres and Abraham hill about 61 Testifieth and saith y^t their fathar Abraham Hill was tennent and keeper of y^e corn-mill jn malden formerly belonging to m^r Thomas Coitmore at y^e time of m^r John Coggains marriage with y^e widdow wintrope formerly y^e widdow Coitmore And y^t after said Coggins marria: wth s^d wido: he y^e sd Abraham Hill continued Tennant in possession of said mill: In right of said Coggan for sundrey yeeres — and paid y^e rent to said Coggan: but y^e mill-pond in Malden beeing neer half a mile distance from y^e mill and considering y^e grate charge in maintaining of troues and frams to bare y^e troues over a thurt y^e Streeme to carry y^e water ouer y^e land down to y^e s^d mill: The s^d Coggain Altred and Remoued y^e said mill further up y^e streeme neere to y^e s^d mill-pond. And after s^d mill was remoued The same was still Improued and possessed by said Coggan: and his sucessers. . . . and y^t y^e mill possessed by Edward Sprague stands upon y^e same streeme and watter cours neer to y^e place whare m^r Coggans Mill stood, &c.⁵⁶

From its first building the mill, descending by purchase or by inheritance through the hands of John Coggan, of Job Lane, and the Spragues, became an important factor in the life of the new and growing community; and the power which supplied it became the centre of years of strife and the cause of lawsuits not a few, which continued even to the present generation.

In an entry relating to highways made in January, 164 $\frac{3}{4}$, and hereafter given, the house of William Luddington is mentioned; and it is soon after again noted in a grant of upland made to Edward Mellowes. Luddington had bought the five-acre lot which had been laid out to William Dade, and I am led to believe that here he built his house. If so, it was situated near the marshes of the South River and not far from Sweetser's Point, as it "butted" upon that river, and the highway to the Mystic was not far away.

The next indication of actual settlement is shown in a petition of Thomas Call, which is redolent of piety and in a measure of good cheer and proves the existence of a community of settlers in the country above.

⁵⁶ Original MS. in the possession of Artemas Barrett.

To the honora^{bl} Cort assembled at Boston the humble petition of Thomas Caule Whereas yo^r petitioner Dwelleth by the water, at the fferry place on mistick side, many people haveing accasion to come that way, & when they cannot have passage are necessitated to stay at yo^r petitioners (many of o^r owne towne, & of other townes have moved yo^r petition^r to desire leave to sell them some thing ; for their refreshing) now yo^r petition^r Doth humbly request leave to sell bread, beare & other victualling for the refreshing of such, as have occasion to stay, & yo^r petition^r shall humbly pray the lord to bless, guide, & counsell yo^u in all yo^r weightye affaires, & so I rest yo^r humble suppliant

THOMAS CAULE.⁵⁷

This petition, in which twenty-two others joined, is undated, and in the exasperating disarrangement of the Massachusetts Archives the original document has been defaced by a supposititious date ; but the time and the reply are readily ascertained.

1645: Thomas Caule is alowed to keepe victualing in his house for
14 May. strang^rs.⁵⁸

There now began to be mentioned cattle and swine upon Mystic Side ; and rails were built to keep out the wolves, and pens were made for the sheep and swine. In 1645 the selectmen were given

the letting and disposing of all the common ground on mistike syde eyther wthin or wthout the rayles : By letting it out to them that will hire it for 21 years : at the price of 6 shillings an Acre by the year. . . . It was then ordered that all the cattell and swine wthin the field on mistike syde wthin the fence shalbe kept out by the midst of the first Moneth.

At a meeting of the "Seven men," January 12, 1645½, Robert Wilder was appointed as "officer to see to Trespasses ;" and

Hee is alsoe to see that all the front fences on mistike syde bee made vpp agst the midell of the first moneth ensuing and to see that they after be kept sufficient.

At a later meeting in the same month, Rowland Lahorne was chosen to keep the "Dry heard," for twelve shillings a week, and "to burn the woods in the fittest season, and to help about the pen." That Lahorne was a faithful herdsman was shown at the end of the season, when it was recorded : —

⁵⁷ *Mass. Archives*, cxi. 6.

⁵⁸ *Mass. Colony Records*, ii. 98.

[7. 10. 1646.] Royland Layhorn had out 100 dry cattell and brought them all well home but one.⁵⁹

A year later, the selectmen passed the following order: —

[25. 11^m. 1647.] It was ordrd y^t noe man is to keepe any Cattle within any enclosed ground on Misticksd aft^r the first Month 1648 upon forfeit of 6^d each beast so found, & 6^d each time any beast is so found in any enclosed field.⁶⁰

In the meanwhile, the town made special grants of land or renewed and laid out old ones. In 1647 a committee was appointed to lay out Major Robert Sedgwick's two hundred acres by Reading bounds. This grant had been made by the Court in 1639, and it is described in the Book of Possessions as

Eight score acres of land by estimation, more or lesse, scituate at the northeast point of the towne bounds, bounded on the east by Boston line, and on the north by Lynne villiage;

but I cannot discover that it was laid out in the place prescribed; and it does not otherwise appear that Sedgwick ever owned land at the head-line of Malden. Soon after, January 3, 1647½, "John Wait was granted to have the 8 Akers more or less that lies next to Tho Lines farme on mistik syde;" and a little later a committee was chosen to "lay out yong Thomas Coitmores twoo lotts by Ell pond."⁶¹

With the clearing of fields and the building of homes came the necessity of roads; and we have already seen how the Indian trails, followed perhaps for centuries, gave the first comers ways through the forests and brushwood of Mystic Side. Of these the great trail known as the Salem Path and its branch, leading

⁵⁹ *Charlestown Archives*, xix. *in loco*. Burning the woods in the spring and fall was the continuance of an Indian custom, which is elsewhere mentioned.

⁶⁰ *Charlestown Archives*, xx. *in loco*.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, xix. *in loco*. Wayte's land was laid out in the meadows above Mount Prospect. Captain Thomas Coytmore was lost on the coast of Spain in 1644, and his unlocated land was laid out to his young son, Thomas, who died in his minority. Widow Martha (Rainsborough) Coytmore mar-

ried Governor John Winthrop, and after his death, John Coggan, and inherited the Coytmore lands. After the death of Coggan, although the widow of three husbands and the mother of six children, she became "discontented that she had no suitours," and "encouraged her Farmer, a meane man." If we may believe report, "she grew discontented, despaired, and tooke a great quantity of ratts bane, and so died." *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxx. 45.

southward from Black Ann's Corner to the Indian villages near Powder Horn, were the principal, and were at once adopted by the settlers. The former is first mentioned in 1635⁶² and appears several times in the Book of Possessions. Its course from the Abousett to the Mystic, through Malden, is elsewhere traced. In the great allotment little or no attention appears to have been given to highways, although it was provided that "convenient Highwaies shalbe allowed;" but such ways as were most direct or practicable, through the woods and across the meadows, were taken by the earlier comers without much regard to private bounds. From this cause, in part, arose the custom of placing gates across the roads near farm boundaries. It was not long, however, before the convenience of settled ways which could be permanently maintained became apparent. Especially were they desirable in difficult places, as around hills or over meadows, and the earliest orders appear to have reference to such cases. Thus, the first order after the allotment was designed to settle a way across the Long Meadow — apparently that part of the present Main Street which lies between the City Hall and Bailey's Hill.

[30. v. 1638.] Edw^d Convers & Ezek^l Richeson were desired to lay out A highway in y^e most convenient place over the Meadow at y^e head of the North River allowing the owners of y^e Ground sufficient for their portions allotted them, or els to make them allowance elsewhere.⁶³

The land-way and the drift-way along the five-acre lots ended at the head of the North River, where the lot of Christian Easton closed the range in that direction, until the new way across the meadow extended the united ways northward. A still further extension was soon made; and in the following order we may find the origin of that part of Salem Street which was long known as Baptist Row.

[24. 8^m 1640.] It was ord^rd that Ralph Sprague, Tho: Line & Abra. Palmer should determine the bounds bettwixt M^r Hills fferm, & the Medow & to sett out the Highway for Cattle from the five Acre Lotts to y^e common.⁶⁴

⁶² *Charlestown Archives*, xx. 33.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, xx. *in loco*.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*



This way at that time probably extended no farther eastward than the hills at Faulkner. Here the road long known as Barnes's Lane, and later as Jacob Pratt's Path,⁶⁵ led northward into the woods of the common, and by a circuitous route, along the swampy depths of Green's Hole, gave a rough and dismal way to the Salem Path by the Round World.⁶⁶ Later, a path

⁶⁵ Jacob Pratt's Path was one of the most delightful forest roads to be found in the vicinity. In 1897, I found a few traces of it, between Spruce and Marshall Streets; but they appeared likely to be soon "improved" from the face of the earth. It cannot but be regretted that the destruction or the degradation of our most charming natural scenery has attended the growth of the city. In many instances an absence of taste, or an undue haste to build cheap houses has inflicted injuries which cannot be repaired.

On this path, in a pleasant valley west of Green's Hole, was the home of Thomas Barnes, and later that of his son-in-law, Jacob Pratt. Here were two houses, the elder of which was used as a pest-house during the Revolution. The other, which is supposed to have been built soon after the Revolution, was demolished about thirty years ago. The view represents it in its latter days.

⁶⁶ The Round World was that tract west of Lebanon Street which was formerly known as John Pratt's Plain. In 1662 Joseph Hills sold to Samuel

was developed between the western Scadan hills and the Great Swamp to the Salem Path, which in a few years became a travelled way and completed the line of Salem Street to the vicinity of Maplewood Square. Eastwardly it was still unsettled, passing the Scadan plain far north of its present course.

The next entry in relation to highways on Mystic Side is as follows, and evidently refers to a way leading to the landing place on the South River at Island End, which then appears to have been known as Whitehand's Island, its later names of Moulton's and Mitchell's Island being as yet unborn:—

[9: ij^d mo. 1641.] Ralph Mousall & W^m: Stilson appointed to lay out y^e highway on Mistickside to y^e South river by Whitehands Ileand & about Luddingtons.⁶⁷

Later in the same year, the Indian trail leading southward from the Salem Path at the point of rocks [Black Ann's Corner], being a country way, was defined by an august committee composed of the governor, the deputy governor, John Winthrop, and others. Two years before, the town of Boston had been fined twenty shillings for its defects.⁶⁸ A committee was soon after appointed "to set out the nearest, cheapest, safest, & most convenient way;"⁶⁹ and a bridge was ordered "to be donne with all speede."⁷⁰ This way, changed somewhat in later years, as other ground was found more favorable, was the country way from Lynn to Winnisimmet. In Malden, it is that portion of Lynn Street which runs from Black Ann's Corner to Linden; and in Revere and Chelsea it is known as Washington Avenue. For a short distance it formed a part of the eastern boundary of Charlestown, as it still bounds a portion of Everett.⁷¹ The

Haward about forty acres, which had been the lots of Edward Jones and Thomas Squire, "and are comonly called by the name of the round O." This land was bounded by the rocks and a little swamp and "Mr Bunkers farme house & land." *Midd. Co. Deeds*, iii. 125. The little swamp, or Green's Hole, was a famous locality for snakes. The way mentioned in the text passed along the foot of the rocky hill on the northerly side of the swamp.

⁶⁷ *Charlestown Archives*, xx., *in loco*.

⁶⁸ *Mass. Colony Records*, i. 285.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, i. 289.

⁷⁰ *Boston Town Records*, i. 48.

⁷¹ The following order, which was passed by the General Court, indicates an early change in the travelled way.

"[May 27, 1670.] Whereas the country highway ouer some part of Rumny marsh was Layd out long since from a point of upland to the written tree and tho s^d way was never made

written tree was at the point of rocks above Black Ann's Corner. The "new bridge" was that over Pines River and it was long known as the County Bridge. It was covered with logs or plank until about the year 1830, when it was carried away by a high tide and was rebuilt of stone.⁷²

[^{7 Oct.}
^{1641.}] *The Order for the High Way from the Written Tree to Winnet semet.*

Wee, whose names are hearunder written, being appointed by the Co't to lay out the country high way fro Winnet semet towards Linne, have agreed that it shall go, as formerly, from the water side to the foote of Powder Horne Hill, & from thence about the west end of the said hill, & over the east end of Sagamore Hill, & thence to turne up above the swamps to the line of partition between Charlstowne & Boston, runing along thereby conveniently near to the great swamp, turning downe by the south side thereof to M Keaynes cart way over the said swamp, & so along in the said cart way over the brooke neare unto the ould bridge, & thence in the most convenient way to the New bridge

RICHARD BELLINGHAM, *Go.*;
JOHN ENDECOT, *Dep.*;
JOHN WINTHROPE,
& INCREASE NOWELL.⁷³

The next year a committee was appointed "to view A percell of ground to in lieu for allow for consideracon of A Highway for John Grover by the North Spring;" and grants were made to Increase Nowell and Robert Haile for land taken — for the way by Whiteland's Island, as I suspect. Later in the same year, Edward Mellows was granted "A percell of ground in lieu of A Hig way that is made over his Meadow;" and Joseph Hills was chosen surveyor of highways for Mystic Side.⁷⁴

Passing over one or two orders relating to minor or indefinite ways, we find the following: —

[Jan. 12, 1643 $\frac{3}{4}$] Mr Hill and Lieften^t Sprague are appointed to settle y^e Highway y^t comes out of the Woods to y^e Water side y^t is by

passable, but instead thereof a Causey & bridg hath beene made in another place which hath beene made use of but is now & hath beene often out of repaire It is ordered that the select men of Boston shal take speedy care to make & maintaine a sufficient Causey & bridge ouer the marsh & creeke where

the way was layd out first or to see & cause the Causey & bridge that is already made to be sufficiently repaired & so kept from time to time." *Mass. Archives*, cxxi. 53.

⁷² *Chelsea Pioneer*, February 4, 1882.

⁷³ *Mass. Colony Records*, i. 340.

⁷⁴ *Charlestown Archives*, xx., *in loco*.

M^r Palmers Lott, & likewise the way to the Mill from Goo: Luddingtons house.⁷⁵

The house of William Luddington and its probable location in the vicinity of the South River have been elsewhere mentioned. If there was a mill at that early period on the arm of the South River since known as the Mill Creek, the latter portion of this entry may refer to a short way leading down to it; but I use a Yankee privilege and am inclined to the opinion that it contemplated a settlement of the landway which led northward to Coytmore's mill on the Three Mile Brook — the unsettled and indefinite way which after many changes became the present Main Street. The way first mentioned in the order was soon after laid out; and the following entry was made upon the records: —

[1644.] The Highway from y^e Lotts of y^e reserved Land, of y^e 200 Acres on Mistickside is to bee laid through y^e Lands of M^r Abraham Palmer to runne downe to the landing place over agst M^r Nowells ffarme, & the s^d Highway is to bee laid out two Pole wide, & m^r Palmer to have y^e Ancient Highway in lieu of the oth^r.⁷⁶

I cannot determine with satisfaction the location of this new way. The lands of Abraham Palmer soon became a part of the farm of James Green and the landing place was that at Sandy Bank. If the way was not that which passed along the southern side of Bell Rock, where the meeting house was soon after built, it must have been a long-forgotten way which crossed the brow of Green's Hill or ran even farther south. That such a way existed I have long believed, but the records which hint of it are insufficient and vague.

In the same year authority was given to lay out a way from the river at Lewis's Bridge, by Wayte's Mount, into the heart of the commons beyond Ell Pond. This is definite, and a part of the way we still travel; but north of the Mount it ran far eastward of the present course of Main Street. Its track may still be traced, and will soon be noticed.

[24. 12. 1644½.] It is agreed y^t Tho: Line, Robt Hale & Tho: Pearce should lay out A convenient Highway on Mistickside from

⁷⁵ *Charlestown Archives*, xx., *in loco*.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*.

y^e Woods to the head of the North River & to allow for y^e Highway & to bound the Meadows from y^e Mount to Ell Pond, & to allow them y^e Highway in bounding y^e Meadow.⁷⁷

At the session in May, 1647, the Court, seeing the great importance of convenient and permanent highways, appointed Ralph Sprague of Mystic Side and Francis Smith of Reading "to lay out y^e way fro^m Winnetsetmet to Reading."⁷⁸ This was a part of a general plan by which a continuous highway was opened to the settlements in New Hampshire, passing through Reading, Andover, and Haverhill; and its survey brought forth the first of that long series of humble petitions in which are preserved much of the history of Mystic Side and Malden.

[16: 3: 48] *To the Hon^d Court. The Humble peti^on of sev^ll the Inhabitants of Mestick side & others In Charles towne.* May yt please you to vnd^stand, that there hath beene Lately Layd out A highway from Winesemet to Redding by Appointment of the gen^ll court, whose orders in all things, wee most willingly as dutie binds vs submit vnto, Assuring ourselues that their principall Ayme is the publ. good: w^{ch} vnder fauor we conc^t is not consistent wth the Lying of that way as now it is done: for that it thwarts neere twentie small lotts & Allso many other lotts: w^{ch} if by means thereof, the owners be forced to fence out the way A great p^t of the land must be sould to make the fence, the owners being many of them pore & not able to beare the charge thereof. some of them hauing foure fences All readie Against comon & high way ground. Wherefore o^r humble request is that the said Act may be recalled & that the way vnto wenesemet from Redding may be in the highway leading toward the penie ferrie, vnto the house of James Barritt & so by the towneway leading directly vnto winesemet, lying on the head of the fiae Acre lotts, by the South spring, w^{ch} is Allso A playne, firm trodd way & but litle about. the w^{ch} they now stand charged to fence Against & cannot secure their planting wthout it. So shall wee be bound to pray as wee desire dayly to doe for y^e p^sptie & peace temporall & Eternal.

J^o GREENELAND

RICH. DEXTER

FRANCIS WHEELER

GEORGE FFELT

*Jnth name of the rest.*⁷⁹

⁷⁷ *Charlestown Archives*, xx., in loco.

⁷⁸ *Mass. Colony Records*, ii. 192.

⁷⁹ *Mass. Archives*, cxxi. 21.

This petition indicates that portions of the land-ways and drift-ways of the allotment of 1634 had become the highways to Penny Ferry and Winnisimmet. The petitioners, one of whom, Frances Wheeler, was a widow, were inhabitants or landowners in the southern section, where the new way "thwarted" the grants above the five-acre lots by cutting across the angles made by the highways already in use. In answer to this petition the Court added to the committee the names of two inhabitants of the more northerly portion of Mystic Side in the following order, upon which the report of the committee was endorsed:—

Vpon the petition of mistick side men It is ordered that thomas Line Junior & m^r Joseph Hills shall be added to the former Committee to take a newe survey of the most convenient place for the way from Redding to wennetsetmet, & to make certificate of their apprehensions there about.

by the gen^lall C^orte

JNCREASE NOWELL Sec^r.

Dated the 8th m^o 1648.

Vpon S^uey for A way wthin men^oned. wee App^rhend it most convenient Jn All points to Lay it in the wonted roade from Redding to thomas Lines cornefeild & so ouer some p^t of the sayd feild 2 pole broad on firm ground Aboue his house & so in the highway by the meeting house on Mestick Side Leading toward Charlestown unto the southerly side of Richard Adams Land: & so to the head of the fiue Acre lott^s & vpon the head of the sayd lott^s unto m^r Pygrauaes [*Palgrave's*] lott, & then by A southeast line on the left hand 3 rodds from the new fence ouer A corner of Will: Jonsons playne two rods broad & over John Palmors & Richard Dexters land on the southside of A treble marked walnut by the corner of Richard Cookes feild & so in the high way to the lower end of the rayle betwixt m^r Bellinghams & Tho^s Whittamors land. 10th 2m^o 1649:

RALPH SPRAGUE

FFRANCIS SMITH

JOSEPH HILLS

THO^s LINE.⁸⁰

As three of the committee were Mystic Side men and no less subject to the weaknesses of humanity than those who compose like committees of the present day, it may be that some "private int^rest," or at least a regard for the "conveniency" of

⁸⁰ *Mass. Archives*, cxxi. 18.

their fellow inhabitants, may have influenced them. That the Court so conceived is evident, for the only action taken upon the report is indicated in the following order: —

[May 2, 1649.] Seeing it concernes this Co^rte to p^rvide the best high wayes to be layd out fro^m towne to towne for publike use, w^{ch} concerne all the posterity as well as o^rselves, & therefore that no private int^rest should hind^r it, & forasmuch as the way fro^m Reding to Winnetsemet last layd out is thought to be lesse behooffull for the country then the form^r way layd out by ord^r of this Co^rte, M^r Robt Clements, John Osgood, & Franc^{is} Smith are hereby authorised & appointed to lay out the way, as men most indiff^rent to lay out the same.⁸¹

As these men were of Haverhill, Andover, and Reading, in the order of their names, they were in the meaning of the record “indifferent” men, and so they really proved; for in 1651, when Osgood and Smith died, the way was still unsettled. In the meantime Malden had become a town and its corporate history had begun; but before we turn to that we may with propriety continue the story of the “great country road” to the time when it became a well-defined and settled way. Nothing having been done, the Court passed the following order, and the road was laid out in accordance: —

[May 27, 1652.] Whereas this Court did long since appoynt sundry p^rsons to lay out the way from Reding to Winesemett, which is not yet determined, & some of the p^rsons mentioned in the sd order are dead, and forasmuch as it was ordred by Cambridge Court, that it should forthwith be done by the townes of Redding & Malden, it is now ordred by this Court, that the laying out of the sd highway shalbe done by the townes of Redding & Maldon, according to the law in that case provided, any act of this Court to the contrary notwthstanding.⁸²

[September 10, 1653.] Thomas Marshall, John Smyth, & John Sprague, beinge chosen to lay out the country high way betweene Reddinge & Winnesemett, do lay it out as followes: from Reddinge towne, through Maldon bounds, betwixt the pond & John Smyths land, & so by the east side of M^r Joseph Hills land, to New Hockley Hole, & so in the old way by the Cow Pen, & thence along on the east side of Thomas Coytmores lott, by Ele Pond, in the old way, to Thomas Lynds land, then through the first feild, & so by the feild by his howse, from thence, on the old way, by Maldon meeting howse, through the

⁸¹ *Mass. Colony Records*, ii. 271.

⁸² *Ibid.*, iii. 274.

stony swampe, from the road there vpp betwixt Richard Addams & John Vphams lottes, into Charlstowne bounds, through W^m Johnsons & Richard Dexters land into y^e way by the South Springe, & so on the south side of Tho Whitamores howse into M^r Bellinghams land, into the way that goeth to the fferry: the sd way to be fower pole broad, in good ground, & six or eight where need requires.⁸⁸

This highway, although many of its landmarks have long been forgotten, may still be traced. From Lewis's Bridge to Wayte's Mount, passing in a still older way, it was Main Street as it now exists, except that it was narrower and more crooked. On the hillside by the First Baptist Church it has been widened towards the brook by a broad terrace, and many eccentric elbows have disappeared. Beyond Wayte's Mount, it turned to the eastward, to avoid the meadows, and followed in the Salem Path to a point represented on the map of 1885 by the line between the land of O. W. Ennis and Forest Dale Cemetery. Here it left the Salem Path and ran northerly until it came to the still unsettled and rocky hills which cover that section, through which it ran with many windings as the ground presented more or less difficulties. Here, until they were obliterated by the laying out of the cemetery, the traces of the old way were very distinct. Although disused for more than a century and a half, its marks were seemingly those of yesterday, and the curious pedestrian might cross a little brook on a rude stone bridge which served the men of 1653. It could be followed with certainty to the south-west corner of Wyoming Cemetery; and it reappeared on the north side of Sylvan Street, opposite the north-east entrance of the cemetery. Here, in 1894, it was still clearly defined, winding around the eastern side of Boston Rock, where there remained a low rough wall laid on the lower side of the road to keep the way from washing out. A little farther on it unites with a modern street, which occupies the ancient way and is known as Linwood Avenue — an unmeaning and pretentious title like many others, beneath which are buried older and better names. From Linwood Avenue it passed easterly over a portion of Lynde Street to Louisburg Square, where the John Lynde

⁸⁸ *Mass. Colony Records*, iii. 330.

house, a relic of the eighteenth century, long stood beneath its magnificent elm. South of this point, Lebanon Street is a modern road,⁸⁴ but northerly it is the old way to its junction with Green Street at Ell Pond, where a common watering and flaxing place long remained until by some means it became private property. Beyond Ell Pond, the great road followed the present Green Street by a circuitous route, perhaps to pass "along on the east side of Thomas Coytmore's lott," to a point near its northerly junction with Main Street; thence it followed the direction of that street, running mostly east of it until it came into Reading bounds.

South of Pemberton's Brook, the course of the old way is not so clear. Whether at first it went directly over Lewis's, or Bailey's, Hill to the meeting house at Bell Rock, or passed around it, in the old way to the landing-place at Sandy Bank, is uncertain;⁸⁵ although I am quite sure that a way over the hill was in use a few years later. Leaving Bell Rock, it traversed the ministry land and passed over the line of the present Cross Street near the corner of High Street; from whence it ran up the hill to the house of James Green, a portion of which still exists, though concealed by a later structure, in the Perkins house on Appleton Street. Here some traces of the old way were to be seen as lately as 1850. South of the Perkins house was the Stony Swamp, a tract of land which has been reclaimed, but which formerly showed many traces of its early condition, around which the road ran to Bucknam Street at the point where it is crossed by Bradford Street. The latter street for a short distance eastward is laid over the old way; and on the higher land near by could be seen, forty years ago, an old cellar which was once covered by an early home of the Dexters.⁸⁶ That part of Bucknam Street which lies south of Bradford Street, and

⁸⁴ Lebanon Street, from Forest Street to Upham Street, was laid out as a town way, "from Isaac Upham's house to John Pratt's house," in 1839. When the streets were named in 1846, the whole way from Salem Street was called Back Street.

⁸⁵ The old way to Sandy Bank was

afterwards known as Poor House Lane; Burying Ground Lane; Marsh Street, 1846; and Madison Street.

⁸⁶ This house is said to have been the birthplace of the eccentric Lord Timothy Dexter. He was son of Nathan and Esther (Brintnall) Dexter, and was born January 22, 1747½.

was once known as Bucknam's Lane, has nothing of the rural beauty which it formerly possessed. From a narrow, winding, country way, lined with wild roses and berry bushes, it has become a broad and straight suburban street; but it is, nevertheless, the old way of 1653, which, passing into Norwood Street, found, in Everett Square, once known as Oakes's Corner, the "firm trodd way" from James Barrett's house to the South Spring. Onward it is all the old way by the South Spring, now hidden, and the site of Thomas Whittemore's house until it crosses the old Boston line and passing along the lower edge of Powder Horn loses itself "into the way that goeth to the fferry."

It appears that the new way was not entirely satisfactory in its northern part; and in 1655 the General Court "suspended from being made vse of for present" a portion of the "Highway by Maulden" until "this Court shall take further order, that so . . . present contentions and sujtes of lawe may be prevented."⁸⁷ Sixteen years later some part of the way near Boston Rock became unsettled and was defined by order of the County Court.

This 19 September 71.

In Order to what the County Court held at Charlestown the of June 1671 who hath Chosen and impowered James grene Josias Conuers and Jonathan Poole to state the hyway now In question towards Redding nere Ensigne Thomas linds being in his grounds :: we Whos names are aboue mentioned do therefore Se Cause to remoue the hywaye from where Jt did former ly that Js to say through the Oald feld to the place vnder the rocks where the waye now lyes. Witness our hands.

JAMES GRENE

JOSIAS CONUARS

JONATHAN POOLE⁸⁸

⁸⁷ *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (i.) 237.

⁸⁸ *Midd. Court Files*, October, 1671.



CHAPTER IV.

CHURCH AND TOWN.

ALL the elements out of which an independent community could be made might be found in 1648 on Mystic Side. From landowners, merely, men had become planters; and their rude houses, rough and of a temporary character as many of them undoubtedly were, might now be found scattered along the plains and upon the uplands of the rivers from Moulton's Island and the Mystic to the forests around Wayte's Mount and Boston Rock. I do not think that settlers had advanced beyond the house of Thomas Lynde, above Wayte's Mount, although one or two may have gone beyond Ell Pond towards the headline, where Thomas Green soon after planted and founded the little forest-bound neighborhood of the Greens of the Woods. If so, they had met the tide of civilization coming from Lynn and settling around the ponds in Reading. There is reason to believe that Joseph Hills had built his house, if he had not found it already built by Coytmore, at the corner of Salem and Main Streets, where his well-known well yielded its cooling draughts to man and beast until 1894. His son-in-

law, John Wayte, who soon after added to his grant of eight acres portions of the Coytmore lands, may have built his house farther north, where he died, at the foot of the rock which bears his name.

On the highland, since known as Bailey's Hill, John Lewis had settled on his five-acre lot "in y^e common field," and given his name to the bridge at its foot, which it retained until within a few years, when the brook lost its ancient character and the passage beneath the street became a culvert. Not far from Lewis, in the vicinity of Bell Rock or farther south, beyond the meadow, on Green's Hill, was William Brackenbury, a prominent man, who is

William Brackenbury

supposed to have been one of the earliest to plant on the banks of the North River. The improbable tradition "that he occupied what is known as the Russell [Nowell] farm,"¹ owes its origin, perhaps, to his ownership of land adjoining the Wilson grant.

On the highlands near Sandy Bank, where land was reserved for a landing place and a burying ground, a few families had settled, the first of those who advanced into the country towards the head of the North River. Traces of habitation might be found there within my memory, and a few hardy flowers, first planted by hands that were long ago folded and forgotten, still lingered around the hollows that alone remained of those early homes. Farther east on Green's Hill, James Green had built on the Graves lot the house of which a portion, as has been mentioned, is still standing on Appleton Street. Far south of Sandy Bank in the easterly vicinity of the North Spring, we may place Rowland Lahorne and his Sabbath-breaking wife, Flora, with their "House having a cubbord and Bedstead in it;"² and near by was Philip Atwood's house and garden. The Bucknams had not yet settled near Willoughby's lot in Johnson's Plain; but Edward Carrington had apparently built on his land near by, which, having received additions, he afterwards described as "all that is mine or that may be called mine on

¹ *Bi-Centennial Book of Malden*, 239.

² *Midd. Court Files*, xi. 10.

Mistick side from the Pennie ferry to Lewises Bridge.”³ This land, descending to his son-in-law, Stephen Paine, was long known as the Paine farm, more recently as the Simon Tufts farm. Of the two ancient houses formerly standing upon this farm, one of which has recently been demolished, that which may still be seen beneath the hill by the side of Main Street, south of Winthrop Street, in Everett, was the elder, and was probably built by Edward Carrington. The other house, upon the hill above it, was built by the Paines.



William Sargeant, a haberdasher and a preacher, who is described by Edward Johnson as a “godly Christian,” was upon the pleasant highland in Everett which long bore his name, but which has since been known as Nelson’s Hill from a later resident, the Rev. Ebenezer Nelson of the First Baptist Church; and James Barrett, with his house at the present corner of Main and School Streets, has been mentioned. At Moulton’s Island and upon the highlands above we have seen Thomas Moulton and his neighbors, John Greenland and George

³ Carrington’s Will, 1684, *Midd. Probate Files*, *in loco*. Views of the two houses mentioned in the text are given in this chapter. In that of the Paine-Tufts house, the roof of the other is seen over the hill.

Felt, and the other petitioners of 1640; and it is very probable that Seth Sweetser had early crossed the Mystic as a settler, landing at Wormwood Point, which became his place of habitation and received his name. Others may be located as inhabitants of Mystic Side with a degree of certainty, and of others the presence as sojourners can only be ascertained.

It has been seen that the land which was reserved for those who came with another minister had been diverted from its original purpose; but it is probable that it was intended from the first that a church should be formed on Mystic Side when it had received a sufficient number of inhabitants.

Meanwhile, the settlers had formed a part of the church of Charlestown, from which they received the ordinances and to which they carried their infants for baptism. The distance and the difficulties which lay between their homes and the meeting-house across the wide river were great, and in the winter season must have been all but insurmountable, save to the strongest. What time the new church was formed and the circumstances which attended it are alike uncertain. It was a small gathering and in some respects a most forlorn one; for while the fathers may have been rich in spiritual gifts, in material means they were poor indeed. Religious services may have been held on Mystic Side and some steps taken towards a church organization in 1648, under which date John Josselyn wrote, "A Church gathered at *Malden* Mr. *Sarjant* pastor;"⁴ and Edward Johnson says:—

About this time the Town of Malden had his first foundation stones laid by certain persons, who issued out of Charles-Town, and indeed had her whole structure within the bounds of this more elder Town, being severed by the broad ipreading river of Mistick the one from the other, whose troublesome passage caused the people on the North side of the river to plead for Town-priviledges within themselves, which accordingly was granted them; the soyl is very firtille, but they are much straitned in their bounds, yet their neerness to the chief Market Towns, makes it the more comfortable for habitation, the people gathered into a Church some distance of time before they could attain to any Church-Officer to administer the Seals unto them, yet in the

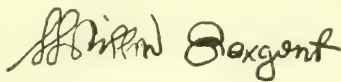
⁴ Josselyn, *Two Voyages to New England*, 264.

mean time at their Sabbath assemblies they had a godly Christian named M. *Sarjant*, who did preach the Word unto them, and afterwards they were supplied at times with some young Students from the Colledg.⁵

That the gathering of the church was not accomplished without difficulties and, perhaps, some irregularities, is indicated by events which will be considered elsewhere. That they "treated" with several clergymen without success is known. Michael Wigglesworth wrote in 1658:—

Consider how long y^e hand of y^e Almighty hath been stretched out . . . frustrating yo^r endeavo^rs after one, crossing & disappointing yo^r hopes in anoth^r, & it may be in a third, keeping you with in a forlorn condition, & altogeth without a minister, or at an uncertain pass without an officer; so y^t it was long before you enjoyed Christ in all his ordinaⁿces.⁶

The M. Sarjant of Johnson was William Sargeant, who has already been mentioned, a lay preacher and a ruling elder of the church, who led in religious services and exhortation, but was not allowed by ordination to perform the rite of baptism and to administer the sacramental bread and wine.⁷ Joseph Hills is also mentioned as a ruling elder soon after.⁸



⁵ Johnson, *Wonder-working Providence*, 211.

⁶ *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, May, 1871, 94.

⁷ "[November 14, 1639.] William Sergeant late of Northampton haberdasher of Hatts and now of Charlestown in New England planter & Sarah his wife late the wife of William Minshall of Whitchurch in the County of Salop gent. Deceased, are both blessed be God in full life & good health at the time of the making hereof." Lechford, *Note-Book*, 137.

Extensive researches of John S. Sargent of Chicago, the results of which were generously placed in my hands for use long ago, and which have since been given in full in Sargent, *Sargent Genealogy*, show the social position and descent of this "godly Christian." Hugh Sargeant, of Courtenhall, Northamptonshire, gent., was born about 1535 and died February 23, 1595. His wife was

Margaret Gyfford. Their son, Roger, married Ellen Marchames of Finedon, January 3, 1580/90. He was a linendraper and mercer at Northampton and was mayor of that city in 1626. His wife was buried, October 21, 1645; and he was buried, July 16, 1649. William was the seventh child of Roger and Ellen, and was baptized at Northampton, June 20, 1602. He became a freeman and married, (1) Hannah; (2) Marie; (3) Sarah, widow of William Minshall. He came to New England in 1638 and was admitted to the church at Charlestown, March 10, 1638.

Elder Sargeant removed to Barnstable in, or prior to, 1658, being made a freeman of Plymouth Colony in that year. He died, December 16, 1682, leaving his Malden lands to his eldest son John, who became the ancestor of a numerous progeny.

⁸ *Midd. Court Files*, ii. 16½.

The gathering of the church was the beginning of political life, for in it lay the roots of all secular as well as ecclesiastical authority. Out of it came the town and the state; and on its usages were based the usages and forms of primary assemblies, elections, and courts. Church members were the only freemen of the Colony. As early as 1631 the Court ordered:—

To the end the body of the commons may be p'served of honest and good men, it was . . . ordered and agreed that for time to come noe man shalbe admitted to the freedome of this body politticke, but such as are members of some of the churches within the lymitts of the same.⁹

They alone could vote in town and colony affairs and hold office. Nor could they avoid the privileges which were conferred upon them; for it was ordered, "concerning members that refuse to take their freedom, the churches should bee writ unto, to deale wth them."¹⁰ They who had taken the residents' oath might hold lands and become members of "any trayned band;" but, although they might vote for such officers, they could not become "captaines, or other inferio^r officers . . . for it is the intent & order of the Court that no person shall henceforth bee chosen to any office in the commonwealth but such as is a freeman."¹¹

Having then the beginnings of municipal existence, measures of separation were soon taken by the freemen of Mystic Side. An apparently misplaced leaf in the Charlestown Records bears an agreement, which must have been written in 1648. It contains the first intimation of a division; although it is not clear that the intention was not to settle the bounds as between two churches for the purpose of laying ministerial rates rather than to found a new town. The names of the signers, as they are the first to appear in this connection, may be considered as those of the fathers of Malden.

Wee whose names are heer vnder written weighing wth our selus what may most promote the glory of God, and conduce to the increase of brotherly Love and Peace: wee according to the Churches aduice are willing to Suspend o^r gathering till next third day a month certaine in which tyme we alsoe promise to apply our selus to the setling of the

⁹ *Mass. Colony Records*, i. 87.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, ii. 38.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, i. 188.

bounds betwixt the town and vs : and if wee and their Agents cannot agree it, we agree to chuse twoo or three men for each partie to doe it

JOSEPH HILL[s]

JAMES GREENE

RALPH SPRAGUE

ABRAHAM HILL

EDWARD CARRINGTON

THOMAS OSBORNE

THOMAS SQUIRE

JOHN LEWIS

JOHN WAITE

THOMAS CAULE¹²

It is probable that this document contains the names of all, or nearly all, the male members of the infant church. How long a delay occurred cannot be ascertained; but on the first day of January, 1648⁹, the inhabitants of Charlestown chose a committee

to meet with the 3 chosen brethren on Mistike Syde . . . to confer with them about the bounds of the land and division thereof between vs and them and all particular cases pertaining theretoo, And to give report thereof vnto the Generall towne at the next publike meeting of the towne.¹³

There are two copies of the result of the work of the committees; one in the Charlestown Records; and a second in the Middlesex Registry of Deeds, put upon record, January 4, 169½, from a defaced original, which was apparently the copy of the agreement which was retained by the Malden committee. I print the preamble to the Malden copy and the whole of the Charlestown copy that both may be preserved.

Charlestowne & Mistickside. Agreement respect^s their Bounds Viz:

Rich^d Sprague Ralph Mousall W^m Stilson & Robert Halle were Deputed and Authorized by & on y^e behalfe of the Jnhabitants of Charlestowne on y^e one part as by a certain writing bearing date y^e 26 day of y^e first m^o: 1649, agreed in a publick Town meeting doth appear, And Will^m Sergeant. Jo^s Hills Ralph Sprague & Edward Carrington were likewise Deputed and authorized by and on y^e behalfe of the Jnhabitants of Mistick Side on y^e other part as also by a writing dated y^e last of y^e 1st m^o: 49 : agreed at a publick meeting of theire said Jnhabitants [as] doth also appear to agree and settle the bounds both of Jmpropriate and Common Ground betwixt y^e Jnhabitants of Charlestowne and y^e Jnhabitants of Mistickside. It is agreed and Concluded by y^e Commissioners for both parts as followeth That in Consideration the brethren on Mistick side are by the Providence of God shortly to go into a

¹² *Charlestown Archives*, xix. 23.

¹³ *Ibid.*, *in loco*.

Church Estate by them selues, and for y^e more Comfortable proceeding, and Carrying on of that worke of Christ amongst them It is granted and hereby agreed, that all y^e Land both Allottments and Common on y^e north side of the High way from y^e written tree, &c.

A True Coppy of the Propositions concluded betweene us the Inhabitants of Charlestowne who were appointed Commission^{rs} heerein by y^e whole Towne : And o^r brethren on Mistickside (or Maulden) who were appointed Commissio^{ns} by theire whole Towne heerein the seaventeenth day of the second month, (or Aprill) 1649.

To y^e end the Worke of Christ, & the things of his house there in hand may bee the more Comfortably carryed on. It is agreed as followeth.

1st: That all the Land both Allottments & Common on y^e North East side of y^e Highway from [*the*] Written Tree to the Bound Marke betwixt M^r Nowells & M^r Cradducks ffarmes, & so besides Meadford ffarme & Wobourne, & thence to Readding [*to Charlestowne*] head Line & [*so*] to the written Tree are to bee measured at the Joynt charge of both parties, after the allowances made to [*some*] Wobourne men [*as y^e Committee in that thing shall determine*] & [*also to*] Meadford ffarme, as the Court shall determine. then the rest to be equally devided ; betwixt the Towne & mistickside y^e Bounds to beginne at [*Stephen*] ffosdicks Southwest Corner.¹⁴

2^{ly}: That all the Timber & Wood behind Leiften^{nt} [*Ralph*] Spragues Lott & the rest of y^e Lotts within Spott Pond Brooke runing to the Mill shalbee & remaine to the use of Charlestowne over & above all y^e within theire Line [*of Common, Excepting*] & [*alwaies reserved*] for the use of the [*Mistick side*] Inhabit^{nts} within [*y^e Compass of*] y^e s^d Brook & no other [*from such time as y^e partition aforesaid is settled.*]

3^{ly}: That M^r Joseph Hills sixty Acre Lott, & M^r [*William*] Serieants forty Acre Lott to bee deducted also out of Mistickside's p'portion of Common, & y^e for Partition of Townes [*touching Impropriated Lands,*] the Line shall runne from the uttmost head Corner of Thomas Whittamores five Acre Lott (some time M^r Nowells) on the head of the five Acre Lotts, to M^r [*William*] Serieants garden, & along by his fence till it comes on A straite Line with Rich^d Pratts Northside Line, & so upon the same Line to y^e North River.

¹⁴ Fosdick's lot was the last but one in the allotment towards the common between Cradock's grant, or Medford, and the lands of Mystic Side. As has been stated, it was afterwards occupied by the Malden Alms House. The highway from the written-tree, at Black Ann's

Corner, to the mark between Nowell and Cradock was the Salem Path; and a division of the lands north of it to Reading line, as provided in this article, fixed the western line of Malden through the Middlesex Fells to Smith's Pond.

4ly: That the Inhabit^{nts} without the [*said*] Line shall have Liberty to water their Cattle at the North Spring after Harvest time p^rvided they damage no mans Meadow or Corne [*notwithstanding any fence that may be erected.*]

5ly: That M^r Wilsons & M^r Nowells ffarmes shall remaine to Charlstown.

6ly: That the Inhabit^{nts} on Mistickside shall beare A p^rportion of y^e Charges imposed on Charlstowne touching y^e Castle as form^ly they have done, d^reing the p^rsent engagem^t

7ly: That the Inhabit^{nts} of Mistickside shall beare their p^rportion of all Towne charges proper to the Towne in gen^l to this day.

8ly: That the Inhabit^{nts} of Mistickside shall beare A p^rportion of y^e Charge of the Battery in Charlstowne as formerly forever, unlesse the Towne see cause to slight it:

9ly: All the Inhabit^{nts} on Mistickside now resident to Common their Cattle with them, but if any oth^r shall settle henceforth wth in the Towne Line they are heereby exempted Commonage with them on Mistickside.

10ly: ff^r farth^r Incouragem^t of y^e worke affores^d wee acquitt the Inhabit^{nts} within the Line of Charlstowne from Church charges, for three yeares next ensuing & noe more.

11ly: for the Common ground on Mistickside bettwixt the fferry and the Mill Bridge, after Sufficient Landing places at sandy Banck, & A burying place also there [*Excepted.*] Also it shalbee at the disposing of Charlstowne to sattisfy Highwaies, & answ^r Just engagem^{ts} bettwixt the fferry & the Mill Bridge.

12ly: And if Charlstowne p^rportion of Commons shall need Highwaies & Landing places out of y^e Proportion of Mistickside it is heereby granted them, & concluded on: wittness o^r hands the day & yeare aboves^d

The Comissio^{rs}
names for
Charlstowne were
RICH^d RUSSELL
FFRA^s WILLOUGHBY
RICH^d SPRAGUE
RALPH MOUSALL
W^m STILSON
ROBT HALE

The Comissio^{rs}
for Mistickside
were
W^m SERIEANT
JOSEPH HILL[S]
RALPH SPRAGUE
EDW^d CARRINGTON

Memorand it was agreed by the Committe within mentioned before the signement by the whol Committe in referrence to the sixth [11th] Article y^t the two landing places at Sandy Banck shalbe divided in this manner namely the uper banck at the Tree formerly apportioned & marked

by Ralph Mousall, Robert Hale & Joseph Hills. The lower in the middle of the Land by A just measure betwixt William Brankenbury and the marsh ground. And that the halfe part next William Brackenbury^s & y^t part above the Tree at the uper place shalbe and remain in proprietic unto the towne of Maldon for ever; And the other two parts shalbe & remaine in proprietic unto the use of Charlestowne for ever provided that no part of the Land behinde the said Landing places, namely bounded by the said Ralph Mousell, Robert Hale and Joseph Hills be no time disposed to any other use but for landing & laying of Wood, Timber, fframe^s of house^s, hay & other things, nor to hinder highway^s for the use of each Towne: Also to the Seventh [9th] Article it is Agreed y^t it be understood & intended to give interest in the Common of Maldon for Timber, Wood & Cattle to the Inhabitants now resident and to their naturall Children y^t Shall hereafter live in any of the house^s of the present Inhabitants or upon the land belonging to them provided the number of dwelling house^s be no time more than are now extant there.

And for a cleer determination of the Eight [6th] Article touching the Castle it is agreed y^t the proportion for Maldon shall be A ninth part of the charge thereof dureing the present Engagement as is expressed. Also to the Eleventh [12th] Article it is agreed that the Commons of Charlestown shall have need full highway^s through proprietic^s as well as the common ground in Maldon. Also it is agreed y^t where ever the word Mistickside is mentioned for distinction from Charlestown it is intended & shall henceforth be understood to denominate the town of Maldon. Witness our hands the fourth of the fourth month, one Thousand and Six hundred fifty one.

JOSEPH HILLS

WILLIAM SERGEANT

JOHN WAYTE being chosen

in the Roome of Lieut Sprague

EDWARD CARRINGTON

In the preséence of

JAMES GARETT

JOHN UPPAME

Touching the Allowance for Meadford farme mentioned in the first Article. It is agreed & concluded by the Commissi^{rs} here under written that there shalbe deducted out of y^e tract of land mentioned in the said Article. One hundred twenty five Acre^s of Land before y^e line of divission betwixt the two Towne^s Common^s.

Stephen Pain aged fifty Eight years or thereabouts doth testifie and say that this Instrumēt here produced was seen by y^e abouesaid p^{son} wth the names of the Committee men to it, before they were defaced, and that they were Subscribed by y^e Clerk of a True Coppie, wth y^e pri-
viledged Housen that belongs to Maldin common for Timber, Wood &

Cattle, namely Edward Carrington & Thomas Molton, James Pemmer-ton, Richard Dexter, John Greenland, James Barrett, and severall other ffamilies, that he can & doth Attest to :

Xb^r : 29 : 1691 : Charlestowne :
At y^e Adjournm^t of y^e Court
Sworn Jn Court by STEPHEN PAIN
Att^s SAM^L. PHIPPS *Cler*

John Pratt aged 35 years or thereabouts testifieth and said, that these articles concerning y^e p^riviledge housen on mistick side, that haue p^riviledge in Maldon common, for Timber wood and Cattle, wth y^e names of severall houses, as Edward Carrington, Richard Dexter, James Bar-rett, and severall others, this was brought to me to convince me that J had no priviledge in maldon common, because J was a Tennant, and not an heire of that J lived on & further saith not :

[*Sworn to as above.*]¹⁵

Having made a definite and, apparently, an amicable agree-ment with their Charlestown brethren, the men of Mystic Side now carried their petition to the Court; and the following entries on the records of the Colony, indicating the action of the Council and the consent of the Deputies, form the simple act of incorporation under which the town of Malden existed for two hundred and thirty-three years.

[1649 :
2 May.] Upon the petition of Mistick side men, they are
Mdon granted to be a distinct towne, & the name thereof to
be called Mauldon.

[1649 :
11 May.] In answer to the petition of seu'll inhabitants of
Misticke side, their request is graunted, viz., to be a
named distinct toune of themselves, & the name thereof to
Maulden. be Maulden.¹⁶

¹⁵ The first part of this document, to "A True Copy of the Propositions," is from the Malden copy, *Midd. Co. Deeds*, xi. 83. The second part, to "Memorand it was agreed," is from the Charlestown copy, *Charlestown Archives*, xx. 151, 153, with additions, in italics, from the Malden copy. The "Memorand," following the names of the commissioners, is from *Charlestown Records*, v. 5. The affidavits of Paine and Pratt are recorded with the Malden copy, *Midd. Co. Deeds*, xi. 83. William Mellins, "aged 21 years or there about," testified to the same effect. This collation must give the full agree-

ment as it was understood by the inhabi-
tants of the two sections.

¹⁶ *Mass. Colony Records*, ii. 274 ; iii. 162. The next year the town was granted a brand mark.

"[1650 23 May.] Maldons marke. Vppon the request of the inhabitants of Maldon, the Court hath appoynted that : **ML** : shalbe the brand-marke for theire towne." *Mass. Colony Records*, iii. 188.

It will be observed that in the record of the Council the new town is given its proper name of Maldon, which it does not receive in the Deputies' record. Its

The financial settlement between the towns is the subject of at least two entries in the Charlestown Records:—

That w^{ch} of Brethren of Maulden are to allow theire p^rportion of to this Towne for Debts oweing when they went from us: vizt oweing to the Cap^m of the Castle when or brethren

went away	22 : 2 : 11
To M ^r Long for diett	5 : 6 : 4
To M ^r Mellows	15 : 0 : 0
To Wido: Rand	10 : 8 : 0
To M ^r Nowell for a man at Castle	2 : 10 : 0
To Laurance Dowce	6 : 0 : 0
To goo: Tedd	6 : 4 : 0
To ffoxes & Wolves	9 : 0 : 0
To M ^r Norton for charge about y ^e Castle	6 : 0 : 0
To A Petition about Meadford	0 : 10 : 0
To of Eld ^{rs} allowances	4 : 0 : 0
<hr/>	
To the Trayning place	20 : 0 : 0
To Cap ^m Davenport from the 9: month 1648 to the ffifte moneth 1650	31 : 4 : 0

The bills w^{ch} are paid to Charlstowne by of brethr: of Malden since the 10: of the X: month 1653 when was due to Charls Towne from y^e Towne of Maulden thirty five Pounds thirteene shillings

	<i>li</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>
Imprimis paid to bro: Pentecost	0	19	0 ^o
paid by A bill to bro: Stilson	1	0	11
paid by A bill to Rowse & Morley 12 Cord of Wood	2	14	0
paid to Welch 12 Cord of Wood & in A bill	4	1	7
paid 16 bush ^{ls} of Turneps at 16 ^d	1	1	4
paid by knower 39½ bush ^{ls} of Indian Corne	4	10	5
paid by knower in Tobacco	0	12	4
paid to Robt Hale in Cord Wood	10	12	6
<hr/>			
The 14: of y ^e xj: 1655 ¹⁷	25	12	1

origin in the name of the English town has been noticed. Although the form, Malden, was used and perhaps generally so, from the beginning, the usage of many of the best informed and more careful people favored Maldon. Deacon John Shute, who was town clerk for thirty-six years, and who was one of the most careful of scribes, employed the incorrect form in the earlier portion of his

term; but in 1743 he adopted the other and invariably used it thereafter in his records. When he closed his books and his term at the annual town meeting, March 6, 1769, Maldon departed from the records. The propriety of placing it, *in memoriam*, upon the town seal was once considered, but the proposition met with little favor and no success.

¹⁷ *Charlestown Archives*, xx. 180, 186.

The line between the two towns, on the southerly side of Malden, ran from the head of the five-acre lots near Powder Horn Hill north-westerly to the North River, which it appears to have met near Sandy Bank. This division left to Charlestown the territory now occupied by the south-western portion of Everett, which retained the old name of Mystic Side, and its inhabitants were known as "our Charlestown neighbors." Practically, they were a part of the new town, having their religious and social privileges with its inhabitants, and burying their dead in its graveyard at Sandy Bank.

Not unlike the people of Mystic Side, in relation to Malden, were the planters in that section of Charlestown which lay along the western banks of the North River and Three Mile Brook, separating Malden from Medford for many years, and many of those who had settled at Winnisimmet and Rumney Marsh and on that narrow and peculiar strip of six hundred acres which began at Bride's Brook, near Black Ann's Corner, and ran along the eastern side of Malden to the Reading line. These, like the Charlestown neighbors of Mystic Side, worshipped, married, and were buried with the Malden people. So intimate were their relations that it is sometimes difficult to separate them from their Malden neighbors; and the names of Floyd, Breeden, Boardman, Blanchard, and Tufts, although the names of settlers beyond the proper bounds of Malden and Mystic Side, may become as familiar to the Malden antiquary as those of Wayte and Hill, or Upham and Green. Some of the few inhabitants of Medford, who were without a meeting house until 1696, were also members of the Malden congregation, if not of the church.

A vivid impression of the scattered condition of the population of Middlesex and a part of Suffolk in 1649 may be gained if it can be realized that the little church of Malden, with hardly more than a score of members, stood alone in the midst of the "uncouth wilderness," which stretched from the Mystic to Reading and Woburn, and from the Abousett and the sea to the frontier settlement and church at Concord.¹⁸

¹⁸ The year 1649 was rendered memorable in the annals of early New England by the deaths of John Winthrop and Thomas Shepard, and by "innumerable

There are no records of the town before 1678. A "first town book" was in existence in 1701, but no member of the living generations ever saw it.¹⁹ In its absence the perplexed antiquary must gather from widely scattered sources the story of the birth of the town and its early years of growth. The authorities are documents and records, often indefinite and unsatisfactory — papers made for a purpose soon past, and not intended to convey information to a distant age; but in the vagueness and uncertainty of the light which they shed we may see a sparse and sturdy population, ever working and praying amid discouragements and fears, overcoming a wilderness and laying deep the foundations of the institutions we enjoy.

Of the acts of the town in its first essays at self-government we know but little. Joseph Hills, who had already served as Speaker of the House of Deputies, was chosen deputy, or representative to the General Court at the first election. John Wayte appears as clerk of the writs, filling the place of a town clerk at a time when that office did not exist by name;²⁰ and Thomas Squire, John Upham, William Brackenbury, John Wayte, and Thomas Call, appear in 1651 as the first board of Selectmen of which we have knowledge. At the same time, Richard Adams filled the not unimportant office of constable.

If the record of the early years of the town could be read, we would find that those were the days of small things. But small as they might seem to us, these things were of the utmost importance to our fathers. Regulations for the fencing of common lands against private grounds, the adjustment of indefinite bounds, the settling of highways and townways, the care of the flocks and herds by public shepherds or herdsmen,

hosts of caterpillars, which destroyed the fruits of the earth, in divers places, and did eat off the leaves of trees, so as they looked as bare as if it had been winter; and in some places did eat the leaves from off the pease straw, and did not eat the pease." This was followed the next year by a great mortality among children, and by "new diseases the fruits of new sins." Morton, *New-England's Memorial*, [1826] 144, 146.

¹⁹ It is mentioned as "y^e first Town book" in the report of a committee on "y^e Country Rhoads," recorded in the Town records in 1701. The missing volume was advertised in 1862 and a liberal reward offered for its recovery.

²⁰ The duties of a clerk of the writs and the gradual merging of the office in that of the town clerk are noticed in the chapter on town officers. Captain John Wayte held the office from 1649 to 1684.

the hanging of gates across public ways, and like matters were the staples which formed the fabric of town business. Mixed with it all was the care which maintained church privileges and fostered the school, that through ignorance the cause of religion might not decline.²¹

Having a church and a town government, the people of Malden waited not long for another accompaniment of English populations, as is shown in the following petition: —

To the hon'd Cort for the counti of Midlesex Wee whose names are herunder written doe well App'ue Thomas Skinner for Keeping An ordinary for the Accomodation of Travellers & such like accasions: humbly desiring he may by you be licenced herunto for our Town of Maldon

22 : 1 : m^o 1651 :

THOMAS SQUIRE	}	<i>Selectmen</i>
JO. VPPAM		
WILL BRAKENBURY		
JO. WAYTE		
THO. CALL	}	RICHARD ADAMS <i>Const.</i> ²²

John Hathorne, however, who had come to Malden from Salem, and whose action as a witness in the Matthews troubles apparently gained him the favor of the authorities as well as the displeasure of his neighbors, received the appointment from the General Court to which he had petitioned.

[^{1651:}
_{23 May.}] In ans^r to the petition of John Hawthorne, this Courte judgeth it meete to encourage and appointe him, the sajd John Hawthorne, to goe on and keepe the ordjnary at Malden.²³

It may be presumed that the ire of the Malden people was visited upon their offending townsman, for his business does not seem to have prospered and he remained here but a short time. As early as during the succeeding November he removed to Lynn, where he was guilty of practices which received the atten-

²¹ A Puritanic reason, but a good and righteous one. Said the law-givers:—

"It being one chief project of Sathan to keep Men from the knowledg of the Scripture, as in former times keeping them in unknown tongues, so in these Latter times by perswading from the use of tongues that so at least the true sence and meaning of the Originall might be Clouded

and Corrupted with false closses of deceivers, to the end therefore that learning may not be Buried in the graves of our forefathers in Church & Commonwealth, the Lord attesting our endeavours. It is therefore Ordered etc." *Lawes and Libertyes*, [1660] 70.

²² *Midd. Court Files*, i. 11.

²³ *Mass. Colony Records*, 4 (i.) 47.

tion of the General Court.²⁴ The next year the following record appears:—

[^{1652:}
^{26 May.}] In ans^r to the petition of the inhabitants of Malden, the Courte doth graunt libertje and licence to Thomas Skinner to keepe an ordinary there, in the roome and stead of John Hawthorne, who was formerly licensed there.²⁵

Later the selectmen asked and received a broader license for "our Bro^r," as is shown in the following petition and reply:—

To the hon^d Court

Wee whose Names are vnderwritten, Desyre that our Bro^r Thomas Skinner, may be lycenced to sell Strong waters And Wine to Supplie the necessitys of the Towne, and Travellers, paying the Accustomed fees.

Malden 30th of
y^e 10th mo 1653

JOHN VPPAM
WILL BRAKENBURY
THO^s GREEN
JOH SPRAGUE
JOH. WAYTE

} *selectmen.*²⁶

[3. (11) 1653.] Vpon the request of the Select Men of Mauldon, This Court doth grant Licence vnto Tho: Skinner to retale strong waters in there Towne.²⁷

As Thomas Call was the first beer seller of Mystic Side, so to Thomas Skinner belongs the doubtful honor of being the first recorded dealer in "strong waters" in Malden. Although the latter remained in life and in Malden until 1704, he appears to have soon retired from the "Ordjnarie" business. The following petition lies in the Court files:—

To the honoured Court at Charlet^o 16. 4th m^o 1657: The Town of Maldon being destitute of An Ordinarie keeper for Accomodating the Town and Countrie. It is the desire of the Selectmen of the sayd Town: that A Bro^r of the Church there: namely Abraham Hill may by this Court be lycenced to keep an Ordinarie there. As Allso to draw wine for the better Accomodating both the Church and Countrie

The Court consents
hereto 23. 4. 1657.
THO: DANFORTH *Record^r.*

JOH WAYTE
JOHN SPRAGUE
JOHN VPHAME
WILL BRAKENBURY²⁸

²⁴ He was a brother of Major William Hathorne of Salem, whose abilities and services rendered him prominent in the infant state. For the offences of the Malden inn-holder at Lynn, see *Mass. Colony Records*, iii. 299; iv. (i.) 134.

²⁵ *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (i.) 89.

²⁶ *Midd. Court Files*, i. 15.

²⁷ *Midd. Court Records*, i. 48.

²⁸ *Midd. Court Files*, vi. 27. Abraham Hill was "tennent and keeper of y^e corn-mill" on the Coytmore property;

A similar petition, made two years later, is worthy of reproduction for the information which it may give us in its final clause.

It is the Request of the Select men of Maldon to the hon'd Court at Cambridge that Abr. Hill may be lycenced to sell strong liquo's in the s^d Towne for the necessary supply of Travelle's as alsoo for the Jnhabitants that p'sons may be p'vented from keeping such quantities in their priuate Houses, the abuse whereof haue proued of uery euill consequence.

5th 2^{mo}. 1659 :

JOHN VPPAM

WILLM BRAKENBURIE

JOHN SPRAGUE

THO^s GREEN

JOHN WAYTE ²⁹

The house of Abraham Hill was on the easterly side of the Great Road, near its junction with the Medford Road, which, at first, was merely the way to the mill. The bridge by which the latter road crossed the Three Mile Brook, the Mill Bridge of 1649, was early known as Hill's Bridge and so remained until recent years. After the death of Abraham Hill, his widow, Sarah — herself the daughter of an innkeeper, Robert Long of Charlestown — kept the ordinary until 1679, when she was succeeded by her son Jacob.

It has been seen that the early innkeepers were licensed to sell wine and strong drinks. The evils of license were not long in appearing. Drunkenness was of frequent occurrence and many sins which drunkenness might often incite were not unknown. As a remedy the County Court passed the following order: —

and his house stood on that portion of the Coytmore land which had come into his possession by some unrecorded purchase. All the land west of the easterly line of the High School land, between Salem and Main Streets and the brook at the railroad, was included in this parcel, and remained many years in the possession of the Hill family. The house which became the tavern in 1657 was not that house on the site of the

City Hall which was later known as Hill's Tavern. The early house must have been farther south, I think, somewhere between the present Irving Street and Harvell's Brook.

²⁹ *Midd. Court Files*, viii. 2. Licenses were granted for one year only by the County Court, upon the "Approbation of the Selected Townsmen." *Laws and Liberties*, [1660.] 43, 46.

[October 4, 1659.] This Court doth *order* y^t all y^e inkeepers within the limitts of this Coun. shall henceforth be p^hibited selling of strong waters by retaile.³⁰

I think this prohibition must have been soon withdrawn, or, like many Court orders, it fell into disuse. Licensed sales of spirits and the milder forms of intoxicating drinks were allowed by the colonial law, but they were strictly guarded. Samuel Sprague of Malden was fined twenty shillings and costs, in 1672, for "retayleing cider without license, & at vnreasonable times entertheyneing persons in his family."³¹

Our forebears in their early essays at government showed at times a disregard of their civil obligations that gained the attention of the County Court. It was a grievous neglect of duty that caused the following entry in the records of the Court: — "4. 8^{mo} 1653: Mauldon for deffect in stocks is fined five shillings."³² Nor was that much less in 1655, when the town was presented for the lack of scales and weights.³³ In 1658 defective ways called the selectmen to answer to the Court, and in due time the offence was condoned. Whether it may have been from inability to meet the requirements of the law or a thoughtless neglect, many times did the selectmen, or a special committee, have to wend their weary ways to Cambridge or to Charlestown to appease the wrath of the Court, escaping sometimes by a confession of guilt and a promise of better care; meeting sometimes a fine, the burden of which must have been harder to bear than threats or reprimands.

Nor were these shortcomings confined to the people in their corporate capacity; for their social and private matters furnished a plentiful harvest of suits and "small causes," which must have kept the little town in a fever of excitement from one year's end to another. Breaches of morals and minor lapses from duty or rectitude were not infrequent. While these things are sometimes whimsical, seen through the quaintness of the records which have preserved them, they are sometimes of a darker nature. Whether whimsical or sad, they prove, always,

³⁰ *Midd. Court Records*, i. 191.

³¹ *Ibid.*, iii. 34.

³² *Ibid.*, i. 45.

³³ *Midd. Court Files*, x. 2.

that the much lauded virtue of those early days was in its weaker moments no better than its sister of to-day. A few cases may be cited.

If Robert Burden, whose surname became Burditt, and Sarah the wife of William Bucknam, with whom Burditt boarded, had not drawn upon themselves the admonition of the Court, "for severall imodest and suspitious cariages in their familiarity together," in 1652,³⁴ much evil might have been prevented; for, aside from the wicked tendencies of their actions, they set the neighborhood by the ears. The list of those who testified in this case is nearly a roll of the men and women of Mystic Side. A suit by Bucknam against his neighbor William Marble, otherwise Mirable, appears to have had some connection with this affair; but a more important case was that of Joseph Hills. Mr. Hills, in his capacity of general adviser and man of business for the neighborhood, unfortunately pleaded the cause of the indiscreet wife before the Court. To this Thomas Squire referred as "the base buissines of Bucknam's wife." Mr. Hills was a ruling elder; but that did not hinder the disrespectful Squire, passing from the affairs of his neighbors to his own, from calling him, "Alexander the Copper Smith who hath done me much harm." He said that

M^r Hills at his daughter Harris her wedding, in the hearing of M^r Sims, Brother Line Lieutenant Wayte & others: did say that his wife must be his Master and that since that speech of m^r Hills & by means thereof he neuer had quiet day with his wife.

"Upon seuerall Lords days in the publique Assembly in the meeting-house in Maldon," he uttered "his euil and reuiling speeches against the Elders and especially against m^r Hills." Among other things he said: —

That his wife had stollen his goods and that m^r Hills children had receiued them, and farther Sayd what shee had giuen to m^r Hill hee knew not.

That m^r Hill was not fit to be Rouling Elder for hee took part with A theif . . .

That m^r Hill is one day in the desck and the next day pleading

³⁴ *Midd. Court Records*, i. 31.

baudie buissines in the Court. will you say that hee is an honest man? doe you think that hee is an honest man? or words to that effect.

is hee fitt to sit in the place of A ruling Elder that will plead the cause of rogues.³⁵

Of course a suit for slander followed. In the meantime, Bridget, the wife of Squire, went to the Court, complaining of bad treatment. She had lived twenty years with her husband and was now aged and weak and in fear of becoming a burden upon the town or the church. This was bad enough, but Thomas Squire, with William Marble, had filled the measure of iniquity by defaming the government in the person of Richard Bellingham, the deputy governor.³⁶ How he was punished and how the wisdom of those days furnished a means of working off a fine, when money was wanting or the culprit was not sensitive, appears in the record of the Court: —

[3 (11) 1653] m^r Joseph Hill, Plant against Thomas Squire Defft^t in an action of Deffamation, the Jury findes for the plaintiffe Damage Ten pounds, and costs of Cort. one pound 17^s 6^d Provided in Case the Defft shall at Mauldon meeting house, upon their Last Lecture day in march next, make such an acknowledgment of his offence, before the publique assembly after Lecture, as shall in the Judgment of M^r Edward Collines, Tho: Goold, Edw. Winship and Tho: Wilder, be a satisfactory acknowledgment of those Slanderous Speeches and imputations witnessed in Cort agst the Defft^t concerning the plaintiffe, then the Defft^t to be abated fiue pound of the aforesaid 10^l 37

Henry Swillaway was the unfortunate servant of Peter Tufts, who "beate his man with the greate end of A goade Sticke," and "said that he would tie him to a tre and beat him for he was his moneie." Under such provocations, it is not strange that the servant began to retaliate and "abused" his master and "his dame in blöse and words." Thomas Mudge saw him "strike his master upon the brest with his hand;" and Mary Mudge testified: —

that she being at Goodman Torfs of an arand: Gudie Torfe and she hereing the Dine in the yard, we went out of the dore, and his man had got vp a great stone and held it vp to thro at his master, as

³⁵ *Midd. Court Files*, ii.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Midd. Court Records*, i. 46.

I conseed, but when he se me he threwe it doune ; I further Testifie I herd him cal his master base Rouge.³⁸

It may be supposed that neither Goodman Tufts nor the rebellious Swillaway could desire to keep close company for a long time, and accordingly the latter became servant to John Bunker. He was soon after brought before the Court by his late master for his miscarriages; but, in the end, the master got more justice than he liked. James Barrett, his neighbor, said: —

J James Barot aged about 40 yeres or ther aboutes J doth heare testifie that J herd goodman tufes sai that he had not Justis before the Debeti Gove: in the cas between him and his man and for his man was wrong out of his hand Therefor he wod make it apear at this corte :³⁹

Thus was government, in the person of Richard Bellingham, again defamed as it had been aforetime by Thomas Squire. Peter Tufts was speedily convicted and humbly acknowledged his sin, with the wish that it might

not only be a warneing to myselfe for the future, unto a greater watchfulnes over all my words & wayes, but also a meanes to detere all others that either have or may heare here of, from all offenses of this or the like nature.⁴⁰

Well would it have been for the goodman if "Gudie Torfe" had profited by the experience of her husband; but her woman's nature could not control her tongue, which soon brought her to grief. James Barrett and William Luddington had been witnesses in the Swillaway case, and it was for slander against them that she was found guilty. The penalty was

damages ten shillings apeece, & an acknowledgm^t to be made by the deff^t at Mauldon, vpon the Lords day in the after noone, within the space of thirty dayes next ensueing, and to be made after the publicke exe^cise is ended, before the congregation depart in mann^r following. viz^t in these words. That whereas J Mary Tufts am legally convicted of slandering & wronging James Barrat, & William Luddington, or any other whom my words might reflect vpon, by speaking Rashly, irregularly, & sinfully, J am heartily sorry, & doe desire to be humbled for the same, & in case of non observance to doe as above p^rmisid either to pay y^e said ten shill. apeece, or makeing such

³⁸ *Midd. Court Files*, viii.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 3. [1659.]

acknowledgm^t both for mann^r & time : the Jury do find that y^e deff^t shall pay vnto y^e pts fifty shill apeece, & costs of Court, thirty one shill & two pence.⁴¹

When George Knower "Prphaned the Sabbath" and struck "James Barratt on the Sabbath day," he forced Barrett to become a "Coacter" to the extent that he "fetched bloud on Knower." For this companionship, they were fined thirty shillings and twenty shillings respectively, with costs of Court.⁴² This was a neighborly broil, which appears to have been not uncommon. Of a like nature was the case of Thomas Shepherd, who called Samuel Sprague "a bays uilliane," and said "when euer I see you mye spirit Rises at you & Whereuer I meet with you I shall Remember you." A boy, Thomas Mudge, "did heare Thomas Shepherd: strike Samuel: Sprague two blows." To the credit of Sprague, he struck not back, but said "what dost thou meane to playe the foole: I: am Resolved: I: will: not strike:" although the other dared him with many "Reuiling Speaches."⁴³

John Pemberton of Malden was found drunk in the street in Boston and was put into the stocks; but he took a drunkard's revenge in beating his wife.⁴⁴ For the latter offence, he was presented by the grand jury; nor was he without companionship, for at the same Court James Fosdick was fined ten shillings and costs, "for rude cariage with some others in the night time, at Mauldon, & for contempt."⁴⁵ Of a different class, but more fruitful of evil results, was the offence of Thomas Dickerman.

[December 19, 1676.] Thomas Dickerman appearing before y^e Court to answ^r the p^rsentm^t of y^e Grand Jury for neglect of family govern^t made answ^r that he bound out his daughter, whose miscariage was the cause of y^e compl^t & was discharged.⁴⁶

Well would it have been for the daughter had the discharge of the father released her from the effects of his negligence.

⁴¹ *Midd. Court Records*, i. 200. [1660.]

⁴² *Ibid.*, i. 147.

⁴³ *Midd. Court Files*, xvii.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, xxii. 7. [1671.]

⁴⁵ *Midd. Court Records*, iii. 12.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 160. The fact that Elizabeth

Dickerman, the mother, died May 10, 1671, may go far to excuse the father; for paternal government has often failed, since the world began, to fill the place of maternal love.

She appears to have borne in her character the results of the paternal fault, for which she sorely suffered, if the cruel sentence in the following record was executed.

[April 2, 1678.] Elizab: Dickerman serv^t unto Jn^o Starky appearing before y^e Court, & convicted of setting her masters house on fire, & of meditating & contriveing to put copperas into y^e victuals of one of her fellow serv^{ts}. Shee is sentenced to be severely whipt twenty stripes at Cambr. & within one month to haue twenty more inflicted upon her at Mauldon.⁴⁷

There was one Paul Wilson, a rollicking blade, whose evil propensities brought him often to the notice of the Court. After a real estate transaction, which eventually involved the Rev. Michael Wigglesworth in law and losses, he appears to us as a drunkard. Being, by his own confession, convicted of excessive drinking, he was fined.⁴⁸ Two years later he was convicted of "disorderly carriage" at Charlestown, where on the evening of a day of public thanksgiving there was gathering into companies, fences were pulled down and burned, and a house was tumbled into the river. For his participation in this frolic, he was sentenced to pay a fine of thirty shillings and the costs of Court, or to receive five stripes.⁴⁹

Priscilla, the daughter of Deacon John Upham, was, in 1658, about sixteen years old, while Paul Wilson was about nine years her senior. It is evident that the suitor was not held in high esteem by the watchful father; but in spite of the paternal frowns, the claims of love were pushed with ardor. John Martin, a cousin of Priscilla, said that Wilson told his uncle, "that if he could get or had gotten the Affections of a maid and he could as for the maid he would haue her do al her ffreindes or all the men in new england what they can."⁵⁰ As a natural consequence, Deacon Upham entered a complaint against the lover, "for violent soliciting his daughter against his will;" and the offender was duly admonished at the County Court. At the same time, he was bound in ten pounds, "y^t he will no more frequent the Company of Priscilla Vpham, nor by no

⁴⁷ *Midd. Court Records*, iii. 218.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, i. 206. [1660.]

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, i. 274.

⁵⁰ *Midd. Court Files*, vii. 6.

means whether direct or indirect, make any more addresses vnto her without her fathers leave first orderly had & obtained." ⁵¹

In connection with this case is the story of a serenade, which is both quaint and diverting, as told by the brother of Priscilla, Phineas Upham, whom we shall hereafter know as the gallant soldier who fell in Philip's War. He had recently married Ruth Wood.

Upon the last day of April [1658.] in the night at too of the cloke after midnight; There was a noise heard by Phinehas Vpham and his Wife At the side of the house; by which they ware awakned out of their sleepe his wife being awakned first was strucke with agreat feare: Wee heard musicke and dansing which was no smal disturbance to us: And they came harkeing unto our window where wee lay; which they did three times; between which times they danced and played with their musicke: with much laughter.

Three days after this affair, Paul Wilson went to the house of Phineas Upham and acknowledged that he was one of the revellers, when

It was farther demanded of him what musicke they had among them; whether it was not a kit, or a Jewsharpe; who answered no, Jt was a Smal Vial; Ading also you could not know us by our Voices, for wee said at our departure nothing, but two of the cloke and a faire morning. ⁵²

Paul Wilson, becoming an inhabitant of Charlestown, married after a number of years, had a large family and died at a good old age; while the fair Priscilla married Thomas Crosswell of Charlestown and brought him a family of twelve children.

While we may deplore the weaknesses which marred the Archaic simplicity of those early days, we are indebted to them for the records that give to us many a vivid picture of colonial life. Witnesses, in quaint, archaic terms, have left us unnumbered items of family history, of local description, or of lively neighborhood gossip, that would not otherwise have been preserved. Thus, even the follies and wrangles of our fathers become of interest to us of the latter times and enliven or illumine the history of the little town which had now taken its place in the

⁵¹ *Midd. Court Records*, i. 156, 157.

⁵² *Midd. Court Files*, vii. 6.

sisterhood of towns that made the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay. It was not these cases alone which made up the daily life of the settlers at Mystic Side and Malden. These were of minor importance in the general life of the community; for around and above them was a life of busy work creating out of hard conditions the humble homes in which were nourished industry and virtue. Under the influences of this daily life, the wilderness gave place to cleared fields, on which the yearly harvests smiled; while the beasts and game of the forest retired before the flocks and herds of civilization.

At this period, one who had known the story of the settlement and the town from the day when the first comers crossed the Mystic, who had looked across the South River to the pleasant shores of Sweetser's Point before the Spragues had followed the Indian trail from Salem through the forests of Scadan — Samuel Maverick, who had fortified the house at Winnisimmet in 1625, wrote: —

MAULDON. — Two miles above Winnisime Westward stands a small Country Towne called Mauldon, who imploy themselves much in furnishing the Towne of Boston and Charles Towne with wood, Timber and other Materials to build withall.⁵³

⁵³ *Briefe Discription of New England*, Samuel Maverick, in 1660, and was in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, xxxix. discovered in the British Museum by 38. This was undoubtedly written by Henry F. Waters, in 1884.

CHAPTER V.

MARMADUKE MATTHEWS.

HARDLY had the men and women of Malden begun to enjoy their new privileges before troubles came from the blessings for which they had labored. So characteristic of the times and the people were these troubles, and so important were they in their progress and results, that no apology need be made for the minuteness with which I shall record the first instance of resistance to the constituted authorities by the people of Malden.

We have seen that the new town came out of a wish for an enlargement of religious privileges, as the Colony itself was the accomplishment of a similar desire. Cotton Mather says: —

Briefly, The God of Heaven served as it were a *Summons* upon the *Spirits* of His People in the English Nation; stirring up the Spirits of Thousands which never saw the *Faces* of each other, with a most Unanimous Inclination to leave all the Pleasant Accommodations of their Native Country, and go over a Terrible *Ocean*, into a more Terrible *Desart*, for the *pure Enjoyment of all His Ordinances*.¹

We shall see how the religious element made all others subordinate to itself; how it colored and influenced all the thoughts and actions of the people; so that it cannot be separated from the history of this, or any other, New England town, until within a recent period. It was an essential part of the Puritan life and mind. In themselves a protest against the excesses of the established church, the founders of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay carried to the extreme the beliefs and practices which made them a peculiar people. Coming out of a church which was dominated by the state, they sought to found a state which should itself be circled and guarded by the church.²

¹ Mather, *Magnalia*, i. (4).

² "In Winthrop's Reply to Vane's Answer to his Defence of an order of

Court, 1637, forbidding habitation without allowance of the magistrates, occurs a most remarkable sentence, giving us a

Naturally, although disregarding time and place, they built upon the model which God had before prepared for a people in whom they saw a similitude of themselves and whose experiences they often compared to their own. Their laws, their customs, and their manners were animated and limited by the teachings of the Scriptures; more by the harsher laws of the Old Testament, literally understood, as the exponent of a material hierarchy, than by the milder precepts of Jesus Christ, whose kingdom is a spiritual dominion of peace and love. In their statutes the code of Moses, with its strict and merciless justice, left no room for laws tempered with Christian forgiveness and brotherly care. Their new commonwealth was of the Lord and they were a new Israel, a chosen people, for whose inheritance the hand of God had prepared a new Canaan in the land of the heathen.

No such a scheme of government had existed since the days of Samuel the Prophet Judge; in some respects no such a government had ever existed. It was the embodiment of Theocracy without its purity; a government of God, evolved from the minds and pervaded by the prejudices of men. A philosophic mind might have foretold no long life for such a system; and, in fact, with all the sincerity and earnestness of its founders and supporters, it remained in its integrity not many years. It was already in its decline when the church of Malden was gathered. It remained a shadow many years; but the gradual strengthening of the state apart from the church, the adoption of the half-way covenant, the intrusion of the Baptists and other antagonistic sects, the decline of clerical authority, and the many adverse influences by which dogmatism and con-

key to the singular ecclesiastical policy of the Puritans. The sentence would appear to have been incidentally written, but it is of emphatic importance. *'Whereas the way of God hath alwayes beene to gather churches out of the world, now the world, or civill state, must be raised out of the churches.'* This explains everything to us in the religious institutions of our ancestors. The English Magna Charta restricted the right of

suffrage in the choice of their own representatives in the Commons to *freeholders*. Puritanism restricted the right of suffrage to *Christians*. It tried to evolve a state out of a church. There have been many more fanciful, many less inspiring aims than this, proposed in the great schemes of men." The Rev. Geo. E. Ellis in *North American Review*, lxxxiv. 453.

servatism may be surrounded, limited its operation and numbered its days.

Its mistakes were many; but all was not weakness and error in the Puritanic system and in the institutions and laws which grew out of it. There were in it arteries of healthy life, which remain to-day as pure as when they first flowed full of the faith and liberty of Puritan hearts. It was a life filled with the spirit of a people who, emancipating themselves from the spiritual authority of the state in the old world, in a new world came at last to throw off the political authority of the church; and who, through trials and dangers, building, perhaps, better than they knew, in pain laid deep and sure the foundations on which we rest.

There are those who affect to believe that the works of our fathers were stable from the beginning and that the religious polity and civil condition of New England were steady growths from firm and far-reaching roots. No historical belief can be more false; for during the colonial period, at least, both the ecclesiastical and the political records show a long series of experiments and mistakes — a blind groping. The glory of those days is that there was a constant approach toward better things. One by one, after many weary and disheartening conflicts of tongue and pen, old prejudices and errors were laid aside. There was a sturdy element of conscience and common sense in the body of the people, which, in the end, proved stronger than courts and synods or magistrates and ministers. We owe nothing to the errors of those who came before us, nor to their institutions which time has destroyed; but to the freedom of thought, to the free will, and the ability to work and watch and wait, we owe all that makes the present full of good and the future promising. Out of the hearts and thoughts of the Puritans, and not out of the imperfect works which they or their children rejected, came the good seed and the plentiful fruitage.

By the year 1650 the state had gradually strengthened its authority over the churches; and the churches, on the other hand, were perfecting that system of councils which, as a conservator and lawgiver in ecclesiastical polity, has come down to

the present day. Besides the civil power and that of the councils, or the combined churches, there was another interest which was anxiously watching its rights. That interest was composed of those who recognized the individual right of the churches to govern their own affairs, as in the settlement of ministers and in cases of discipline.

The early churches were self-formed — democratic and independent.³ They formed their own compacts and rules and settled pastors of their own choosing, sometimes, even, ordaining by means of some of their own laymen, as at Woburn in 1642.⁴ After a little while, as a new church was formed, or grew out of another, it became the custom to ask the advice and presence of the elder churches at the gathering and their assistance in the ordination and settlement of ministers; but a jealous care was taken to protect the interests and independence of the individual church; and its identity as a free agent was not lost in the convention or council which assembled. But in 1636 the General Court began the exercise of that authority which in time it was to wield with a master hand, by the passage of the following act: —

[1635: 3 March.] Forasmuch as it hath bene found by sad experience, that much trouble and disturbance hath happened both to the church & civill state by the officers & members of some churches, w^{ch} have bene gathered with in the limitts of this jurisdiction in a vndue

³ It was settled that a church ought not to be of a greater number than could conveniently meet in one place, nor so few as to hinder church work. Cf. *Platform of Church Discipline*, iii. (4). The earlier church covenants contained no declarations of doctrine — a strong contrast to the practice of later years when points of doctrine were considered to be all-important. A simple promise “to walk in all o^r wayes according to the Rules of the Gospell, — and in all sincere conformity to his holy ordinances: and in mutuall Love and Respect each to other: so near as God shall give us grace,” bound them together as brethren “into one congregation or church, under o^r Lord Jesus Christ our Head.” Cf. Emerson, *First Church in Boston*, 11;

Frothingham, *History of Charlestown*, 70; *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, xxiii. 190; Upham, *Second Century Lecture* (Salem), 67; Robbins, *Second Church in Boston*, 209; Sewall, *History of Woburn*, 21. The General Court declared in 1646, in allusion to the church covenants of the Colony: — “What ever the severall expressions may be, this sufficeth us (which we conceive to be intended by them all) that in this covenant we professe our engagement of relation to God, and one to another, in all the duties which belong to the publick worship of God, and edification one of another, according to the rule of the gospell.” Hutchinson, *Collection of Papers*, 215.

⁴ Johnson, *Wonder-working Providence*, 179.

manner, & not with such publique approbation as were meete, it is therefore ordered that all persons are to take notice that this Court doeth not, nor will hereafter, approue of any such companyes of men as shall henceforthe ioyn in any pretended way of church fellowship, without they shall first acquainte the magistrates, & the elders of the great^r parte of the churches in this jurisdiction, with their intentions, & have their approbation herein. And further, it is ordered, that noe person, being a member of any church which shall hereafter be gathered without the approbation of the magistrates, & the greater parte of the said churches, shalbe admitted to the freedom of this commonwealth.⁵

This law, which might have been styled an act to ensure Uniformity, was considered by many as containing the "seeds of usurpation on the liberties of the Gospel."⁶ That it aimed at the destruction of Independency is evident: it accomplished more; for the "seeds of usurpation" germinated and became both healthy root and vigorous branch. In a few years the Court dominated the Church and discussed discipline as well as morals, while it ordered councils to compose breaches and disorders and procure peace and quietness for the churches.⁷

There was a twofold aspect to the trouble which came upon the Malden church; or rather, there were two cases which antiquaries have confounded as one. There was an offending clergyman, who had essayed to exercise free thought; and there was an offending church, which had settled a pastor without the approbation of "the magistrates, & the elders of the great^r parte of the churches." To understand these cases it will be necessary to remember that, at the time when the Malden church was gathered, the civil power was exercising paramount authority over the churches; that the combined churches, or their ministers, were striving to regain their authority and enforce uniformity by means of councils; and that individual churches, with the ancient Puritanic traditions of

⁵ *Mass. Colony Records*, i. 168. Also: "[1631, 18 May] To the end the body of the commons may be p^rserued of honest & good men, it was likewise ordered and agreed that for time to come noe man shalbe admitted to the freedom of

this body politticke, but such as are members of some of the churches within the lymitts of the same." *Ibid.*, i. 87.

⁶ Cf. Clarke, *Congregational Churches in Mass.*, 21.

⁷ *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (1), 225.

Independency, were seeking to maintain freedom of choice and action.

In the midst of this confusion of civil and ecclesiastical affairs, by the providence of God, the brethren of Mystic Side went into a church estate. It has been shown that there were difficulties in the way of procuring a pastor or teacher, and that for some time the seals were administered by a layman and by students from the college. It appears that at least nine clergymen and church officers were called without favorable results; that the Roxbury brethren interposed between the Malden church and Mr. John Wilson,⁸ who went to Dorchester as colleague with the Rev. Richard Mather; and that the members were denied the ordinance of baptism by a neighboring church. These facts might be taken to show that something was wrong at the beginning; and a remark by Hutchinson indicates that the church was "gathered without the allowance of the magistrates."⁹ Beyond these indications, however, there is no proof that any unusual occurrence was connected with the matter; and the causes of the coolness which seems to have held the elder churches apart from their younger sister are hidden from us.

An American antiquary making a pilgrimage of love to the Old England of his fathers, more than half a century ago, found the following entry in the matriculation books of Oxford University: —

Colleg. Omnium animarum 20 Feb. 1623 Marmadukus Mathews Glamorgan. fil. Mathæi Mathews de Swansey in Com. pred. pleb. an. nat. 18.¹⁰

Of the youth and early life of this son of Matthew Matthews of Swansea in Wales, who entered All Souls College at the age of eighteen, nothing is known, until at the age of thirty-three he arrived, with a company of west-country people, in a ship of Barnstaple, at Boston, September 21, 1638.¹¹ His wife, Katherine, came with him, or followed soon after, and joined

⁸ Son of the Rev. John Wilson of the First Church in Boston.

⁹ Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts-Bay*, i. 423.

¹⁰ Savage, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxviii. 250.

¹¹ Winthrop, *History of New England*, i. 273.

with the Boston church in the following February. In the same month, he "tooke the ooath of allegiance to the King, and of fidelitie to the gou^{nt}" of Plymouth Colony; and during the next year, he is found among those "that are p^rposed to take vp their freedome at Yarmouth."¹²

To the latter place he went among the earliest settlers, and became their first minister. He was admitted as a freeman of the Colony, September 7, 1641.¹³ It is said, with no authority, that he was a schoolmaster, "but exercised the ministerial functions;"¹⁴ and Baylies, with as little authority, says that he "had some learning but was weak and eccentric."¹⁵ On the contrary, he was commended by those who were able to speak of him with knowledge. Governor Winthrop calls him "a godly minister;"¹⁶ and Nathaniel Morton names him in a list of the "specialest" of those whom he nominates as "worthy instruments," and of whom he says:—

About these times the Lord was pleased of His great goodness, richly to accomplish and adorn the colony of Plymouth (as well as other colonies in New-England) with a considerable number of godly and able gospel-preachers, who then being dispersed and disposed of to the several churches and congregations thereof gave light in a glorious and resplendent manner as burning and shining lights.¹⁷

When Matthews left Yarmouth is not known; but, probably, it was not before 1648, as his successor, Mr. Miller, had not left Rowley in that year, or, perhaps, a few months later.¹⁸ From Yarmouth he went to Hull, which was then a thriving settlement

¹² *Plymouth Colony Records*, i. 107–108.

¹³ *Ibid.*, ii. 23.

¹⁴ Freeman, *History of Cape Cod*, ii. 180.

¹⁵ Baylies, *Historical Memoir of New Plymouth*, i. 315. This writer may have seen the following: "[7 October, 1639.] Edward Morrell, being sworne, deposeth & sayth, that W^m Chase (at his return hoame from the Court when M^r Mathewes & hee were here together) did report that M^r Mathewes had nothing to say for himself, & that he marvailed how any durst joyne wth him in the fast, & further said that some being then in

p^rsence wth the ma^{tr}ats, did hold vp his hand, & cyed, Fye, fye! for shame!" *Plymouth Colony Records*, i. 135.

¹⁶ Winthrop, *History of New England*, i. 273.

¹⁷ Morton, *New-England's Memorial* (Ed. 1826) 131, under the date of 1642.

¹⁸ I am of the opinion that trouble preceded his departure from Yarmouth. Michael Wigglesworth, writing in 1658, at a time when the facts were well known, speaks of him as one who "had been excommunicated at one place, disliked & discarded at anoth place, once (if not oftener) censured in y^e court." *Mass. Hist. So. Proc.* May, 1871, 95.

of traders and fishermen, where he "continued preaching, till he lost the approbation of some able understanding men, among both Magistrates and Ministers, by weak and unsafe expressions in his teaching."¹⁹

Besides losing "the approbation of some able understanding men," it appears that he ran a greater risk—that of banishment. George Bishop, the Quaker, writing before 1661, tells the story:—

And it's like Governour *John Wintrope*, Senior (who was an honest Man, and had some Hand in this, being drawn to it by your Priests) was made sensible of it on his Death-Bed, when old *Dudly*, a Man of Blood, and the rest of you sent to the said *John Wintrope*, to set his Hand to a Paper, for the Banishment of one *Matthews*, a *Welch*-man, a Priest; which he refused, telling them, *He had had his Hand too much in such things already.*²⁰

Hutchinson also narrates this incident, mentioning "an heterodox person" in the place of Mr. Matthews.²¹ The story seems worthy of belief; and that neither Hubbard nor Mather, the fullest chroniclers of that period, speak of it may be attributed to the wish to represent the wisest of the magistrates of Massachusetts Bay as a stanch supporter of that political and ecclesiastical condition which Mather, at least, labored to uphold and perpetuate. As John Winthrop died March 26, 1649, this must apply to Mr. Matthews before his settlement at Malden; and to prove that he left Hull perforce, we find that the inhabitants of that place, desiring his return, petitioned the Court "for the encouraging M^r Mathews to goe to them & preach amongst them."²²

The result of this petition was twofold; for after "a publicke hearing in the meeting howse" in Boston, the granting of the request was denied and Mr. Matthews was personally brought into trouble. The record is worthy of perusal as an introduction to the arbitrary transactions which are to be related and as showing how closely the civil power was watching the spiritual condition of the church.

¹⁹ Johnson, *Wonder-working Providence*, 211.

²⁰ Bishop, *New-England Judged by the Spirit of the Lord* (Ed. 1703), 226.

²¹ Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts-Bay*, i. 151.

²² Cf. *Mass. Colony Records*, ii. 276; iii. 153.

[1649: 9 May.] In answer to the petition of the inhabitants of Hull, concerning M^r Mathewes, the 15th day of this instant was appointed for a publicke hearing of the case, w^{ch} was attended in the meeting howse. The Dep^{ty}, considering of what they had heard in the case, *voted*,

1. That they would not enquier into the matters of chardge or answers, as respecting error conce^r M^r Mathews.

2. Notwthstanding this vote, the house, by vote, judged it meete to consider whether M^r Mathews, in respect of inconvenient and weake exp^ssions, was not worthy of some censure.

3. The whole Courte agreed by vote, that M^r Mathewes should not retourne to Hull, nor reside wth them.

Voted, That wee will proceed no further at present wth M^r Mathewes then to an admonition.

The Courte, for seuerall considerations, judge it not meete at present to dilate all the p^ticular chardges and ans^{rs} of M^r Mathewes, yett, notwthstanding, doe declare that they finde seuerall erroneous exp^ssions, others weake, inconvenient, and vnsafe exp^ssions, for which they judge it meete to order, that the said M^r Mathewes should be admonished by the Gou^rno^r in the name of the Courte.²³

There are indications that the aristocratic branch of the Court, or the Assistants, who in this case, as in many others, represented the most arbitrary portion of the State, brought about this result; and that the democratic deputies, who came directly from the body of the people and often showed themselves to be possessed of the leaven of liberty and progress, which in due season leavened the whole body politic, would at least have forborne to question Mr. Matthews. As the prudent and liberal Winthrop was dead and the austere and bigoted Endicott was in the chair of the Governor, it may be supposed that the admonition was given with due severity. That it was given is clear, for it was afterwards said of Mr. Matthews that "he had his sentence & ffulfild it."

Where he now went does not appear; but, the next year, he was in Boston and was granted leave to "give satisfaction," or to retract, which was probably intended.

[1650: 19 June.] This Courte, beinge willinge that M^r Mathews should haue an op^tunitie to giue satisfaction for what he formerly deliuered as eronious, weake, &c, which is his owne desire also, doe

²³ *Mass. Colony Records*, iii. 159; cf. ii. 276.

order, that he shall haue oppertunitie soe to doe the 28th of this instant moneth, at Boston, at M^r Phillips his howse, by eight of the clocke in the morning, to giue satisfaction for the same, if he can, to the elders of Boston, Charlestowne, Roxbury, & Dorchester, with such of the magis^{ts} as shall please to be p^rsent there.²⁴

It may be that this occasion for righting himself before the authorities was sought by Mr. Matthews while the question of his settlement in Malden was pending. What the result of this meeting at "eight of the clocke in the morning" was, or whether the meeting was held, is not known; as no other mention of it has been found. Evidently, nothing favorable to the accused minister came out of it, if we may judge by the events which followed. Some detached notes of accusations and answers may belong to this period; but in spirit and form, they are a part of later evidence, with which I shall consider them.

About this time, or soon after, Mr. Matthews was brought into relations with the Malden brethren. When it was known that steps were being taken preliminary to his ordination, there was a more general desire evinced to hinder the settlement of the new church than to promote its welfare. The church of Roxbury, which had interfered in the business with Mr. Wilson, wrote "to fforbeare ordination;" but when asked "to discover to vs Any sin either in m^r Mathews or the Church which might be a ground of fforbea^rg," it remained silent. The mother church of Charlestown, following the spirit of that of Roxbury, proposed "a brotherly conference," which was accepted. It remained for the elder church to appoint a time and place, but no more was heard from that quarter. Several of the magistrates also wrote letters of "advice," which seem to have been composed in the spirit, if not in the form, of mandates; but when explanations were asked of "eurie one of them before ordination," none replied but Increase Nowell.²⁵

Unless we assume that some irregularities, of which the church was still unpurged, had attended its formation, it is difficult to understand these proceedings; and even if the church had committed an offence, neither the justice nor the propriety

²⁴ *Mass. Colony Records*, iii. 203.

²⁵ Cf. *Mass. Archives*, x. 31, 80.

of this method of dealing can be affirmed. Under the circumstances, but one course ought to have been taken; and that course, with a foreshadowing of the spirit of later days, the Malden brethren pursued. They ordained Mr. Matthews as their minister; and as they stood alone among the churches, it is very probable that they resorted to the elder practice of lay-ordination. Nor were they without sufficient authority for their action; for as recently as 1646 the General Court had declared the following as the first "Fundamentall of the Massachusetts": —

All persons orthodoxe in judgment and not scandalous in life, may gather into a church estate according to the rules of the gospell of Jesus Christ. Such may choose and ordaine theire owne officers, and exercise all the Ordinances of Christ, without any injunction in doctrine, worship or discipline.²⁶

It does not appear that any immediate notice of this offence was taken. Johnson, writing at this time, says that "some neighbour-churches were unsatisfied therewith, for it is the manner of all the Churches of Christ here hitherto, to have the approbation of their Sister-churches, and the civil Government also in the proceedings of this nature, by the which means Communion of Churches is continued, peace preserved, and the truths of Christ sincerely acknowledged;"²⁷ but he does not indicate that Mr. Matthews was not in the peaceable possession of the Malden pulpit. He "minds him in the following Meeter," which blends admonition with exhortation, and must have been a source of disquiet to Mr. Matthews, especially if he was possessed of any literary taste: —

Mathews! thou must build gold and silver on
That precious stone, Christ cannot trash indure,
Unstable straw and stubble must be gone,
When Christ by fire doth purge his building pure.
In seemly and in modest terms do thou
Christs precious truths unto thy folk unfold,
And mix not error with the truth, lest thou
Soon leave out sense to make the truth to hold:
Compleating of Christs Churches is at hand,
Mathews stand up, and blow a certain sound,
Warriours are wanting Babel to withstand,
Christs truths maintain, 'twill bring thee honors crown'd.²⁸

²⁶ Hutchinson, *Collection of Papers*, 203. Cf. *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxviii. 234. ²⁷ Johnson, *Wonder-working Providence*, 211. ²⁸ *Ibid.*, 212.

And so, for a brief time, Mr. Matthews and the church were untroubled. There is reason to believe that he preached with freedom, according to his faith, and to the edification of the church, and that his way was honorable to himself and helpful to his little flock. But the "former miscarriages" were not forgotten; and a sermon preached from the suggestive text, *Behold, I lay before Joshua a stone with seven eyes*,²⁹ became a copious source of trouble to the unfortunate minister. There was a watchful and traitorous element in that rural congregation in the little hut of a meeting house at Bell Rock, which, represented by John Hathorne and Thomas Lynde, the latter, at least, a member of the church, while the former was a tavern-keeper, who, removing to Lynn, was two years later found guilty of forgery on his own confession, reported and "proved on oath" many heterodox or heretical teachings. Out of that sermon, and some others, they culled more "weak and inconvenient expressions" — inconvenient they certainly were for Mr. Matthews. Some of these "vnsafe expressions" have been preserved for us.

Christ is gone up to heaven to prepare mansions for us, for as y^e sin of Adam did shutt paradise soe y^e Ascension of X^t doth open paradise againe

To think we can have any conviction before we have X^t is a very delusion.

Y^e saints have more varieties of righteousness than X^t, for X^t hath only a double righteousness, & y^e saints have a trebble.

When y^e body of X^t was lifted up on y^e crosse his soule was in hell what in hell: yea in hell, in y^t hell where y^e devill rules and raignes.³⁰

Here were offences gross and monstrous for churches and councils to consider; but there is no indication that any power save that of the state was called into action, at the outset, in this purely theological and doctrinal matter. Mr. Matthews was summoned to appear by the General Court, May 7, 1651, in the following order: —

²⁹ So stated, *Mass. Archives*, x. 75. For behold the stone that I have laid before Joshua; upon one stone *shall be* seven eyes: behold, I will engrave the graving thereof, saith the Lord of hosts,

and I will remove the iniquity of that land in one day. *Zech.* iii. 9. The sermon was "about y^e foundation of iustifying faith."

³⁰ *Mass. Archives*, x. 75, 77.

It is *ordered*, that M^r Marmaduke Mathews shall be warned & summoned to appeare before this Courte on the fifth day next in the morning, being the 15th of this instant May, to make answer to a bill p^rsented to the Magis^{ts}, w^{ch} concernes former and latter miscarriages of his, before the Court goes on to any hearing thereabouts.³¹

He appeared before the Court at the appointed time, when

there was declared to him seuerall passages which he deliuered in his sermons at Malden, w^{ch}, though he owned not, was prooved on oath by John Hawthorne and Tho Line, about w^{ch} offence had binn taken, to w^{ch} he gave in his answer to the Courte, the chardge and answer remajning on the file.³²

The "chardge" has, unfortunately, disappeared; but the answer still "remajns" in the archives of the state. This document, which is dated May 16, 1651, was written by Mr. Matthews, himself, and begins in a tone of meekness, which, I think, must have been characteristic of the man and which is in strange contrast to his apparent independence of thought and action.

Jn his name & presence whose J am & whom J desire to serve (& y^t wth childlike feare) as also for evermore to reioyce in, & y^t wth christian trembling, J y^e sayd accused M. M. thinke good thus to answer.³³

He proceeds to carry out his answers into all the divisions and subdivisions of which the theology of that day was capable. He complains that his words are placed out of order in the accusations; and his endeavor is plainly to make more clear his "offensive" teachings, instead of explaining them in a retractive way. Of the twenty-two, or more, accusations which were then, or finally, presented, he replied at this time to but four; and, as if to disprove the testimony of John Hathorne and Thomas Lynde, five of the most prominent men of the town filed this affidavit on the following day:—

To the Hono^rd Court.

wee whose naines are hereunder written having Seriously Considered the Answe's y^t our Rev^d Pastor m^r Marmaduke Mathews Hath given into the Court in Relation to Severall p^rticulars charged uppon him & wittnessed against him by Jo: Haw-

³¹ *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. 42. ³² *Ibid.*, iv. (1), 42. ³³ *Mass. Archives*, x. 75.

thorne & Tho Lynd: we Affirme those Answers are the Substance off what was Publiqly Delivered by him and are the truth & nothing but the truth.

	EDWARD CARRINGTON	<i>Deposed the 17th of the</i>
16. 3. mo.	JOHN VPPAME	<i>3^d m. 1651 by these</i>
105 ^t	JOH ⁿ WAYTE	<i>5 p^{rs}ons before me</i>
	THOMAS SQUIRE	JNCREASE
	ABRAHAM HILL	NOWELL ³⁴

The examination was satisfactory to the Court, inasmuch as the answers of the accused were found to be “vnsafe” and “offensive” in point of doctrine and gave grounds for a further and more comprehensive examination; and the record proceeds, giving what may be called, in the language of those days, his presentment as follows:—

After a full hearing & examining the same, the Courte declared, that, whereas M^r Marmaduke Mathewes hath, formerly and latterly, given offence to magistrates and elders, and many bretheren in some vnsafe, if not vnsound expressions in his publicke teachings, and as it hath binn manifested to this Courte, hath not yett given satisfaction to those magistrates and elders that were appointed to receave sattisfaction from him, since which tyme there have binn deliuered in his publicke ministry other vnsafe and offensive expressions by him, whereby both magis^{ts}, ministers and churches were occasioned to write to the church of Malden to advise them not to proceed to the ordination of M^r Mathewes, which offences taken against him were also made knowne to the sajd M^r Mathewes, yett, contrary to all advice, and the rule of Gods word, as also the peace of the churches, the church of Malden hath proceeded to the ordination of M^r Mathewes, — this Courte, therefore, taking into consideration the premisses and the daingerous consequences and effects that may follow such proceedings, doth order, that both the former and latter offences touching doctrijnall points be first duely considered by M^r Sjmon Bradstreete, M^r Sjimons, Capt W^m Hauthorne, Capt Edward Johnson, M^r John Glouer, Capt Eleazer Lusher, Capt Daniell Gookin, M^r Richard Browne, and Capt Humphry Atherton, on the eleventh of June next, at the Shipp in Boston; and in case of difficulty the committee hath liberty to call in for helpe and advise from such of the reuerend elders as they shall judge meete, and make retourne of their offence against him, or sattisfaction from him be retourned to this Court at the next session thereof.³⁵

³⁴ *Mass. Archives*, x. 78.

³⁵ *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (1), 42.

Fifteen of the deputies were entered as "contradicentes" against the passage of this order. At their head were William Hathorne of Salem, a member of the committee, and John Leverett of Boston, who was afterwards Governor. Joseph Hills, of course, favored the minister whom he elsewhere sustained; and it is noticeable that, save William Cowdrey of Reading, no member of a neighbor church opposed the prosecution.

So the General Court rested from its labors with Mr. Matthews until the next session; but before they rested they had another matter to settle with him. This settlement required but little time and the record indicates no great desire for concession on either side.

As concerning M^r Mathewes suffering himself to be ordajned, contrary to the rules of Gods word, which should not have so proceeded, to the offence of magistrates, reuerend elders, and some churches, y^e Courte doth order that the sajd M^r Mathewes shall give sattisfaction to this session of this Court by an humble acknowledging his sinne for his so proceeding, which if he refuse to doe, to pay the some of tenn pounds within one month.

M^r Mathewes appearing, and not giving sattisfaction by an humble acknowledging of his sinne, &c, itt was ordered, that the secretary should within one month, give warrant to the marshall to levy on the goods of M^r Mathewes the some of tenn pounds, as his fine, according to the order of this Courte.⁸⁶

In June, as appointed, the committee, composed of leading men — "shining lights" and "godly timber," — in the Colony, convened "at the Shipp in Boston," that tavern at the corner of Ann and Clark streets, which, afterwards known as Noah's Ark, was destined to outlive the Colony and the Province, to see two revolutions and the downfall of many shams and superstitions, and to remain until the second half of the nineteenth century before it should be "improved" from the face of the earth. If the spirits of old houses remain, that of "the Ship in Ann street" must be a rare and wise old ghost.

At this meeting, Mr. Matthews presented his defence in a document which is noteworthy for its chirography if for nothing else.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (1), 43.

⁸⁷ *Mass. Archives*, x. 77. On this

In the space of two small pages he compressed matter which comprises eleven pages of the work of a modern copyist. He deserved to be fined for his manuscript if not for his theology. At the same time, he offered an appeal in the form of a letter, in which submission and a natural independence are intimately blended, and in which we can see, between the lines as it were, a flashing eye, betraying a feeling of inward wrath and grief combined.

To y^e Honored Committee of y^e Generall Court appointed to examine some doctrinall points delivered att Hull and since y^e time at Maldon by M. M.

Honored of God and of his people

Haveing given you an Account of my sence & of my faith in y^e conclusions w^{ch} were accused before you, J thought good to acquaint you, y^t if any among you (or others) should count that faith a fansie, & y^t sence to be non-sence J desire y^t god may forgive them: I doe, conceaving y^t such doe not yet soe well know what they doe, as they shall know hereafter

Yet in case y^t this should reach any satisfaction to such as are (yett) vnsatisfied wth my expressions for to know y^t J doe acknowledge y^t there be sundrie defects in sundry points y^t I have delivered, J doe hereby signifie y^t throw mercy J cannot but see & also ingenuously confesse y^t some of my sayings are nor safe nor sound in the superlative degree, to wit, they are not most safe; nor yett eyther sound or safe in a comparative degree, for J easily yeald y^t not onely wiser men probably would, but also J my self possiblie mought have made out X's mynd & my owne meaning in termes more sound & more safe than J have done had not J beene too much wanting both to his sacred majesty whose vnworthy messenger I was, & also to my hearers & to my self, for w^{ch} J desire to be humbled & of w^{ch} J desire to be healed by y^e author of both. as I doe not doubt but y^t conscientious & charitable-harted christians (whose property and practise it is to put uppon doubtfull positions not y^e worst construction but y^e best) will discern, as J doe, y^t there is a degree of soundness in what J doe owne, tho but a positive degree.

However it is & (I trust) for ever shallbe my care to be more circumspect than J have hitherto been in avoyding all appearances y^t way for y^e tyme to come, y^t soe I may y^e better approve my self throw

paper the following is endorsed: "here is the substance of what was publiqly delivd: by m^r. mathes Pastor of the Church of christ at Maldon wittness:

Edw carrington. Tho. Squi^{rs}. Jo. Wayte: Tho. Call. Tho. Ozban. Abr. Hill: Tho. Hett. Jam^s. Greene: John vppam. only Jo. vppam not the: 6th."

y^e grace of christ and to y^e glory of god such a workman as need not be ashamed. in y^e interim J remayne amongst his vnworthy servants y^e most vnworthy, &

Your Accused & condemned
fellow-creature to comand
in y^e things of christ

MARMADUKE MATTHEWES.

Boston this 13^t of y^e 4 month
1651.³⁸

The result showed that the "conscientious & charitable-hearted christians" to whom he appealed were not in the committee which tried him. Besides the papers already mentioned, there is extant one evidently written by a member of the committee, which contains several charges and answers briefly stated.³⁹ From these papers we may gather the peculiar beliefs and manner of expression of Mr. Matthews. Dr. McClure says "that he was both an ingenious and learned preacher, soundly orthodox and sincerely pious," and that his expressions were "over-strong rather than 'weak' and, as some would say, *too* orthodox."⁴⁰ There is a slight tincture of the Antinomian heresy which had so troubled the Colony fourteen years before and had been silenced by scriptural arguments and the power of the Court; and, in general, his words give evidence of a spiritual theology, which in its subtle distinctions would not appeal to the popular mind of that time. He was in advance of his age, though still within its influence. He might have been a transcendentalist in later days; but I think he would have been orthodox still, although his theology might have been modified by Arminianism and a doubt of the reality of the Trinity. One, at least, of his "vnsafe expressions" fore-shadows a belief which afterwards became far from uncommon in the churches. "The Gospell of grace & y^e Sacred Scriptures ar a false foundation of ffaith to build our Justification vpon." In explication he said, "The Scripturs ar the foundation of Dogmatticall & historicall faith but not of saueing faith."⁴¹

The answer now presented is carried into divisions and sub-

³⁸ *Mass. Archives*, x. 78.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, ccxli. 184.

⁴⁰ *Bi-Centennial Book of Malden*, 136.

⁴¹ *Mass. Archives*, ccxli. 184.

divisions as the other; and there is visible the same intent to explain and make clear rather than to retract. What passed during the examination of this answer and its author there is no present means of knowing. On the seventeenth day of the month Mr. Matthews laid before the committee, as his "last deliberate answer," another paper containing replies to five of the charges which seem to have been retained as most material to the case. This document has never been printed. It may perhaps be of more interest to the antiquary than to the general reader; but it is of importance as containing that which was considered as final by both parties.

To y^e 1 charge here mentioned.

J doe beleeve & profess y^t all sins of all persons both vnder y^e law & vnder y^e gospell are to be reprov'd both in vnbeleivers & others And if any words att any tyme in any place among any persons have falne from my lipps or penne wch in y^e iudgment of any seeme to sound otherwise, J doe not owne them as my iudgment

To y^e 2 charge heere

Jf y^e workes of y^e law could be performed according to y^e true meaning of y^e law, they would not be damning evils, but wayes of life; but y^e contempt or dependance of or vppon y^e workes of y^e law or of y^e gospell for Justification J doe beleeve are to be accounted damning evils. if any words of myne sound otherwise, J approve them not.

To y^e 3 charge, concerning loveing y^e thgs y^e are in y^e world

when J sayd y^t there is noe loue due to y^e things of y^e world, J spake from y^e words of John 1 Jo. 2. 15. Where J conceive y^e spirit of god doth meane the honours pleasures & profitts of y^e world & y^t he doth noe where forbydd any to love persons according to y^e relations wherein they may stand to them eyther coniugall, parentall, filiall fraternall or christian.

To y^e 4 charge heere mentioned

The Apostle sayth y^t noe other foundation canne any man lay than Jesus christ (that is to say for iustification or Salvation) 1 cor: 3: 11. And as for y^e Scriptures, J acknowledge noe X^t but such a one as is revealed in the scriptures.

And as for beleiving vnto Justification J acknowledge noe other faith (in men of yeares) than such as resteth on X^t declared in a word of grace by y^e scriptures.

when we read y^e y^e churches are built uppon y^e foundations of y^e prophets & Apostles J doe conceive (vnder favour) y^t they are call'd foun-

dations in y^t they layd christ for y^e foundation if any word of myne may seeme to sound otherwise J would be vnderstood according to these expressions

To y^e last charge, concerning variety of righteousness

when J sayd y^t saints have more variety of righteousnesses than X^t hath I was in y^e explication of y^e word in esay 45. 24 wch in y^e originall is in y^e plurall number righteousnesses, surely Jn y^e Lord have J righteousnesses & strength; not y^t they have more variety of righteousness than he hath to give: but because they have from him beside inherent righteousness & morall righteousness, imputative righteousness alsoe wch he needed not for himself.

Such are y^e conceptions & confessions of

MARMADUKE MATTHEWES.

On the back of this "deliberate answer" is endorsed the report of the committee.

Boston. 17th 4th m 1651.

Upon serious consideration of the charges brought against M^r Mathewes togeather wth the answers to them by himselfe gyven, as also upon conference wth himselfe concerning the same. Wee the Comittee yet remayne much unsatisfyed, fynding seuall pticul's weake, unsafe & unsound, & not retracted by him some whereof are conteyned in this pap wth his last deliberate answer thereunto.

SIMON BRADSTREET,

RICHARD BROWN,

JOHN GLOUER,

W^m HATHORNE,

EDW: JOHNSON,

ELEAZER LUSHER,

HUMPHRAY ATHARTON.

15th 8th 51

Being by p^rvidence absent when the Comittee examined m^r mathews case being p^rsonally p^rsent before them J cannot speake but onely to what appeareth by the writings And having wth the comittee p^rvsed them J Doe fully agree wth what they have returned to the Court

SAMUEL SYMONDS.⁴²

So the committee, having heard and considered the replies of the heretical preacher, found themselves, in the end, where they had begun; and Mr. Matthews was neither justified nor silenced. In the meantime the case had begun to assume that dual aspect which has deluded antiquaries; for the Court had ordered, in May, as follows:—

⁴² *Mass. Archives*, ccxli. 183.

And touching the church of Malden for offence in ordaining him, (notwithstanding all advice formerly,) itt is *ordered*, that they answer their offence the next sessions of this Courte.⁴³

Here are now two distinct cases moving together awhile as one. The one is an offence of "weake and vnsafe expressions," or an assertion of individual thought and speech; the other is a contempt of authority, or an assertion of the freedom of the Church against a usurping power.

It may be assumed without direct proof that the magistrates and deputies were far from being satisfied with the report of the committee. Nor could they have been more pleased with the outcome of the fine of ten pounds, which they laid upon Mr. Matthews for allowing himself to be ordained; for the afflicted minister was as poor in worldly goods as he was rich in grace, and the marshal found no available property. The Court was obliged to order that "the execution thereof shalbe respited till other goodes appeare besides bookes."⁴⁴

At the October session a day was assigned for the consideration of "Mr Mathewes his offence retourned by the committee, as also the offence of the church of Malden;" and notice was given to the offending parties.

Att the tyme appointed, Mr Marmaduke Mathewes appeard; so did Mr Joseph Hills, Edward Carrington, and John Waite, wth seuerall others of the church of Malden, & on the churches behalfe appeared to answer their offence, &c, according to the order of the last Gennerrall Courte.⁴⁵

In behalf of Mr. Matthews, whose case first received attention, a petition was presented, which is one of the most interesting of the many which relate to the history of the town. It is especially valuable in this case as showing the esteem in which the Malden minister was held by his congregation; but it is more noteworthy because it bears the names of thirty-six of the wives and mothers of that early day and is the first known petition of Malden women.

⁴³ *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (1), 43.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, iii. 257.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, iv. (1), 70.

To the Hono^d Court

The petition of Many Inhabitants of Maldon & Charlstowne on Mes-
tickside Humblie sheweth

That y^e Allmighty God in great mercie to ou^r souls as we trust hath
After many prayers Jndeavo^{rs} & long Wayting Brought m^r Mathews
Among vs & putt him into the worke of the Ministrie. By whose pious
life & labo^{rs} the lord hath Afforded vs Many Saving Convictions direc-
tions and Consolations whose Continuance in y^t Service of christ if it
were y^e good pleasu^r of god wee much desy^r, And it is ou^r humble
Request to this Hono^d Court y^t you would please to pass by Some per-
sonall & perticul^r ffaylings (which may as we humbly conseaue be yo^r
Glory & no greife of heart to you in tyme to come) And to p^rmitt him
to Jmploy thos tallents god God hath furnishd him wth all. so Shall we
yo^r humble petion^{rs} wth many others be Bound to pray &c.

28. 8. 51

M ^{RS} SERGEANT	SARAH BUCKNAM	ELIZ. MIRRABLE
JOAN SPRAGUE	THANKSLORD SHEPP RD	SARAH OSBURN
JANE LEARNED	FFRAN. COOKE	AN HETT
ELIZ. CARRINGTON	ELIZ. KNOHER	MARY PRATT
BRIDGET SQUI ^{KE}	BRIDGET DEXTER	ELIZ. GREEN
MARY WAYTE	LYDA GREENLAND	JOAN CHADWICK
SARAH HILLS	MARG ^{RT} PEM ^{RTON}	MARG ^{RT} GREEN
AN: BIBBLE	HAN. WHITAMORE	HELLEN LUDDINGTON
ELIZ. GREEN	ELIZ. GREEN	SUSAN WILKINSON
WID: BLANCHER	MARY RUST	JOANA CALL
ELIZ. ADDAMS	ELIZ. GROVER	RACHEL ATTWOOD
	HAN. BARRET	MARG ^T WELDING
		REBEC: HILLS

The magistrates conceaue the answer to this petition wilbe the
result of the Magistrates & deputies agreem^t of M^r Mathewes
censure :

EDWARD RAWSON *Sec^{ry}*

The deput consent & agree hereto

WILLIAM TORREY *Cleric*⁴⁶

At the same time, a letter was given to the Court, which
seems to have been written for the purpose by some other than
Mr. Matthews, for the signature only is his. It is submissive
and humble, and shows that the accused had lost some part of
his original independence, or that he had become wearied in
the contest and had submitted to the advice of more tractable
friends.

⁴⁶ *Mass. Archives*, x. 79.

To the Hono'd Court

Marmaduke Mathews Humblie sheweth That through mercie J am in some measure sensible of my Great Insufficiencie to declare the counsell of God vnto his people (as J ought to doe) And how (through the darkness & Ignoranc that is in mee) J am verie Apt to lett ffall some expressions y^t are weake & Inconvenient ; & J doe Acknowledge y^t in severall of those expressions referred to the examination of the Hon'd Committee, J might (had the lord seen it so good) haue expressed & deliu'd my selfe in Termes more free ffrom exception. And it is my desyre (the lord strengthning) as much as in me lyeth to Avoyd all appearances of euill therin ffor Tyme to Come, as in all other respects whatsoeur, w^h y^t J may doe, J humbly desyre yo^r hearty prayers to God ffor me, & in speciall that J may take heed to the Ministrie committed to me y^t J may ffulfill it to the prays of God & p'ffitt of his people.

28 : 8. 1651

yo^r Humble S^vant in long

Service of christ

MARMADUKE MATTHEWES.⁴⁷

The petition of the women of Malden or the "humble shewing" of Mr. Matthews — perhaps both — so influenced the austere minds of the members of the General Court that, judging that "it doeth stand wth wisdome to haue the Churches to act before themselues," they concluded to end, as they should have begun, by referring the matter to the ecclesiastical authorities. They, therefore, thought meet to

appoint the Church of Maldon speedilie to consider of the erro^rs M^r Mathewes stands charged wth in Court, and in case vpon the Churches dealing wth him hee doeth acknowledge his errors & vnsafe expressions & giue satisfaction vnder his hand, so as the Secretarie being certified thereof, doe acquaint the Counsell therewth wth in six weekes the matter at present may so rest. Else the Secretarie shall giue notice unto the Churches of Cambridge, Charlestowne Lyn & Redding to send their messengers in way of counsell & advice vnto the Church of Maldon & not excluding any other Churches wth them to debate the doctrines there deliuered by M^r Mathewes now in question That by this meanes the trueth may the better appeare. And that they prosecute the same to effect according to the rule of Christ, ffor the Conviction of the said M^r Mathewes & helpfulnes of the Church of maldon.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ *Mass. Archives*, ccxli. 185.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, x. 79.

There was some little difficulty here, for the democratic deputies were disposed to withhold their consent to this measure; but it was finally voted by the whole Court in conference.

So Mr. Matthews, being turned over to the only authority which ought ever to have considered his "offences," the church of Malden, stood in the way of judgment. That church, far from submitting, appeared before the Court, as already has been seen, in the persons of three of its most prominent men, Joseph Hills, then a deputy and four years before the Speaker of the House, Edward Carrington, and John Wayte. They gave in writing an answer to the charge against them, dated October 26; and, some dissatisfaction having been expressed, Joseph Hills presented a second and additional answer, dated five days later. In these papers may be found a statement of the early condition of the Malden church, its troubles in finding a pastor, and the circumstances under which Mr. Matthews was settled. They are strong and earnest pleas for the right of free action in the election and ordination of church officers, asking consideration both from moral and legal points. They seek rather to justify than to excuse their authors; and they assert in plain terms the liberty of the churches and the absence of any "law of Christ or the Countrey" to the contrary.

The Church of Maldon In Answer to the offence by the Hono^r Gen^{all} Court charged vpon them in Ordayning m^r Mathews Notwithstanding all advice which we acknowledge was of some of the Hono^d Magistrats & two of the neigbo^r churches, namely Roxbury & charlstow desyre humblie to Express themselves as followeth

ffirst. that the other vnsafe & offensive expressions recited in the beginning of the order to be deliu'd in his public ministry at Maldon, were not before the ordination so much as Charged vpon him by the Court. & so it was (vnder ffavour) as we conceiue onely the busines at hull on which all advice was groundd for which offences he had his sentence & ffulfild it & so stood cleare in law [To the punishm^t.

2. we humbly tender to Consideration of the Hono^d Court whether we should not haue been dealt & p^rceeded with in a Church way in case we had swerved ffrom any Rule of X^t or been so Apprehended ffor we both owne & Honour Church Comunion.

we also putt the churches y^t wrote to vs to fforbeare ordination, to discover to vs Any sin either in m^r Mathews or the Church which might be a ground of fforbea^g but they Instanced none

3. we humbly present to consideration y^t we wrote & sent to Roxburie Church before wee proceeded. since which we heard no more ffrom them. also we sent to Charlstow Church beffore ordination & since & theire last to vs was ffor a brothrly conference to which we assented & expected them to call on it. And had those Churches conceived sin in o^r p^rceedings their way was open & our Church readie to Attend conviction therein.

4. be pleased to Consider what those hono^rd Magistrats wrote to vs, & what our Adresses were to them & eurie [one] of them before ordination ffrom whom we received no returne saue only from m^r Nowel

5. Wee p^rfess it was a greife of heart to vs, & is, that we should seem to wave or vnd^rvalue the advice of any Magistrate or Church, but considering the libertys of the Churches alowe by law to chuse their owne officers, & Apprehending him to be both pious able & orthodox as the law provides we p^rceeded.

Lastly wee humbly plead to the words of the Charge which are (And touching the Church of Maldon her offence in ordayning him Notwithstanding all Advice form^{ly} Jtt is ordered that they Answ^r their offence the next sessions of this Court)

Our plea is that we know no law of X^t or the Countrie that binds Any Church of Christ not to ordayne their owne officers without Advice of Magistrats, & churches. Wee frely Acknowledge ou^rselues Jngaged to any that in loue afford Any advice vnto vs. but we conceaue a Church is not bound to such Advice ffurther than god comends it to their vnd^rstanding & conscience. And if a Church Act contrary to such advice wee see not how or by what Rule they are Bound to take offence against A Church of Christ in y^t respect namly ffor not Attending y^t advice, or y^t a Church of christ so doeing should be concluded offenders in any Court of Justice & so p^rsent^d. our laws allow eurie Church ffree libertie of all the ordinances of god according to the rule of the scriptur, Eccl Sect 3. 4. 6. & perticular ffree libertie of ellection & ordination of all their officers ffrom tyme to tyme p^rvided they be pious able & orthodox. And y^t no Injunction shall be put vpon Any Church officer or member in point of doctrine or discipline whether ffor substance or circumstance besides the Institutions of the lord.

Thus to our abillitie with hearty desyre of satisfaction. hauing given our humble Apprehensions ffor our p^rceedings in the ordination affors^d (vnwilling to occassion more trouble,) we shall Add no more, onely ou^r humble Acknowledgem^t y^t wee haue not walked so safely so prudently so Jnoffensively in y^c point of ordination as wee might haue done, & had the Order Title eccles. 8. 12. ffor Eklers & bretⁿ meeting to discuss points of doc^m & discipline been attended the breach might haue been healed & this troubl p^rvented. wee humbly Reffer our selues And answers to yo^r most wise & godly consideration as the lord shall

direct ffor the glory of Christ and good of his poor Church & Towne of Maldon

26. 8. 1651.

y^r humble seruants

JOS: HILLS :

ED: CARINGTON, } *in y^e name of*

JOHⁿ WAYTE } *y^e chur^{ch}.⁴⁹*

To the Hon'd Court

Vnd^rstanding that the answe^r of the Ch^rch of Maldon in reference to their Ordination of m^r Mathew^s is not satisfactory on the behalf of the Ch^rch of Maldon Joseph Hills humbly craueth that this Hon'd Court, will please as an Addition to our former Acknowledgment to consider the many motions Jndeauours & humbl Addresses of the sayd Church to diuers Orthodox App^ued men before we moued or had thought of m^r Ma^s for beside our request at the first to Charlst^o Ch^h to help us in p^rcuring one we gaue Solemn Jnuitation to theis vnd^rwritten.

m^r Miller then at Rowle

m^r Blinman

m^r J^o Wilson

m^r Samuel Mader

m^r Ezekiel Cheeuer

m^r Lyon

for one of Wat^t^o officers

one of Charls Ch^h officers

m^r John Brock

wherby it may Evidently app^r we affect not any thing tending to disturb or distast, Either Magist^s Eld^s or Ch^rch of Christ therein & so the necessitie of the Ch^rch to attend y^e guidance of God for supply as they could.

2 the Ch^rch of Maldon app^rhended themselues to haue manifest wrong about m^r John Wilson & in speciall by Roxburie w^{ch} we shold not haue mentioned, onely to manifest, our non acting wth m^r Ma. had we not by their means been bereaued of m^r J^o Wilson

3 be pleased to consid^r that we were denied y^e ordinance of Baptism at a neighbour Ch^rch before the aduise about Ordination, although it was desired in the name of the Church (& so signified in writing) as the Platform of discipline doth direct.

Lastly be pleased to consid^r that, that w^{ch} came from the Hon'd Magist^t & Churches of Charlst^o & Roxbury was onely in way of aduice & had we sind ag^t the ch^rches, we app^rhend^{ed} & allso Exspected them to follow the rules of Discipline warranted by Gods word & described in the Plattforme in such a case

and had we vnd^rstood y^e Hon'd Magist. that wrote to us had intended other or more in their l^r to us, then matters of aduice, we shold haue demurred & disposed o^r selues otherwise & not haue Exposed ourselues to so much displeasure as we haue incurred from such p^rsons &

⁴⁹ *Mass. Archives, x. 31.*

Relations, whom we so much honour & acknowledge ourselues so transcendently vnder God Jngaged vnto for that pious & peaceable Gou'nment, w^{ch} by their means we haue Jnioyed for so long a time & hope farther to Jnioy if the lord will.

31. 8. (51)

Y^r Humbl seruant

JOS: HILLS: ⁵⁰

Under the circumstances there could have been but one reply to the justification contained in these papers, and that the Court was ready enough to give. Nine of the troublesome deputies, eight of whom, including William Hathorne of the committee and John Leverett, were found among the former "contradicentes," dissented from the action of the Court, and Richard Bellingham, the deputy-governor, joined with them from the magistrates; but the efforts of so small a minority resulted only in their names being written in the margin of the record for honor or disgrace as posterity may agree.⁵¹ The Court declared that they "hauinge p^rvsed, an answer of the church of Maldon, touchinge those thinges wherein they had giuen offence, are not satisfied therewith," and fined the members of the church fifty pounds, to ensure the payment of which it was levied on the estates of Joseph Hills, Edward Carrington, and John Wayte,⁵² who began to find that to stand before the Great and General Court as the representatives of a contumacious church implied something more than distinction. They were empowered to "make proportion of the sajd some on the rest of the members of the church," excepting, however, "any person that hath given this Courte satisfaction, and that consented not to M^r Mathewes ordjnation."⁵³ This exception reduced the number of those who were to bear the material burden of the Court's displeasure to "ten or eleven brethren."

There must have been both chagrin and grief, and a touch of wrath, in the little church at Bell Rock that winter. There are indications that Mr. Matthews continued to preach, probably with more circumspection while a fine and the displeasure of the Colony were still hanging over him. In the meantime, as

⁵⁰ *Mass. Archives*, x. 80.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁵² *Mass. Colony Records*, iii. 250.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, iv. (1), 71.

ordered by the authorities, the church made a show of dealing with him, with perhaps more of apparent than real zeal. Meanwhile, also, the members of the church showed how their inclinations turned by giving their offending brother, Thomas Lynde, what was not inaptly termed in Malden in later days "a church-hauling;" and regardless of the "tenderness and caution" with which he was said to have given his testimony, they proceeded so far that excommunication seemed likely to follow censure.⁵⁴

But the civil authority interposed at this juncture. At a session of the Council, held at Boston, March 4, 165½, the unsatisfactory condition of affairs at Malden and the immediate danger of the government's witness were made known; and in consonance with the earnest request of Thomas Lynde, a letter was written to the "Christian freinds & bretheren" at Malden. At the same time the matter of dealing with Mr. Matthews, in which the church had failed, was considered and referred to a council of neighboring churches, as had been ordered by the General Court in October. The record is worthy of perusal as showing how completely the civil power had usurped authority in ecclesiastical matters at that time. The disclaimer, which is printed in italics, is strangely at variance with the actual state of things, and may have been the sugar-coating which the magistrates thought might render the pill less bitter to the palates of the Malden brethren.

⁵⁴ The innkeeper, John Hathorne, appears to have received his due measure of the indignation of the inhabitants. The selectman, with Richard Adams, constable, preferred a request for Thomas Skinner to keep an ordinary or inn; but the General Court soon after passed the following vote: "[1651: 23 May.] In ans^r to the petition of John Hawthorne, this Court judgeth it meete to encourage and appointe him, the sajd John Hawthorne, to goe on and keepe the ordjnary at Malden." *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (1), 47. He was under the protection of the Court just then; but although that authority might "encourage and ap-

pointe," it could not force an unwilling public to visit his house. As a natural consequence, he removed the next year to the neighboring settlement of Lynn, where he succeeded Joseph Armitage, and committed the forgery which he confessed. The people of Malden had their will in this case, if not in that of Thomas Lynde; for the following was soon passed: "[1652: 26 May.] In ans^r to the petition of the inhabitants of Malden, the Courte doth graunt libertje and licence to Thomas Skinner to keepe an ordinary there, in the roome and stead of John Hawthorne, who was formerly licensed there." *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (1), 89.

Att a Councill held At Boston 4th march 1651 :

A lette^r being p^resented & Communicated to the Counsell by the secretary that was directed to him from m^r Joseph Hills signifying the satisfaction which the church of Malden had receaved from m^r marmaduke mathewes in relation to an order of the last session of the Generall Courte the Counsell not taking satisfaction therein did order as followeth.

Whereas Jtt was ordered by the Generall Courte in the last session thereof in Octobre last, m^r mathewes having formerly bene dealt withall for publishing divers erronjous vnsound & vnsafe opinions & being called to give satisfaction to the Courte for the sajd Errors, which he did not Accordingly doe, the Courte therefore did thinke meete to Appointe [*here follows the order of the Court which has been already given.*] That by this meanes the trueth may the better Appeare : since which the church of maulden have sent their retourne of the p^rmisses together with something written with m^r mathewes name to it but not as wee are credibly Informed signed with m^r mathewes owne hand the Copie whereof is heerewith sent you ; Jn all which wee are not satisfjed m^r mathewes not expressing any sorrow for his opinions nor promising for time to come to forbear such vnsafe & vnsound expressions and therefore according to the order of the generall Courte aforesaid This Courte does Order that the Secretary shall give notice to the churches of Cambridge Charles Towne Lynne and Redding to send their messengers in way of Counsell and Advice to the church of malden as aforesajd not excluding any other churches for the ends afore specifjed, Desiring them to deale effectually therein betweene this & the next Generall Courte & to send in a retourne to the sajd Courte what effect their Advice doth take & what satisfaction they doe receive.

The Counsell being Informed of the church of maldens Jntention to p^roceed to Censure Thomas Line for what evidence he gave into the Generall Courte against m^r marmaduke mathewes did order that the secretary should write to the church of malden in their names as followeth

Christian freinds & bretheren

wee being Credibly Informed of some purpose of yo^rs to p^roceed further to censure Tho. Ljne for the Testimony he gave in Court ag^t m^r mathewes & that to excommunication knowing ourselves with what tenderness & caution he gave his aforesajd testimony and w^t disturbance yo^r p^rceeding may probably occasion both in the churches & Civill government we thought it no lesse than our duty (in a Case of this Concernment) *yett without any Jntention or desier in the least to Infringe the lib^ety the lord Jesus christ hath purchased for his churches* doe desire you to take the Counsell and advice of 3 or 4 of you^r next

neighboring churches in the Case aforesajd before you proceede to further censure ; Jt being also Tho Lynes earnest request as wee are Jnformed so that if the Case shall appeare cleare to others as it may seeme to doe to you you may then proceede with more peace & Comfort and be more fully convinced if then he should Continew obstinate but in case it should appeare otherwayes to other churches then it doth to you the rule of Gods word may be further attended therein for the p'servation of true love & peace which we desire you will joynctly endeavor to promote with our'selves So we rest

your loving freinds :

By order from the Counsell :

EDWARD RAWSON *Secrty*⁵⁵

The six weeks allowed by the Court in October had lengthened to more than four months, and over two months more elapsed before the council of churches was convened. At this council, the churches of Charlestown, Cambridge, Lynn, and Reading appeared as ordered; and the First Church of Boston sent its pastor and teacher, the learned and orthodox John Wilson and John Cotton, and two brethren,

at the request of y^e Church of Malden to be Assistant to them in y^e agitation of such matters as y^e cause would require by reason y^t foure other churches were sent by y^e Governor and Counsell, to deale wth y^t church vppon some offence Conceived they had given.⁵⁶

The examination of Mr. Matthews was as unsatisfactory to the ecclesiastical council as the former answers had been obnoxious to the magistrates and deputies; for although the messengers hoped "by what he expresseth, that in the general he doth indeed see cause more than formerly to bewail the use of any such unsound expressions in time past, and to forbear the use of them for time to come," they regretted that he did "too much labor to put too fair a gloss upon his former expressions, which in themselves are very unsavory and ungrounded upon Scripture pattern."

The preacher was evidently still bent upon justification rather than upon retraction, and was unwilling to allow that truth did not lie at the bottom of his "weak and inconvenient expres-

⁵⁵ *Council Records, in loco.*

loco. A MS. copy of these records is

⁵⁶ *First Church (Boston) Records, in* in the library of the Mass. Hist. So.

sions." The messengers reported to the deputies, May 27, 1652, and their "retourne" was as unsatisfactory to the latter as the result of the council had been to the former. But the Court had evidently got tired of Mr. Matthews; for though they had humbled him and made him much trouble, they had not broken him, and he was as ready as ever to "gloss" his "former expressions;" and so they came to this conclusion:—

The Courte, having pervsed M^r Mathewes confession, and considering the sattisfaction tendered by him, and finding it not to be such and so full as might be expected, yett are willing to accept of it at present as to passe it by.⁵⁷

They were more ready to pass by the doctrinal than the financial points of the case; and they put their unwillingness upon record as follows:—

For the remittment of the churches and pastors fines, they see no cawse to graunt their request therein, the countrje being putt to so great trouble, chardges, and expenses in the hearing of the cawse.⁵⁸

As has been before noticed, there was among the deputies a tendency to be more liberal and progressive than the magistrates,—to be in advance of the times. It was the living spark which in due season, fanned into flame, burned away all the old hindrances to political and religious life and freedom. It was the flame of two revolutions; and it has never died out in New England. In June they endeavored to do something like justice to Mr. Matthews and originated the following bill:—

Forasmuch as it appears to this Court, wheras m^r Marmaduke Mathews of Mauldon about y^e defectiueness of his ordination was by y^e Court fined Tenn pounds sinc wch It appears to this Court y^t ye church of mauldon doe take y^e whole blame therof on ym, and m^r Mathews haueing vsed some Jndeuers to remoue offence of diuers spirrits, referring to sundry greuances & his Condition being but Lowe in estate, y^e Deputyes see Cawse to remitt y^e fine aforesayd Desiring y^e Consent of our honnored magistrts heerin : 9 : 4 : 52.

WILLIAM TORREY *Cleric*.⁵⁹

But the other branch of the civil power was not yet ready to recede from the position which the Court had taken, and the

⁵⁷ *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (1), 90.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Mass. Archives*, x. 81.

conservative magistrates silenced the bill by adding these words: "The magists Cannot Consent heereto." On the twenty-third day of October, however,

Mr Joseph Hills p^rfering a petition for the remittment of fines imposed on the chh of Maldon & theire pasto^r, receiued this answer: that Mr Mathewes fine should be remitted, & ten pounds remitted of the chches censure.⁶⁰

The magistrates concurred with the deputies in this vote three days later. This was a most lame and impotent conclusion so far as the actions against Mr. Matthews and the Malden church were concerned; but in respect to the Colony at large, the immediate influence of these cases was in favor of the principles which the Court sought to establish. Though many had been found to uphold the oppressed church in some measure, or at least to sympathize with it, practically, it stood alone in the contest. Grave offences had been committed, and in answering them the fathers of Malden had the honor of standing foremost in the struggle between the church and the state. Their glory and offence was that they defended the independence of the church in the election of its officers and in its internal government — an independence which had already been defined by the Body of Liberties and the Cambridge Platform. Moreover, with their pastor they asserted the right of free thought and expression, limited only by God's word and individual conscience — a right which, with the liberty of the church, had, above all others, been stoutly upheld by the Puritans in England. They showed a spirit of self-reliance and strength which proved them worthy champions of freedom; and the principles which they maintained, though for a season defeated, were triumphant in the end and are to-day a crowning glory of New England.

Twice at least had the General Court assailed the rights of the churches before; and now the authority of the civil power in matters of ecclesiastical government and discipline was established. The next year the Court endeavored to make the work more strong and enduring by the passage of an act entitled

⁶⁰ *Mass. Colony Records*, iii. 294.

None to preach w^hout approbation, &c.

Whereas by the providence of God, the number of our plantations are increased, diuerse of which, especially in their beginning, are destitute of persons fitly qualifjed to vndertake the worke of the ministrje, whereby they are necessitated to make vse of such helpe as they haue to exercise and preach publicquely amongst them, by occasion whereof persons of bolder spiritts and erronious principles may take advantage to vent theire errors, to the infection of their hearers and the disturbance of the peace of the countrje, for the prevention whereof, itt is *ordered* by this Court, that no person shall vndertake any constant course of publicque preaching or prophesying wthin this jurisdiction without the approbation of the elders of the fower next neighboring churches, or of the County Court to which the place belongs. And if any person shall, after publication of this order, continew such a practice, the next magistrate, or magistrates, who shall be informed thereof, shall forbid such person; who if he shall not forbear, he shall binde him ouer to the Courte of Asistants, who shall proceed wth such person according to the meritt of the fact.⁶¹

This was pressing too strongly the authority which had been assumed and was "dissatisfactory to diuers of the inhabitants whom the Court hath cawse to respect and tender;"⁶² and it called forth fervent remonstrances from the people. The Salem church declared that: —

It entrencheth much vpon y^e liberties of y^e several churches, who have power (as is confessed by all y^e Orthodoxe) to choose and sett vp over y^m, whom they please for theyr edification & comfort wthout depending on any other power.⁶³

The church and town of Woburn were more pointed in their memorial, saying: —

This we cannot but conceive to be a taking the free course of church liberty into the hand of civil authority and whom they shall be pleased to bestow it upon, . . . we cannot but conceive it to be a crossing the lines of their authority and a coming in to intermeddle before Christ call them hereunto.⁶⁴

The Court saw its mistake and hastened to retrace its steps, "that all jealousies may be remooved," although declaring "the sajd order, rightly vnderstood, to be safe and much conducing to the preservation of peace and truth amongst vs." The obnox-

⁶¹ *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (1), 122.

⁶³ *Mass. Archives*, x. 84.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 151.

⁶⁴ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxi. 41.

ious order was repealed in a little more than three months after its passage.⁶⁵ The Court, however, abated no part of its acquired authority, although it was transferred ostensibly to the consideration of individual errors of doctrine; for the act which repealed the former order contained a provision that

Every person that shall publish and maintajne any hoethrodoxe and erronjous doctryne shallbe liable to be quæstioned and censured by the County Court where he liveth, according to the merrit of his offence.⁶⁶

The question was settled for a time; and henceforth, for many years, the civil magistrate ordered the things of God.

How long Mr. Matthews remained at Malden is not known; but apparently he had removed in 1654. It is said, on doubtful authority, that he preached awhile in Lynn. He returned to England in 1655, and several of the Malden church went with him. Of these returning pilgrims I can recognize the widow Margaret Wheldon, who left a law-suit over the estate of her deceased husband, Gabriel;⁶⁷ and with them, perhaps, was William Marble, otherwise called Mirable.

But little is known of the family of Mr. Matthews. His wife, Katherine, who came with him from England, was a witness of the will of Gabriel Wheldon in 1653, as was Michaiah Matthews,

⁶⁵ It is worthy of remark that the prudent Court so clearly felt the force of public dissatisfaction that the execution of this order was immediately suspended until the next session, when, as stated in the text, it was repealed. Cf. *Mass. Archives*, x. 81.

⁶⁶ *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (1), 151.

⁶⁷ Gabriel Wheldon, or Welding, who appears to have been a personal friend of Mr. Matthews, was with that minister at Yarmouth, and took the oath of fidelity with him. He came here with Mr. Matthews, and in his will calls himself "of the Towne and church of Mauldon." With his youngest son, John, he sold to William Crofts, of Lynn, four parcels of land in Arnold, county Nottingham. *Essex Deeds*, i. 24. This forbids the conclusion that he was a fellow countryman of Mr. Matthews; but from the apparently close connection of the parties, I am inclined to believe that his

wife, Margaret, was from Wales, and perhaps owned a relationship with the pastor.

He died in Malden in January, 165¾; and his will contains the first intimation of a burial at Sandy Bank, now known as the Bell Rock Cemetery. He says:—"I give my body to be layd asleepe in the bed of the grave in the Comon burying place for the Inhabitants of this Towne."

With the exception of a legacy of ten shillings to the Malden church, his estate, valued at £40, 11, 8, was left to his wife; but the claims of his elder children caused a contention, as stated in the text. The widow, who may have been a second wife, returned to England; but descendants of Gabriel Wheldon, bearing the name in its several forms, may still be found on Cape Cod and in other portions of New England.

who may have been his son. Mordecai Matthews was one of the two who were graduated at Harvard College in the class of 1655. At the same time another Matthews, apparently his brother, was in a lower class. College charges against each end June 8, 1655; and as nothing more is known of them, it is supposed that they were sons of the Malden preacher and returned to England with their father in that year. One Mordecai Matthews was minister at Roinolston in Glamorganshire. The younger student may have been that Manasseh who was baptized at Barnstable, January 24, 1641, or the Michaiah of the Wheldon will.⁶⁸

The experience of Mr. Matthews in New England had not been of the kindest, nor was his future to be brighter at home; for after a few years of comfort and peace, he was again to be brought into trouble for the sake of conscience. He returned to Glamorganshire and became vicar of St. John's in Swansea, his native town. Here, in a good living, he remained until the Restoration and the enforcement of the Act of Uniformity—that act by which on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1662, as Macaulay says, “about two thousand ministers of religion, whose conscience did not suffer them to conform, were driven from their benefices in one day.”⁶⁹ In Calamy's story of his subsequent life we may see a vivid picture of the condition of the many unbeneficed clergymen who remained in England. Godly and suffering men were they, saints to their friends and a derision to their enemies. They were learned and able in their day and generation; and in their distresses they were no less martyrs in the cause of religion and liberty than those whose lives went out in flame and blood.

He had been in New England. He left a good living when he had nothing else to subsist upon. He afterwards preached, by the connivance of the magistrates in a little chapel at the end of the town. He was a very pious and zealous man, who went about to instruct people from house to house. All his discourse, in a manner, was about spiritual matters. He made no visits but such as were religious and minis-

⁶⁸ Sibley, *Harvard Graduates*, i. 403; Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, iii. 177.

⁶⁹ Macaulay, *History of England*, chap. ii. Cf. Palmer, *Calamy's Non-conformist's Memorial*, 33.

terial, and received none but in a religious manner. When any came to visit him, after common salutations, he would soon enter into some discourse about their souls; and when any thing was brought for them to drink, it was his custom to take the glass into his hand, give solemn thanks to God for it, and drink to his friend, telling him he was heartily welcome. He would often go out on market-days to the country people, and speak to them about spiritual matters, some of whom received him with respect, and others with contempt and scorn. He lived above the world, and depended wholly upon Providence for the support of himself and his family. He had no estate, but subsisted by the piety of his children, (of whom two or three were sober Conformists) and by the kindness of relations and friends; which made him sometimes pleasantly say, he was comfortably maintained by the children of God, his own children, and the children of this world. His way of preaching and catechizing had some peculiarities, which became him, and were of advantage unto many. He lived to a good old age, and continued useful to the last. He died about 1683.⁷⁰

At the time of the departure of Mr. Matthews, the church, or rather the offending portion of it, had not satisfied the fine of forty pounds which had been laid upon Joseph Hills, Edward Carrington, and John Wayte to collect of the other brethren. This sum was apportioned to three classes; and Edward Carrington complained afterwards that his associates had "reserved to their proportion such brethren of the Church as are able to pay," and had left him "to Gather vp that proportion that belongs to me to take vp of the poorer sort of brethren."⁷¹ A fairer explanation seems to be that his particular class was formed among "our Charlestown neighbours," of whom he was one, who were either less able or more unwilling to pay than the Malden members of the church.

At the session of the General Court in May, 1655, Joseph Hills, Abraham Hill, John Wayte, John Sprague, Ralph Shephard, John Upham, James Green, and Thomas Call presented a petition, "in w^{ch} they humbly acknowledg the offenc they gaue to the Court & seuerall churches about the ordjnation of M^r Mathewes," asking that the church might be cleared of the whole fine or that Joseph Hills and John Wayte "may be for-

⁷⁰ Palmer, *Calamy's Nonconformist's Memorial*, ii. 627. ⁷¹ *Mass. Archives*, x. 47.

giuen their offence, & discharged of the two p'ts of the fowre [*three*] charged on them." ⁷² The petitioners were unsuccessful in respect to the fine; but their acknowledgments, about which they probably cared the least, were accepted. Their answer was as follows:—

The Court doth well approue & accept of the petitio^{rs} acknowledgments of their irregular actings in those times, but vnderstanding y^t much, if not most, of the fine being payd for, & y^t the rest is secured, & should long since haue been payd in, the Court doth not thinke meet to graunt the petitio^{rs} request herein. ⁷³

Poverty or unwillingness, or both together, caused the money to come slowly from the pockets of the Malden farmers; and though two parts of the three had been "gathered in," or secured by the fall of 1658, it is not clear that anything had been paid to the authorities, unless the portion of Joseph Hills had been paid before May, 1655. Edward Carrington, who was the last to "humblie acknowledge" his shortcomings, addressed the Court in a petition dated October 28, 1658, in which he expressed his "Greife" and the poverty of his neighbors.

The humble Petition of Edward Carington humbly Sheweth,

That wheras this Honord Court was pleased some time sinc to Jm-pose & Lay a fine vppon the Church of maulden of the sume of fortie pounds, for ordeining m^r Mathews Pastor wthout or Against the counsell & Advice of the honord magistrats and Revnd Elders (The Euill of w^{ch} the Lord hath convinced yo^r Petition^r of being on of them and is made Realy sensible of the great dishon^r don to god, and disturbanc to the Churches peace therby, to the Greife of his heart which he is Redie to Confess on all occations & to take the shame therof) yo^r Petion^r being also Appoynted to be one of the three for the Gathering and paying the said ffine, the other two haueing a fitter opertunitie haue gathered in, and Reserved to their proportion such brethren of the Church as are able to pay wherby they may discharge their dutie, but haue left to yo^r petition^r such persons to receiue his proportion of which some are gone for England, some are remoued to other Townes, and the rest not able to pay whereby yo^r Petition^r is made vtterly vncapeable of discharging that iniunction Laid vppon him Except to the great wrong of himselfe & family he should pay it out of his owne estate which he presumeth is not the minde of this honord Court, wherfore

⁷² *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (1), 236.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, iii. 389.

he humbly requesteth yo^r fauo^r That either, that part of the whole sūme inioyned yo^r petitioner to gather & pay may be remitted to yo^r petition^r and the rest of the poore vnable and abscent brethren as aforesaid to the value of 13^{li}: 6^s: 8^d: w^{ch} is $\frac{1}{3}$ pt of y^e 40^{li}, or otherwise that yo^r petition^r may only pay his proportion allotted for him to pay (being only one single p^rson in that offenc, which the lord hath giuen him to see the euel of, and humbled him for) and that some other more meet p^rson or persons be put in the Roome & sted of yo^r Petition^r to Rec & pay w^t remaineth of those other brethren as afores^d. And yo^r Petition^r shall euer pray for the prosperitie of this hono^rd Court and abide

Yo^r humble & Devoted Serv^t

EDWARD CARINGTON.⁷⁴

To this petition and request the magistrates consented "that the petitioner payinge his part of the fine the remainder shall be remitted & giuen to the towne for towne stocke." But the deputies refused to concur, feeling, perhaps, that, though the fine ought not to have been laid at all, justice required that if two parts had been "gathered in" the third should be paid also, or else all be forgiven and returned.

Nineteen months now elapsed and nothing appears to have been done towards settling the debt. The condition of Edward Carrington's neighbors, — "the poorer sort of brethren," — remained the same. At a session of the General Court, May 30, 1660, the petition was renewed, and the whole matter was referred to the County Court of Middlesex for consideration and such settlement "as in theire wisdomes they shall thinke meete."⁷⁵ The Malden committee now joined in a memorial which contains some items of interest.

To the Hono^rd Court at Charlstowne this 19. 4. 1660. May it please you to consider that the fine Imposed on vs respecting m^r Mathews ordination, was by the gen^ll Court charged onely on the church, Exempting allso some of the Brethren by means whereof it fell heaue vpon the rest, being but 10 or 11 Brethren wher of one Dyed before Any paym^t made to the Treasu^r, & his wife since gone to England with m^r Mathews. Allso some Breth'n of whom we expected help are Removed out of Towne Tho: Hett, Tho: Ozban. and another we conceiue is unable to beare it (viz) Tho: Skin^r, as Indeed we all are, And it presses hard vpon vs. Wherefore ou^r Humble Request to this Hono^rd Court to whom power as we hope is seasonablie now deriued

⁷⁴ *Mass. Archives*, x. 47.

⁷⁵ *Midd. Court Files*, in loco.

to releiue vs that not only this third part be remitted, but the other Returned we now hauing a new Meeting-house in Building which will Cost vs about 150^{li}: and our Teach^{rs} great and long continued weaknes calls for more than ordinarie from vs.

your verie humble Seruants

JOSEPH HILLS,

EDWARD CARINGTON,

JOHN WAYTE,⁷⁶

By the County Court the petitioners were ordered to "give a clear acc^t of all their p^rceedings therein, vnto Leift. Ri: Sprague, Edw. Oakes, & Ephraim Child, or any two of them, who are by this Court appoynted & impowred to examine the matter, & make report of w^t they find therein vnto y^e next Court at Cambridge."⁷⁷

This committee considered the matter nearly two years before they reported that they had received and approved the account of the petitioners, and that "the some of twentie fower pound six shillings two pence" had been paid; and, "hauing taken notice of there pouertie, and some other reasons that doe moue vs thearvnto," they became "bould" to request that the remainder be abated.⁷⁸

On the first day of April, 1662, ten years and five months after the fine had been laid, Edward Carrington was "abated ten pounds of the fine imposed on Him to gather at Mauldon by the authority of the gen^rall Court;" and the Malden church was finally purged of its offences.⁷⁹

That the offending members of the church ever seriously repented of the support which they gave Mr. Matthews is very doubtful. That their actions were the root of much trouble in after years seems very probable. Michael Wigglesworth wrote a letter to be read "vnto the Church," in 1658, in which he strongly reviewed their proceedings and exhorted them to repentance and a renewal of brotherly love. In referring to Mr. Matthews he wrote as follows:—

I besesch you first to consid^r seriously & sadly of y^e manner & circumstances of yo^r calling M^r Mathews unto office in this place. A man

⁷⁶ *Midd. Court Files, in loco.*

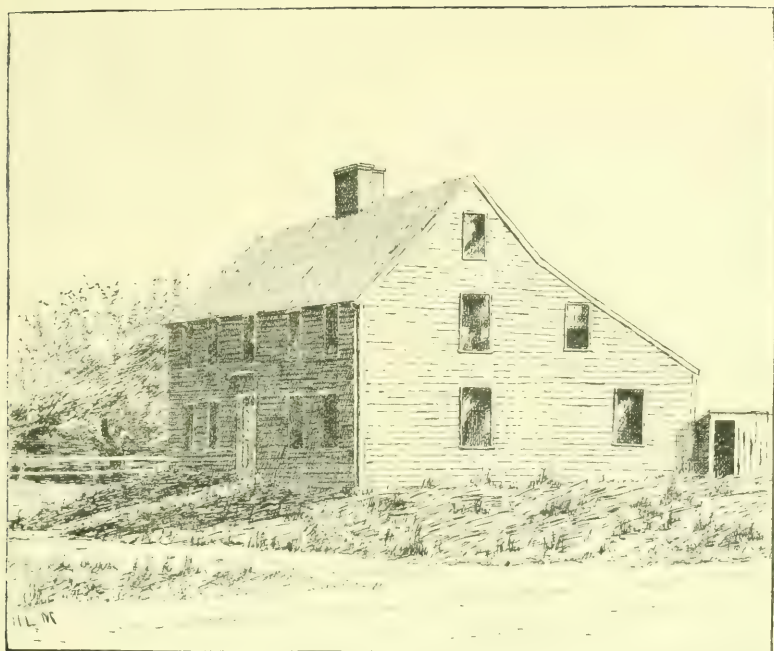
⁷⁸ *Midd. Court Files, in loco.*

⁷⁷ *Midd. Court Records, i. 212; also Midd. Court Files, in loco.*

⁷⁹ *Midd. Court Records, i. 252.*

known & often prov^d to be of an unsound judgem^t, unsavory and unsafe in expression, stiff & unmoveable as a rock in what ever he asserted, who for these th^{ngs} had been excommunicated at one place, disliked & discarded at anoth place, once (if not oftener) censured in y^e court ; This man (such was then yo^r p^recipitancy & wilfulness) you would haue against y^e counsel of magistrates, elders, & other godly neighbors although it were to y^e grief of y^e spirit of God in the hearts of his people, to y^e endangering and endamaging of yo^r owⁿ soules, to y^e justifying of his erro^{rs}, at least in appearance (for yo^r action hold forth no less then a justifying of him from erro^r w^of he had been convicted) if not also to a real closing with them for a time ; finally, tho it were to y^e hazzarding of yo^r peace love & communion with other churches. Brethn I fear this sin had not yet been sufficiently seen, felt, bewailed, repented off, confessed to God, & men upon occasion, that y^e anger of God for it might be turn^d away. And I fear it y^e rath. 1. Becaus I could never discern any signs of sorrow for it in any, except one or two. 2^{ly} Bec. o^r punishmt seems to point at y^e sin, being in y^e same kind. The Lord open yo^r eyes to see if this be not one cause & a leading cause of y^e Lords contending with you to this day ; and I believ it wil be so until y^e Lord make you feel it to be an evil & a bitter thing.

⁸⁰ *Mass. Hist. So. Proc.*, May, 1871, 95.



CHAPTER VI.

JOSEPH HILLS AND JOHN WAYTE.

OF the early settlers of Malden, two men, above all others, filled prominent positions in the local affairs of the town and took no mean part in the civil and religious concerns of the Colony. Closely united by family ties, they were no less intimate in their public lives; and the stories of their careers will be found to have much in common, both in what they performed and in the honors which they received. They earliest bore the responsibilities and honors of the highest offices in the gift of their fellows; and for a period of thirty-four years, from the incorporation of the town until the elder had removed and the younger had been stricken with blindness, they were the only representatives of the town at the General Court — the Congress of the young Colony. Each in his time was Speaker of the House of Deputies, an office which no other citizen of Malden has taken to the present time. Both are

nearly forgotten in the town where their busy lives were passed, and which owes them much for what they did in its earlier days. Nothing remains of one, save the memory of the old town well at the corner of Main and Salem Streets, — Joseph Hills's well. Of the younger, we have a thick old English slatestone in the "burying place near Sandy Bank," and an ever present memorial in the sturdy form and honest name of Wayte's Mount.

Joseph Hills was an inhabitant of Maldon, a town in the county of Essex in England, where, with his wife Rose, he lived, it is said, as "a woollen draper, having large transactions at London."¹ Whatever his calling may have been at that time, his apparent skill in legal matters and his career in New England justify the assertion that if he was not a lawyer by profession he was so by his tendencies and habits and perhaps by education. We have his own testimony, given in 1639, in which, calling himself "of Charlestowne in New England, Woollen-draper, aged about 36 yeares," he tells of the transportation of goods from Maldon to London "in an Jpsw^{ch} Hye," which he cleared at the custom house "in the ship called the Susan & Ellen of London, whereof was Master M^r Edward Payne," in which he arrived in Massachusetts Bay, July 17, 1638.²

About the same time, or perhaps with him, came John Wayte, a son of Samuel Wayte of Wethersfield, a town about eighteen miles from Maldon. His mother, Mary, was an aunt, or a

¹ Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, ii. 417. The statement in Coffin, *History of Newbury*, 393, that he was from Shrewsbury, although, perhaps, traditionally, is an evident error. Savage's supposition that Rose Hills was a sister of President Dunster has been accepted as a genealogical fact by most writers; but there was no ground for the supposition at first. Dunster's will, which was written in 1658, mentions "my sister Mrs. Hills of Mauldon," and appoints Joseph Hills an overseer. If the Mrs. Hills of that date was his sister, it was not Rose, who had been dead eight years. The living wife was Helen, or Eleanor, Atkinson; and the title may have been used as a recognition of

friendship or of sisterhood in the church. Still, I think that the words as twice used and the provisions of the will imply a relationship; and I venture to suggest that Elizabeth, the second wife of Henry Dunster and the mother of his children, was a sister of Helen Atkinson. The will may be found in Chaplin, *Life of Henry Dunster*, 303-308.

² Lechford, *Note-Book*, 91. Mr. Hills appears to have been received as a person of some importance among the new comers; as thirteen days after his arrival, he was admitted as a townsman and received the grant of land at Mystic Side which is elsewhere noticed.

sister,³ of the celebrated Rev. Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich, whose *Simple Cboler of Aggavvam in America* and his services in compiling the *Body of Liberties* have given him an undying name among the fathers of New England. John Wayte, who was in 1638 about twenty years of age, soon married, if he had not already done so in England, Mary, the young daughter of Joseph Hills, and following into the forests of Mystic Side he seated himself near his father-in-law, on the south-west side of Mount Prospect, which took from him its later names of Captain's Hill and Wayte's Mount.⁴

The coming of Joseph Hills as an undertaker in the ship which brought him to New England gave him, perhaps, some distinction over humbler adventurers; and his abilities soon brought him into notice and employment. He was received

³ Probably a sister. For the information compiled from the Candler and Tanner manuscripts in the British Museum and Bodleian Library see the pedigrees in Dean, *Memoir of the Rev. Nathaniel Ward*, 129, and *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, xli. 282.

⁴ John Wayte had received a grant of eight acres in the vicinity of Wayte's Mount from the town of Charlestown in 1647. In 1654 he bought of John Coggan, who had married the widow Coytmore after the death of her second husband, Governor John Winthrop, several parcels of the Coytmore land, one of which was bounded on the west by the brook "below the falls and by the Pond above the falls," and on the east, by the common and other land of John Wayte. Over this land ran "a cart way of Two rods wide from the falls streight forth into the Country way;" in which may be found the origin of an old way over which Mountain Avenue now passes from Main Street to the brook or, more likely, that of the way long known as Barrett's or Dye House Lane and now as Barrett Street. In this parcel was included Mount Prospect, which was to be defended against "the Towne of Mauldon wch is vallued at five pounds." *Midd. Co. Deeds*, ii. 18.

The house, which he built and where he died, stood on the easterly side of

Main Street, north of Mountain Avenue, on land which, in 1885, was owned by the heirs of Otis Tufts. *Atlas of Malden*, 1885, plate xvi. On this site, in a house which probably contained a portion of the old building, if it was not that structure itself, died in 1797 Edward Newhall, to whom it had come by an unbroken descent in the fifth generation. It was afterwards owned and occupied by the late Joseph Warren Tufts.

In the division of the estate of Captain John Wayte, his house and lands near Wayte's Mount became possessed by his third son, Samuel; and, at the death of the latter in 1720, they passed to his younger children, Edward and Jabez. Edward retained the old house and land east of the Reading road, which passed at his death to the Newhall family. Jabez took his share in the westerly land and built the house which recently stood at the corner of Main and Clifton Streets. This house, occupied successively by the son and grandson of its builder, was known from them as the Micah or Peter Waite house. In its later days, it passed through the descending conditions of dilapidation and ruin, until at last, no longer habitable, it was burned, October 10, 1893.

into the church of Charlestown, with his wife, soon after his arrival; and, although he was not admitted as a freeman until 1645, he was chosen a selectman of the town in 1644. Al-

Joseph Hills:

though he appears in the Book of Possessions as the owner of a house "in the middle row," near the market place, it is probable that he soon removed to the land which was granted him at Mystic Side.⁵ He represented the town of Charlestown in the House of Deputies during the years 1646 and 1647, and was chosen Speaker in the latter year. It was during these

⁵ The grant of land to Joseph Hills and his early purchase of the twenty acres of Thomas Ruck and a portion of the lot of Thomas Coytmore have been elsewhere noticed. The land embraced in these parcels lay on each side of the Salem Path, and was described, in 1638, as woodland. That on the northern side extended from the way now known as Main Street to the rocks at Faulkner. On the southern side, it began at the present easterly line of the High School land and ran to the swamp which began at the ancient path now called Cross Street. Southerly, it was bounded by Pemberton's Brook; but, later, Mr. Hills became possessed of all the land south of the brook and north of Cross Street to its junction with Ferry Street.

Whether Coytmore had built upon his land at the present corner of Salem and Main Streets and dug the well, which for nearly two centuries and a half yielded its cooling waters for the use of man and beast is unknown; but there is reason for believing that Joseph Hills was in the enjoyment of both house and well as early as 1650. To this house he refers late in life as his "lesser house and ground," he having built another house upon the Salem Path near the present Sprague Street, to which he may have removed and which he sold in 1681, with sixty acres of land, to Thomas Newhall of Lynn, who had married his granddaughter, Rebecca Green. This farm was bounded on the north by Mount Prospect, or

Wayte's Mount, and on the south by the water course, or Pemberton's Brook. Thomas Newhall removed to Malden and became the ancestor of that branch of the Newhall family which still remains here.

Two years before the sale to Thomas Newhall, Joseph Hills had sold to Joseph Wilson, for eighty-five pounds, the house, with eight acres of land, at the corner of the Salem and Reading roads. Wilson was a blacksmith; and his shop was one of the public places of the town where notices were posted. It may have been upon the westerly side of Main Street, as tradition says that the rubbish of a forge was found there while excavating many years ago. To the land bought of Joseph Hills, Wilson added, in 1699, six acres of the Wayte land, which gave him a strip of fourteen acres from the Salem road to Wayte's Mount. This land, with other lots in various parts of the town, he owned at the time of his death in 1705.

After the death of their father, John, in 1741, Elizabeth and Tabitha Wilson, spinsters and granddaughters of Joseph Wilson, were joint owners and occupants of the house. Tabitha married Benjamin Parker in 1768; and nine years later, Elizabeth, at the age of sixty-five years, became the third wife of James Kettell, who is variously styled baker, tavern-keeper, deputy-sheriff, and jail-keeper. It was he who transformed the house of Joseph Hills into a tavern, the succeeding history of which will be considered in its place. *Vide*, chap. xix.

years that he became "active for to bring the Lawes of the County in order."⁶ This service, which was fully recognized at the time, was forgotten in the course of years. In 1867 the honors which he had earned by a series of faithful labors were appropriated for another; and Edward Johnson, of Woburn, the author of the *Wonder-working Providence of Sions Saviour*, passed into written history as the compiler of the Massachusetts Laws of 1648.⁷ This error, originating in a work of importance and ability, has been repeated by later writers with an air of authority, which might effectually stifle all doubts were not the records extant in which the whole story is clearly related.

The able editor of the *Wonder-working Providence* gives his author a prominent part in the labor and honor of the compilation of the Laws, although he does not claim that he was the chief compiler. He declares, however, that, "when Captain Johnson was on the committee, then, and only then, efficient progress was made in the work." That Mr. Poole had overlooked a more important person than Lieutenant Johnson was promptly shown by a writer in the *Historical Magazine*⁸ and soon after by the present writer in the *Malden Messenger*.⁹ What the latter, with its limited local circulation, did not accomplish, the former, then the leading historical publication in America, also failed to effect; and the truth in relation to the real compiler remained comparatively unknown. Nine years later the claim of Edward Johnson was reasserted in a report of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society,¹⁰ with an appearance of certain knowledge which can hardly fail to ensnare the unwary reader; but it remained for a writer in the *Winchester Record* to perfect the work.

After a reference to a strife which he assumes took place between the magistrates and the deputies over the laws, the latter writer says: —

⁶ Johnson, *Wonder-working Providence*, 110.

⁷ Poole, Introduction to *Wonder-working Providence*, ciii. et seq.

⁸ Moore in *Historical Magazine*, xiii.85.

⁹ *Malden Messenger*, May 16, 1868.

¹⁰ *American Antiq. So. Proc.*, April, 1877, 29, 30.

Committee after committee had been appointed, whose work was frustrated, until Captain Johnson was put upon such a committee in 1648, when the work was speedily done. He devotes a chapter in his book to exultation that the thing so long desired was at length accomplished, yet he does not speak of *what every one else knew*, his own agency in the matter.¹¹

Considering the insufficiency of the foundation of the claim in its original form, this exaggerated statement is an eminent example of how theories, growing by transmission, appear at last as facts and take the place of authentic history in the minds of those who write without investigation.

The three writers here considered intimate that the work of the committees was purposely delayed or their purposes frustrated, except when Johnson was present. A more eminent authority, writing in 1860, says:—

There is no reason to suppose that they who now had the business in charge desired to frustrate it; but it was not of a nature to be, at the same time, well and hastily done.¹²

Referring to the late Francis Calley Gray, whose well-known article is still the best that has been written on the early history of our laws,¹³ it is said that "it is remarkable that Mr. Gray should have failed to connect Johnson with the original publication of these laws."¹⁴ Mr. Gray's article is clear in its statement of facts and polished in their presentation. It is the work of a scholar and careful investigator; and it would have been remarkable had its author anticipated the later error and given Edward Johnson a place to which he had no right. He did mention, in several extracts from the Colony Records, the name of "the leading man;" and Johnson, himself, speaks of Joseph Hills as "active for to bring the Lawes of the County in order."¹⁵

The facts which Mr. Gray did not recognize as important, and on which is based the undeserved distinction of Lieutenant Johnson, are that he was a member of the committee at times;

¹¹ *Winchester Record*, i. 45, 46.

¹² Palfrey, *History of New England*, 1877, 30.

¹⁴ *American Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, April,

ii. 261.

¹⁵ *Wonder-working Providence*, 110.

¹³ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxviii. 191.

that, in 1648, he was "pressed wth many urgent occasions;" and that he mentioned with apparent pleasure the completion of the laws. Not a very firm foundation is this on which to build the reputation of "a wise and energetic legislator."

It is not the purpose of this chapter to tarnish the merited fame of Edward Johnson but to restore to one who deserves them the honors which time has obscured.

In the year 1641 the Colony of Massachusetts Bay adopted for a trial of three years the first code of laws in New England. This was the famous *Liberties of the Massachusetts Colonie in New England*, better known as the *Body of Liberties*, of Nathaniel Ward, which, after remaining in manuscript two hundred years, was found by the late Francis C. Gray and printed in 1843.¹⁶ These laws being proved by experience during the allotted period, the necessity of the establishment of a permanent code, in which the fundamental laws that Ward had presented should be revised and enlarged, became apparent. Several orders, anticipating such a work, had been passed since the presentation of the Liberties. It has been said that little was accomplished under these orders by "the Magistrates, who did nothing, and whose interest was to do nothing;"¹⁷ but I infer that the magistrates wisely desired to test the code by its operations and a careful consideration, as its tentative adoption allowed, rather than to hazard the permanent acceptance of laws which might be adverse to the interests of the Colony and unsuited to the temper and habits of the people. When the appointed time was fully expired, the following order was passed.

[^{1645:}
¹ July.] It is *ordered*, y^t seuerall p^rsons out of each county shall be chosen to draw vp a body of lawes, & p^rsent them to y^e consideration of y^e Genne^rall Cou^rte, at their next sitting.¹⁸

Under this order, committees of six persons from each of the three counties of the Colony were appointed. At the next session of the Court, in October, some changes were made in the formation of these committees, and they were desired

¹⁶ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxviii. 216, *et seq.*

¹⁸ *Mass. Colony Records*, iii. 26.

¹⁷ Introduction to *Wonder-working Providence*, ciii.

To appoint their owne meetings for the accomplishment of the end so desired, & to make their returne of what they shall do herein to the next siting of y^e Generall Court.¹⁹

The committee from Middlesex was composed of Herbert Pelham of Cambridge, Increase Nowell of Charlestown, the Rev. Thomas Shepard of Cambridge, the Rev. John Knowles of Watertown, Joseph Hills of Charlestown, and Lieutenant Edward Johnson of Woburn. It is worthy of notice, as an evidence of some peculiar fitness in the person chosen, that while the committees, except in this instance, consisted of magistrates, ministers, and deputies, Joseph Hills, who was neither, was placed upon the Middlesex commission. He was not appointed upon the commission as it was first constituted; but upon the resignation of Captain George Cooke of Cambridge, who was Speaker of the House that year, he was put²⁰ "in Capt. Cookes roome, at his request." Johnson and Knowles appear to have taken no part in the deliberations of the Middlesex committee.²¹

It does not appear that the work of the committees, which was simply preparatory, was not fully and promptly performed; and there is reason for believing that a code drawn by Joseph Hills from the statutes of England and other sources was accepted by the Middlesex committee as the result of their labors, which, with the reports of the other committees, was before the General Court at the session in May, 1646. The book of Mr. Hills was afterwards lost; and "although it were in harvest time," he made another copy for the use of the committee which was appointed by the Court in the following order.

[May 6, 1646.] This Cou^rte thankfully accep^ts y^e labor^s of y^e seu^e-e^rall committees of y^e seuerall shieres as they are retou^rned by them, & being very vnwilling y^t such p^retious labo^rs should fall to y^e ground wthout y^t good succe^sse as is genne^rally hoped for, have thought^t it meete to desier Richard Bellinghm, Esq^r, & Left Duncan, M^r Nowell & Lef^t Johnson, M^r Symonds & M^r Warde, to cawse each committees re- tou^rne about a body of lawes to be transcribed, so as each committee

¹⁹ *Mass. Colony Records*, ii. 128.

²⁰ *Ibid*.

²¹ This is to be noted, as it was in the labors of this committee that "the

working-man," Edward Johnson, is claimed to have been most serviceable. *Vide* Introduction to *Wonder-working Providence*, ciii. civ.

have the sight of y^e othe^rs labo^rs ; & y^t y^e p^rsons mentioned in this o^rder be pleased to meete together at or before the tenth of August next, at Salem or Ipswich, & on y^e p^rvsing & examining y^e whole labor^s of all the committees wth y^e abreviation of y^e lawes in force, w^{ch} M^r Bellinghm tooke great store of paynes, & to good pu^rpose, in & vpon y^e whole doe make retourne to y^e next session of y^e Courte at w^{ch} time y^e Courte intends, by y^e favo^r & blessing of God, to p^rceed to y^e establishing of so many of them as shallbe thought most fitt for a body of lawes amongst vs.²²

There was not a great advance in the work during the months which intervened between this and the succeeding session of the Court. There were the codes of the shire committees to be brought into unity and to be compared with the existing laws; and the lost compilation of Mr. Hills was to be restored. There were also other affairs which could not be passed by; and it was not strange that the committee could not present a completed code at the appointed time. That they did not is evident from the action of the Court, although, misled by confidence in Lieutenant Johnson's presence, it is said that "the committee completed their labors."²³ In the order of the Court thereupon, the failure of the committee to perfect its work is recognized. There is no indication of dissatisfaction at the result nor is a censure implied in the action which was taken; but a full sense of the importance of the labor and the necessity of care in its performance is expressed. It may be observed that Mr. Hills, whose labor had forwarded the work, was now given a place, by name, upon the committee and that Lieutenant Johnson was not reappointed.

[November 4, 1646.] The Co^rte, being deeply sensible of y^e earnest expectation of the country in gen^l for this Co^rt's compleating of a body of lawes for y^e bett^r & more ord^ly weilding all y^e affaires of this common wealth, wiling also to their utmost to answe^re their honest & hartly desires therein, unexpectedly p^rvented by multitude of oth^r pressing occasions, thinke fit & necessary y^t this Co^rte make choyce of two or three of o^r hono^red magistrats, wth as many of y^e deputies, to p^ruse, examine, compare, transcribe, correct, & compose in good order all y^e liberties, lawes, & orders extant wth us, & furth^r to p^ruse & p^rfect all such

²² *Mass. Colony Records*, iii. 74, 75.

²³ Introduction to *Wonder-working Providence*, ciii.

oth's as are drawne up, & to p'sent such of them as they find necessary for us, as also to suggest what they deeme needful to be aded, as also to consider & contriue some good methode & order, titles, & tables for compiling y^e whole, so as we may have ready recourse to any of them upon all occasions, whereby we may manifest o^r utt^r disaffection, to arbitrary governⁱ, & so all relations be safely & sweetly directed & p'fected in all their iust rights & priviledges, desiring thereby to make way for printing o^r lawes for more publike & p'fitable use of us & o^r successo's. O^r hono^red Gov^rn^r, M^r Bellingham, M^r Hibbens, M^r Hill, & M^r Duncan, as a committee for y^e busines above mentioned, or any three of them meeting, y^e oth^r haveing notice thereof, shalbe sufficient to carry on y^e worke.²⁴

There is no evidence that the work of compilation and comparison was not diligently followed, although the writer before quoted sees that, as the "working man" had been removed, "little or nothing was done."²⁵ Care and deliberation, no doubt, retarded a labor which it would have been unwise to hurry or imperfectly perform. At the next Court, the inadequacy of the time was admitted; but it is apparent that the new code was so far advanced that a limit could be placed for its completion. Lieutenant Johnson was now restored to the committee.

[May 26, 1647.] The Co^rte, und^rstanding y^t y^e committee for p'fecting y^e lawes appointed by y^e last Gen^rall Co^rte, through streights of time & oth^r things intervening, have not attained what they expected, & on all hands so much desired, touching a body of lawes, thinke meete & necessary y^t o^r hono^red Gov^rn^r, M^r Bellingham, M^r Hibbens, y^e Auditor Gen^rall, Leift Johnson, & M^r Hills be chosen as a committee of this Co^rte to do y^e same, according to y^e aforesaid ord^r, against y^e next sessions in y^e 8th m^o. or y^e next Gen^rall Co^rte.²⁶

The connection of Lieutenant Johnson with the committee may not have delayed its action. There is no evidence that it hastened what was already near completion. The work of the committee at large now appears to have been one of criticism or approval. The weightier labor of preparation and arrangement had been left to Mr. Hills; and that it had been left in careful and skilful hands the code of 1648, as it has been preserved in

²⁴ *Mass. Colony Records*, ii. 168, 169.

²⁶ *Mass. Colony Records*, ii. 196.

²⁵ Introduction to *Wonder-working Providence*, civ.

that of 1660, bears ample proofs. At the next session of the Court the results were evident. "Five Books or Rowls," prepared by Joseph Hills, were presented and the transcription of a perfect copy for the press was authorized. This action was taken in two orders, the latter of which was passed towards the close of the session. Edward Johnson, whose presence upon the committee had been intermittent, was again dropped and appeared no more in connection with the compilation of the early laws.²⁷

[November 11, 1647.] The lawes being to be put in print, it is meete y^t they should be conveniently penned ; y^rfore it is desired y^t y^c committee for drawing up y^c lawes wilbe carefull y^rin, & to y^t purpose they have lib^ty to make some change of forme, to put in apt words, as occasion shall require, p^rvided y^c sence & meaning in any law, or p^t thereof be not changed.²⁸

[November 11, 1647.] The lawes now being in a mann^r agreed upon, & y^c Co^rte drawing to an end, it is time to take ord^r: 1. How all alt^rations of form^r lawes may be, wthout mistaking, compared & fair written ; 2. Y^t all ould lawes not altered be also written in y^c same copy ; 3. Y^t y^r be a committee chosen for y^c busines, to be made ready agst y^c first day of y^c first m^o next, so as y^c Co^rte of Assistants, if they see cause, may advise for a Gen^lall Co^rte, to p^rpare y^m for y^c presse.

4. Y^t y^r be larg margents left at both sides of y^c leafe, & y^c heads of each law written on y^c two outsides y^rof, & upon y^c oth^r margent any references, scriptures, or y^c like ; 5. Y^t these be written copy wise. The Govⁿr, M^r Bellingham, M^r Hill, M^r Auditor, & M^r Ting are ioyned in y^c committee, to act according as in y^c pap^r is expressed.²⁹

The new code, being completed and approved, although there is no record of its formal acceptance, was now in the hands of the committee for its final examination. Two copies were made for the press, one, perhaps, by Mr. Hills himself, the other, certainly, by his son-in-law, John Wayte. The following orders

²⁷ "[March, 1647½.] Leift Johnson, upon his request, (being pressed wth many urgent occasions,) is dismissed fro^m any furth^r attendance on y^c service of y^c Co^rte." *Mass. Colony Records*, ii. 231. This extract is of little interest, except that it may be noted as forming the corner stone of the Johnson theory. "What was this urgent business?" asks

his biographer. "It is highly probable that he was wholly absorbed during the spring, summer, and fall in revising and printing the Massachusetts Laws of 1648." Introduction to *Wonder-working Providence*, cv., cvi.

²⁸ *Mass. Colony Records*, ii. 209.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 217, 218.

contain the action of the Court concerning the two copies; and it was by the authority of the second order that the new laws were sent to the press.

[March, 1647½.] The Co^rte doth conceive it meete that John Wayte of Charlestowne Village, shall be alowed out of the next country rate, for his writing one booke of the lawes, & for finding paper for both bookes, 4^l 18 sh^s.⁸⁰

[March, 1647½.] The Co^rte doth desire that M^r Rawson & M^r Hill compare y^e amendments of the bookes of lawes passed, & make them as one; & one of them to remaine in y^e hands of y^e committee for y^e speedy committing of them to the presse, & y^e oth^r to remaine in y^e hands of y^e Secretary, sealed up, till y^e next Co^rte.⁸¹

In the May following the new code was at the press, and it seems probable that the printing was completed during the year, although, perhaps, not until after the adjournment of the Court in the fall.⁸² It may be remarked that the Auditor-General, Nathaniel Duncan, and Joseph Hills, are the only persons who are mentioned in connection with the work of printing.

[May 13, 1648.] It is *ordred*, that the coppie of lawes in the two roles, which were by order of Court sealed vp, with intent that, if hereafter any question should arise about the coppie now at the presse, it might be examined by this, wherby the faythfullnes of the committee might be tried, & that the other coppie, now remayning with M^r Hill, should forthwith be sent for, for the vse of the Court.⁸³

[May 13, 1648.] Its *ordred*, that the audito^r gen: & M^r Joseph Hill shall examine the lawes now at the presse, & to see if any materiall law be not put in or mentioned in the table as beinge of force, & to make suply of them.⁸⁴

[October 27, 1648.] It is *ordred* by the Court, that the booke of lawes, now at the presse, may be sould in quires at 3^s the booke;

⁸⁰ *Mass. Colony Records*, ii. 227.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 230.

⁸² I prefer to call the first publication of the Laws the *Massachusetts Lawes of 1648*, although Whitmore, in his introduction to the *Colonial Lawes of Massachusetts, 1660*, 79, prefers the date of 1649. It seems evident from the extracts given in the text that the book was so far towards completion in Octo-

ber, 1648, that a price could be set upon it; and if it was not presented to the Court until May, 1649, it was because the Court did not meet between the close of the October session and that time. Johnson says, "in the year 1648 they were printed."

⁸³ *Mass. Colony Records*, iii. 125.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 130.

provided, that every member of this Court shall have one without price, & the auditor generall, & Mr Joseph Hills, for which there shall be fifty in all taken vpp, to be so disposed of by the appoyntment of this Court.³⁵

So the *Lawes and Libertyes of Massachusetts Bay*,³⁶ the first printed code of enacted laws in New England, was given to the world, in the words of Edward Johnson, who would have been surprised at the claim which a later generation has made for him,

To be seen of all men, to the end that none may plead ignorance, and that all who intend to transport themselves hither, may know this is no place of licentious liberty, nor will this people suffer any to trample down this Vineyard of the Lord.³⁷

This book, which was printed by Stephen Daye at the press in Cambridge, was probably issued in an edition of six hundred copies. Mr. Whitmore has shown, by the traces which are left in the Laws of 1660, that it contained about fifty-six pages of text; and other matter may have filled out the sixty-eight pages of the seventeen sheets which appear to have been used.³⁸ It was carried to each town in the Colony, and was in the hands of all the leading men. It was carried out of Massachusetts, and left its impress upon the laws of at least two colonies. Yet it has utterly disappeared. In less than ten years no copies were "to be had for the supply of the Country."³⁹ How long stray copies may have remained may not now be known; but

³⁵ *Mass. Colony Records*, iii. 144. It is significant that Johnson, who was not a member of the Court in that year, was not considered in the distribution.

³⁶ If the title of the Laws of 1648 is preserved in that of the edition of 1660 it was, *The | Book of the General | LAWES AND LIBERTYES | concerning the Inhabitants of the | Massachusetts, collected out of the Records of | the General Court, for the several years | wherein they were made and | established*. A similar title, with extracts from the book itself, is preserved in Thorowgood, *Jewes in America*, published in 1650. *Vide N. E. Hist. and Generall Register*, xlv. 129.

³⁷ *Wonder-working Providence*, 206.

³⁸ Introduction to *Colonial Laws of*

Massachusetts, 1660, 86, 95. *American Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1888, 299, 300.

³⁹ Address "to our beloved Brethren and Neighbors," prefixed to the *Massachusetts Laws of 1660*. The laws of Massachusetts and the codes of Connecticut and New Haven may be compared in Whitmore, *Colonial Laws of Massachusetts*, 1660; Trumbull, *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, i. 509, 563; Hoadly, *Records of the Colony of New Haven*, ii. 571, 616. The code of New Haven was first printed at London, in 1656; and the reader is advised that "they have made use of the Lawes published by the Honourable Colony of the Massachusetts."

none have been found in the old collections which were being gathered when such copies might well have been in existence. For half a century antiquaries and scholars have looked in vain for the one copy which, if found, would be one of the most precious books known in American bibliography. It is worthy of note that, while a supplement to the laws was published in 1651, and others, perhaps, in 1654 and in 1657, not a leaf or scrap has been recognized as belonging to them. Nevertheless, the work of Joseph Hills has not wholly passed away; for as the code of 1672 contains the form of that of 1660, so the latter has preserved for us its predecessor of 1648; and the careful student, by the help of its marginal references, may reconstruct, in part, the pages of the earlier book.

At the session of the General Court in May, 1649, when the printed code was presented as a finished work and may have received its final approbation, the services of Mr. Hills were recognized in the following vote: —

[May 11, 1649.] Mr Joseph Hill is graunted, as a gratuity, tenn pounds, to be paid him out of the treasury, for his paines about the printed lawes.⁴⁰

At the same Court, with Richard Bellingham, the Secretary, Increase Nowell, and Edward Rawson, Mr. Hills was appointed to examine and put in fitting order the public papers received from the late Governor, John Winthrop; ⁴¹ and in the fall of the same year, the Court, by the following order, showed its appreciation of the printed laws and its approval of the labors of Joseph Hills.

[October 18, 1649.] The Courte, finding by experience the great benefitt that doth redound to the country by putting of the lawes into printe, doe judge it very requisite that those lawes also that have past the consent of the Gennerall Courte since the booke of lawes were printed should be forthwth committed to the presse, and therefore have appointed Richard Bellingham, Esq^r, Mr Increase Nowell, Mr Nathaniell Duncan, Capt Rob^t Keajne, and M^r Joseph Hill, or any three of them, a committee to p^rvse and prepare them, wth those lawes also referred to in the end of the printed lawes, wth a suitable table, making their retourne to the next Courte of Election, that they may be printed.⁴²

⁴⁰ *Mass. Colony Records*, iii. 162.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 164.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 173.

The work thus ordered was apparently performed with care, and was not completed until a year had passed, when the result was presented to the Court and approved by its action.

[October 18, 1650.] Itt is *ordered*, that Richard Bellingham, Esquier, the secretary, and M^r Hills, or any two of them, are appointed a committee to take order for the printing the lawes agreed vppon to be printed, to determine of all things in reference therevnto, agreeing with the præident ffor the printing of them withall expedition, and to allow the title if there be cawse.⁴³

This book, which was printed by Samuel Green, the successor of Daye, at the Cambridge press, contained some laws which had been left out of the former code and all others to the close of the year 1650; and it is referred to as Liber 2 in the margins of the laws of 1660 and 1672.

Joseph Hills was afterwards placed upon several committees for the examination of new laws; and in 1654, when the printing of a second code appears to have been contemplated, it was ordered: —

[May 3, 1654.] That M^r Samuel Symonds, Major Denison, & M^r Joseph Hills shall examine, compare, reconcile, & place together in good order all former lawes, both printed & written, & make fitt titles & tables for ready recourse to any p^rticular contayned in them, & to p^rsent the same to the next Court of Election to be considered of, that so order may be taken for the printing of the same in one booke, whereby they may be more usefull then now they are or can be.⁴⁴

In 1661, the laws having been reprinted in the edition of 1660, Joseph Hills was joined to a committee with the deputy-governor, Richard Bellingham, and others "to pervse such lawes as are vnprinted & vnrepealed, & committ them to the presse, so farr as they shall judge convenient."⁴⁵

That the services of Mr. Hills in the preparation and codification of the laws should have been forgotten is somewhat remarkable in view of the distinctness with which he appears in the records which I have cited. More remarkable still is it that, after more than two centuries had passed, another, who receives but a meagre mention in connection with the trans-

⁴³ *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (1), 35.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, iii. 342.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, iv. (2), 5.

action, should have been brought forward to claim his hardly earned honors. However, Joseph Hills, unconscious that he was writing his defence against a far-off generation, twice put upon record, while his story, if false or overstated, could have been disproved, such full and distinct statements of his labors that no room is left for doubt; and those statements were admitted by those who had an intimate knowledge of his life and services. The first of these was that petition which he addressed to the General Court in 1653.

To the Honnor^d Court

Jn as much as it hath pleased the Gen^ll Court to engage me in sundry great and weighty services in reference to all the generall laws here established & now in print ffor publiq good, Jn Consideraⁿ: whereof as J conceive a Gratiuity of Ten pounds was Appointed me by the Treasu^r: which as it holds forth the good acceptance of the Hono^d Court, J thankfully acknowledge, as duty binds me Yet App^rhending that my Great care paynes & studies in these difficult Jmployments was not truly Informed or vnd^rstood, J desire briefly to tender you an Account thereof as ffollows :

1. ffirst it pleased the Gen^ll Court to jmploy me in a sheir Committe to draw vpp a Body of Laws in which J tooke vnwearied payns, p^rusing all the Stat. Laws of Engl. in Pulton att Large out of which J took all such as J conceiued sutable to the condition of this commonw^{lth} which with such others as in my observation Experiences & Serious Studies J thought needful, all w^{ch} J drew vpp in a Booke close written Consisting of 24. pages of pap^r Jn folio. which upon the Committees p^rusal. viz. M^r Noel. M^r Pelham M^r Tho: Shepp^d & my self. J was Appointed to draw upp for the vse of the Gen^ll Court. which Book was by some means lost & could not be ffound. ffor further Jmprovement by anoth^r. committe of the gen^ll court viz. m^r Bellingham, m^r Nat. Ward. &c. whereuppon m^r Bellingham spake to me to help them to Anoth^r coppie of the Afores^d Booke which jn tender Respect to publiq good, to the Hon^d Court & Committee, J did fforthwith Again Transcribe out of my ffirst coppie although it were in haruest time.

2. After that it pleased the Gen^ll Court Againe to Jngage me in the p^rusing all the laws in the Books of Records to Consider, Compare, Compose and Transcribe all laws of publiq Concⁿment, coppie-wise all which J did draw vpp together. and Drew vpp in five Books or Rowls, which done were examined by the Committe & presented to the Gen^ll Court :

3. Thereuppon. J was Ordered by the Court to Transcribe the five

Books affores^d with some other new laws. all which (save onely a few the Audit^r did) J with Great care & vigilancie p^rfformed & ffrequented the press & otherwise took care to Examine them during the Jm-printing the same.

4. Since which it pleased the Gen^l Court to Appoint me wth. some others to Compose & Transcribe the Second Booke of Laws Coppie-wise. which J Allso did; which Affter Examination by the Committee was also p^rsented to the Gen^l Court: who were pleased ffurther to Jmploy another Committe; whereof J was one, to fitt them ffor the press. In all which Services jn reference to publiq good J putt fforth my selfe to the vttermost to the Great Neglect of my p^rsonall & p^rticul^r occasions Devoting my selfe there vnto ffor the most p^t of Two years tyme (as neer as J can rememb^r) the benefit wherof doth J hope verie manifestly Redound both to court & Country who doubtless vppon a right vnderstanding will not be unwilling to Afford such Due encouragement & Recompense as services of such Jmportance & Advantage to the Countrie doth Require

Your Humble Servant,

JOS. HILLS.

The Magistrates Referr the consideration of the Petition to their brethren the Deputies:

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secre^t*

27: may 1653

The Deputies think meete to allow M^r Hills ten pounds out of the next County rate in reference to what is herein exprest if the hono^r^d magistrates please to Consent thereto

WILLIAM TORREY, *Cleric*.

Consented to by the magists hereto

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secre^t*.⁴⁶

The connection of Joseph Hills with public affairs was not confined to his labors on the laws. Having been elected a representative of Charlestown in 1646 and 1647, he was in the latter year Speaker of the House of Deputies; and upon the formation of the town of Malden he became its first representative and continued in that office until the close of the year 1656. For some reason the town was not represented at the General Court from the beginning of the year 1657 until December, 1660, when Joseph Hills again appeared as its representative and so continued until the end of 1664. In the following March he married, as his fourth wife, Ann, the widow

⁴⁶ *Mass. Archives*, xlvi. 19. Cf. *Mass. Colony Records*, iii. 308.

of Henry Lunt of Newbury,⁴⁷ and he is supposed to have removed, soon after, to the home of his wife, where he lived until his death.

He was deputy from Newbury in 1667 and 1669, after which he appears to have retired to private life, perhaps in view of the increasing infirmities which burdened his latter days. During all the years of his public life he is often found upon important committees and serving in various trusts; and the records of the Colony and of the county of Middlesex show, in their many references, how busy was his life in the performance of the manifold duties which came to him.

Besides that for the labor upon the laws, he appears to have had claims upon the Colony for money contributed as adventurers, both by himself and Edward Mellows, the first husband of his second wife. In the record of a grant of land made to William Parke in 1653, mention is made of "the land lately graunted to M^r Joseph Hills, at a place called Nanacanus." ⁴⁸ Three years later this grant was confirmed, or perhaps an additional grant was made, which was afterwards laid out in accordance with the following votes: —

[May 22, 1656.] This Court doth graunt vnto M^r Joseph Hills fve hundred acors of land neere Northwootucke, where M^r Bradstreet & others haue graunts; & it is in consideration of an adventure of 33^{li} 6^s 8^d, & for seu'all services to the country.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Rose, the first wife, died March 24, 1649⁵⁰; and Mr. Hills married, June 24, 1651, Hannah (Smith), the widow of Edward Mellows of Charlestown. His third wife was Helen, or Eleanor, Atkinson, daughter of Hugh Atkinson, of Kendall, co. Westmoreland, whom he married January, 1659. She was living January 8, 1660, but died before November 10, 1662. With this marriage a curious incident was connected, which resulted in the censure of Mr. Hills for breach of a law in the code which had been prepared by himself.

"[April 1, 1656.] M^r Joseph Hills of Mauldon being p^rsented by the Grand Jury for marrying of himself, contrary to the Law of this Collony page. 38 in

y^e old Booke. Hee freely acknowledged his offence therein, and his misvnderstanding the grounds whereon he went w^{ch} he now confesseth to be vnwarrantable, And was Admonished by the Court." *Midd. Court Records*, i. 95. In this he had followed the example of his associate, Governor Bellingham, who married himself, in 1641, to Penelope Pelham, and escaped censure by his position upon the bench as a magistrate. Winthrop, *History of New England*, ii. 43. Mr. Hills married Ann Lunt at Newbury, March 8, 1664⁵¹.

⁴⁸ *Mass. Colony Records*, iii. 300; iv. (1), 134.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, iii. 415.

[May 31, 1660.] In ans^r to the petition of M^r Joseph Hills, the Court judged meete to graunt that M^r Jonathan Danforth & Jn^o or James Parker be impowred to lay out vnto M^r Hill the five hundred acres formerly, in 1656, graunted him in any place not formerly graunted.⁵⁰

Norwottocke or Nanotuck is now Northampton; but the grant was probably laid out at Dunstable, where he owned five hundred acres at the time of his death. Once more he appears upon the records of the Colony in a pathetic petition, in which he again recites in detail the story of his former public service.

To the hon^{ed} Generall Court holden at Boston 24. May, 1682

The petition of Joseph Hills, humbly shewing, How it hath pleased the righteous God to lay vpon y^e petitioner, a smart hand of visitation in the later part of his pilgrimage totally bereaving him of the sight of his eyes, for more than 4 yeares now past, (besides sundry yeares dimness before) by meanes whereof he hath been utterly incapable, of getting or saving any thing towards his necessary subsistence, being now also more than 80 yeares of age besides other infirmities of body, which long have, and are like to accompany him to his grave, your petitioner hath not been backward to his ability to be serviceable with his person & estate to the commonwealth: for besides other ordinary services, it pleased y^e court to make him one of the county committy to draw vp some orders necessary for y^e country, in which service J went ouer all y^e Statutes in Pulton at large, collected such as J deemed just & necessary, drew them up in a small book in folio, and transmitted them according to order to the grand committy at boston (viz) M^r Winthrop, M^r Ward & others, after this it pleased the Court to appoint a committy to draw vp a body of lawes for the Colony (viz) M^r Winthrop & sundry others whereof your petitioner was one, to examine all y^e court records, from y^e first to that time, which for avoyding of far greater charge it being the worke but of one fell to my lot to be active in, in which J went ouer y^e 2 old bookes of recordes, y^e book of libertyes, & y^e great booke then & since in y^e hands of M^r Rawson, which lawes J brought together under theyr proper heades copy-wise with exact markes of y^e severall emendations one way or other made therein which (after examination & approbation of y^e court) J was ordered to prepare for the presse, which J did, putting them together under theyr proper heads with y^e dates of y^e sundry lawes in the foot thereof, in the year 1648 in an alphabetical order, with an apt table for y^e more ready recourse to each law:

⁵⁰ *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (1), 430.

for which last service it pleased the court to make me some allowance, which was to my Satisfaction, though short of the elaborate care, paines and time spent therein (these things J should not have touched upon, but that there are few of y^e Court as now constituted that had y^e oportunity to have y^e cognizance thereof. The premises considered my petition is that J may be freed from all publick assessments to y^e country, County, (and secular thinges for y^e towne if it may be) for my infirme person and little estate now left, during the remaining part of my pilgrimage in this vale of teares. So with my daily prayers to god only wise Just, & mercifull to guide you in all your momentous concernments J crave leave to subscribe myselfe

Your very humble servant

JOSEPH HILLS

In answer to this petition the Mags: Judge meet that y^e petitioner bee freed from Country & County rates during his life. their Bⁿ the Deputyes hereto consenting.

June: 1: 82:

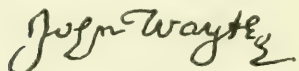
P. BULKELEY *p^r order*

Consented to by the Deputs.

WILLIAM TORREY *Cleric.*⁵¹

A little longer he lingered in the darkness and the infirmities of age, dying at Newbury, February 5, 1687 $\frac{7}{8}$, at the age of eighty-five years.⁵²

In the year of the removal of Joseph Hills to Newbury the town was not represented at the General Court; but the next year, John Wayte, who had followed his father-in-law as captain of the trainband, was elected as his successor in the office of town representative. For an unbroken series of nineteen years he filled this office, an honorable service, the duration of which is unparalleled by that of any other representative in the history of the town. Like his predecessor, he filled many places of trust and importance in the Colony, the county, and the town. In 1680 he was appointed upon a com-



⁵¹ *Mass. Archives*, c. 282.

⁵² The will of Joseph Hills, dated Sept. 14, 1687, *Suffolk Co. Wills*, x. 248, is printed in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, viii. 309. His connection with President Dunster points to him as the benefactor to the library of Harvard College mentioned by John Dunton in

1686. "The library of this College is very considerable, being well furnished with books, and mathematical instruments. Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir John Maynard, Mr. Baxter, and Mr. Joseph Hill, were benefactors to it." *Mass Hist. Coll.*, xii. 108.

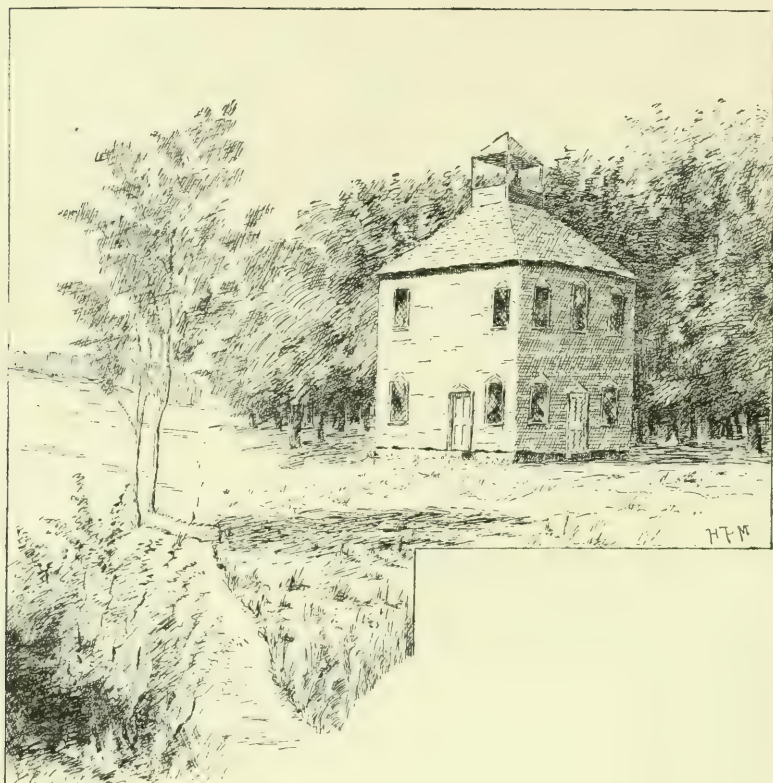
mittee to revise the laws, a duty with which his labor in 1647 and his long experience as a legislator had doubtless made him familiar; and in 1683 he received the honor of a nomination to the magistracy or Court of Assistants.⁵³

At this time the strife between the people of New England and the mother country, as represented by its rulers, had begun. On the one hand spies and informers were busy, and the ground was being prepared for the short and tyrannical rule of Andros. On the other side stood the party of liberty, at times with petitions to the king, at others with prayers to the Ruler of nations, but always with an unflinching hold upon their duties and their rights. Arbitrary orders were openly disobeyed or silently disregarded. Captain Wayte was identified with the popular party, and his name is on the roll of honor in the "Articles of high misdemeanour exhibited against a faction in the generall court," in which Edward Randolph denounced to the British government the eight magistrates and fifteen delegates who defended their chartered rights.⁵⁴

In 1684 he was chosen Speaker of the House of Deputies. In the quaint language of a document relating to him, he soon after became "dark" and ended his public life when most honored. The petition in which he related his misfortune and asked relief from his military duties is elsewhere given. He died September 26, 1693, at the age of seventy-five years.

⁵³ Hutchinson, *Collection of Papers*, 541.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 527.



CHAPTER VII.

A TEACHER AND A NEW MEETING HOUSE.

AFTER the departure of Mr. Matthews, "this poor church," as it was afterwards, not unfitly, styled, came again to be "in a forlorn condition, & altogether without a minister, or at an uncertain pass without an officer."¹ William Sargeant and Joseph Hills appear as ruling elders;² but otherwise the peo-

¹ Wigglesworth's letter, *Mass. Hist. So. Proc.*, May, 1871, 94.

² The office of ruling elder in the New England churches was instituted apart from those of pastor and teacher as assistant to those superior offices in executive matters. The elders had a supervision in matters of admission, excommunication, and restoration. They reviewed

affairs carried before them in private, that grievances might be speedily ended or that the labor of the church in public might be lessened. They admonished the wavering and visited the sick. They were the watchmen of the church. "Unworthy the name of a Ruling Elder is hee," says Johnson, "who loses his Lyon-like courage, when the sound and

ple "were without y^e seales of y^e covenant," unless they were administered by such transient supplies as had been furnished before the time of Mr. Matthews by "young Students from the Colledg" and others.³

It seems very likely that Nathaniel Upham, a son of John Upham, who had removed from Weymouth to Malden a few years before, may have preached here a short time at this period. He had probably been educated in England, had been made a freeman in 1653, and was certainly here in 1654. He died in Cambridge, March 20, 166½, at the early age of thirty years, having married Elizabeth, daughter of John Stedman of that town, only fifteen days before.⁴ The Rev. Samuel Danforth speaks of him, in the Roxbury Church Records, as "m^r Vpham who sometime preached at Malden."⁵ Considering his age and known presence in Malden in 1653 and 1654, I must place the time of his brief ministration here after the departure of Mr. Matthews, rather than before his coming, as did the editor of the Bi-Centennial Book, who made an error of eleven years in the date of his death.

Besides the "forlorn condition" into which the people had fallen, there are indications that the Matthews case had left embers of discontent and "private burnings," which were not likely to be conducive to great spiritual peace, and which appear to have been the prolific cause of strife for many years. It was while in such an unpromising condition that Malden received a minister who was destined to spend a long life with her people and whose name became a household word throughout the English colonies.

wholesome Doctrines delivered by Pastor or Teacher are spoken against by any." *Wonder-working Providence*, 5. Cf. Mather, *Magnalia*, Book 5 (2), chap. vii. For some reason the office of ruling elder fell into disrepute, although in some churches it was retained into the eighteenth century. Perhaps an explanation may be found in the words of Edward Randolph. "The clergy," he wrote to the Privy Council, "are for the most part very civill and inclining to his Majesties

government, being held in subjection by the ruling elders, who govern all affairs of the church." Hutchinson, *Collection of Papers*, 500.

³ Johnson, *Wonder-working Providence*, 211.

⁴ She married (2), April 27, 1669, Henry Thompson of Cambridge and Boston, and (3) John Sharp of Cambridge. She died March 9, 1699, aged 58.

⁵ *Report of the [Boston] Record Commissioners*, vi. 199.

This was Michael Wigglesworth, who at the time of his call was about twenty-four years of age, having been born in England, October 18, 1631. The place of his birth was undoubtedly in Yorkshire; and he tells us that it was "an ungodly Place," which "was consumed wth fire in a great part of it, after God had brought" his parents out of it.⁶ He was the only son of Edward Wigglesworth and his wife,⁷ "Godly Parents, that feared y^e Lord greatly, even from their youth," who "meeting with opposition & persecution for Religion, because they went from their own Parish Church to hear y^e word & Receiv y^e L^s supper, &c., took up resolutions to pluck vp their stakes & remove themselves to New England." Landing at Charlestown in the early fall of 1638, they soon removed by sea to New Haven, where, "Winter approaching, we dwelt in a Cellar partly under ground covered with earth the first winter."

The next summer the boy Michael, being then in his ninth year, was sent to Ezekiel Cheever, afterwards the celebrated pedagogue of New England, who passed from the teacher's bench to the new life at the advanced age of ninety-four years, so long was he master of the rod and the rudiments, who "at that time taught school in his own house."⁸ Here the child

⁶ *Autobiography of M. Wigglesworth*. The full paper may be found in the *Christian Register*, June 29, 1850; *New Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, xvii. 137-139; Dean, *Memoir of Rev. M. Wigglesworth*, 136-139; *Day of Doom*, Ed. 1867, 10-12.

⁷ Edward Wigglesworth lived "under great & sore affliction for y^e space of 13 years a pattern of faith, patience, humility, & heavenmindedness," (Wigglesworth, *Autobiography*); and died at New Haven, October 1, 1653. He left a widow, Esther, and two children, Michael and Abigail. The latter is supposed to have been wife (1) of Benjamin Sweetser of Mystic Side, a forward Baptist, and (2) of the Rev. Ellis Callender of the First Baptist Church of Boston. Cf. Dean, *Memoir of Wigglesworth*, 47, and Wyman, *Charlestown*, 921.

⁸ Ezekiel Cheever, the famous pedagogue of New England, was born at Lon-

don, January 25, 1614½. He was the son of Ezekiel and Margaret Cheever and was educated at Cambridge. He came to Boston in 1637. The next year he went to New Haven, where he married his first wife, Mary —, who died January 20, 1649. At New Haven he taught school and preached occasionally, being at one time sought as a pastor for the Malden church. An interesting account of his trial before the church at New Haven, in which he displayed much fearlessness and self-reliance, and which resulted in his being "cast out of the body, till the proud flesh be destroyed, and he be brought into a more member-like frame," is preserved in *Coll. Conn. Hist. So. i.* 22-51.

From New Haven he went to Ipswich, becoming the first master of the Grammar School there, and marrying, November 18, 1652, his second wife, Ellen Lathrop of Beverly, who became the

"began to make Latin & to get forward apace." Necessitated, however, by an ever increasing paralysis of the limbs and body which attacked his father after an injury to the spine, he was obliged to leave school for other employments until he had lost all that he had "gained in the Latine Tongue."

When he had attained his fourteenth year, he was again sent to school, apparently somewhat against his will, for he afterwards wrote: "At that time I had little or no disposition to it." In a little time he recovered what he had lost and so improved his time that in less than three years he finished his preparatory studies, and went to Cambridge, where the infant college, which President Dunster had begun to invigorate with lasting life, received him as a member of its eighth class. A remark of Increase Mather leads me to infer that it was not altogether his father's wish that he should enter college. He speaks of him as "being favored with a learned education after his father had designed otherwise concerning him;"⁹ but Mr. Wigglesworth, himself, says: "My Father I suppose was not wel satisfied in

mother of the future pastor of Malden and Rumney Marsh. In 1661 he removed to Charlestown, "where he Laboured Nine Years. From *Charlestown*, he came over to *Boston*, Jan. 6. 1670. where his Labours were continued for Eight & Thirty Years," being master of the "Free Schoole," now the Latin School, until his death. His school house of one story stood on the northerly side of School Street and its site is now covered by the easterly wall of King's Chapel. It was removed in 1748.

"He Died," says Cotton Mather, "on Saturday morning, Aug. 21, 1708. In the Ninety Fourth Year of his Age; After he had been a Skilful, Painful, Faithful School-master for Seventy Years; And had the Singular Favour of Heaven, that tho' he had Usefully spent his Life among *Children*, yet he was not become *Twice a Child*; but held his Abilities, with his Usefulness, in an unusual Degree to the very last." Sewall says: "A rare Instance of Piety, Health, Strength, Serviceableness. The Well-fare of the Province was much upon his Spirit. He abominated Perriwigs."

His *Latin Accidence* was used in the schools of this country for nearly one hundred and fifty years and passed through at least twenty-one editions. Samuel Walker, an eminent instructor, says: "The Latin Accidence, which was the favorite little book of our youthful days, has probably done more to inspire young minds with the love of the study of the Latin language, than any other work of the kind, since the first settlement of this country. I have had it in constant use for my pupils, whenever it could be obtained, for more than fifty years; and have found it to be the best book, for beginners in the study of Latin, that has ever come within my knowledge; and no work of the kind have I ever known, that contains so much useful matter in so small a compass."

He was also author of *Scripture Prophecies Explained*, which was published in 1747. Cf. Mather, *Corderius Americanus*; Barnard, *Ezekiel Cheever*; Hassam, *Ezekiel Cheever*.

⁹ Introduction to C. Mather, *A Faithful Man Described and Rewarded*.

keeping me from Learning whereto I had been designed from my infancy."

Of himself and his college life he wrote:—

God in his mercy & pittie kept me from scandalous sins before I came thither & after I came there, but alas I had a naughty vile heart and was acted by corrupt nature & therefore could propound no Right & noble ends to myself, but acted from self and for self. I was indeed studious & strove to outdoe my compeers, but it was for hono^r & applause & preferm^t & such poor Beggarly ends.

Giving the glory to God, in a manner which was characteristic of him through life, he records that he grew "in Knowledge both in y^e Tongues & Inferior Arts & also in Divinity." At first he had "thoughts of applying himself to y^e study & Practise of Physick;" but when he had been in college "about 3 yeers and a half," he experienced "a great change both in heart & Life, and from that Time forward learnt to study with God & for God." He put aside his former desires and resolved to "serve Christ in y^e work of y^e ministry if he would please to fit him for it & to accept of his service in that great work."

He was graduated, August 12, 1651; and his name stands at the head of a class of ten, placed there, I think, by his scholarship and not by his social rank as had been the prevailing custom of the college.¹⁰ A copy of his Commencement part in his own handwriting is preserved. It is headed "*August 12, 1651: Omnis Natura inconstans est porosa.*"

He was soon chosen a fellow of the college and entered its service in the capacity of a tutor. This station he is said to have adorned "with a rare *Faithfulness*," taking every occasion "to make his *Pupils* not only good *Scholars*, but also good *Christians*, and instil into them those things, which might render them rich Blessings unto the *Churches* of God," and bearing within himself "a flaming zeal to make them worthy men."¹¹ So self-accusing and sensitive was his conscience that he was afraid,

¹⁰ Pierce, *History of Harvard University*, 150, says "from the rank of his family;" but Dean, *Wigglesworth*, 33-35, differs. Cf. *Mass. Hist. So. Proc.*, Octo-

ber, 1864, 32-37; July, 1866, 253; Sibley, *Harvard Graduates*, i. 259, 260.

¹¹ Mather, *A Faithful Man*, 23.

says Cotton Mather, "Lest his cares for their Good, and his affection to them, should so drink up his very Spirit, as to steal away his Heart from God,"¹²

His diary shows a zealous mind transfused by a spirit of great tenderness and humility, but, unhappily, so pervaded by a morbidness, which might indicate a mind as diseased as his body came to be, that we involuntarily feel an emotion of pity rather than of admiration. Especially was this morbidness shown in many "cases of conscience," as when he prayed for pardon after having "Neglected to go & reprove some carnal mirth in y^e lowest Chamber til it was too late." Seeing "a stable door of M^r Mitchells beat to & fro wth y^e wind," he was sorely tried and "distressed in conscience," not knowing his duty and fearing lest his "wil should blind reason." On a like occasion, he records.

The wise god who knoweth how to tame & take down proud & wanton hearts, sufferth me to be sorely buffeted wth y^e like temptation as formerly about seeing some dore^s blow to & fro wth y^e wind in some danger to break, as I think; I cannot tel whether it were my duty to giue y^m some hint y^t owe them. Wⁿ I think 'tis a common thing & that 'tis impossible but y^t y^e owners should haue oft seen them in y^t case, & heard them blow to & fro, & y^t it is but a trivial matter, & y^t I haue given a hint to one y^t dwels in y^e hous, & he maketh light of it; & y^t it would rather be a seeming to check oths mindlessness of y^r own affairs, & lastly y^t y^{re} may be special reasons for it y^t I know not; why y^e case seemeth clear y^t 'tis not my duty.¹³

¹² *A Faithful Man*, 23. In his journal Wigglesworth writes: "September 5, 6: [1653.] Too much bent of sp^t to my studys & pupils, & affectio^s dying tow^d god."

¹³ Wigglesworth's *MS. Diary, in loco*. The diary, or rather commonplace-book, of Mr. Wigglesworth, covering the period, 165 $\frac{3}{4}$ -1657, is now in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and is the most interesting of the series. A later volume, 1658-1687, is in the possession of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and is the source of our information respecting the circumstances attending the writing of his books. After the completion of *Meat*

out of the Eater, there was nothing entered by him worthy of note. There is a page of shorthand under the date of April 3, 1670, and nothing more until November 27, 1687, when he records his thoughts upon serving "At y^e Lords Table" that day. In the meantime there had been stirring events in church and state and troubles in his own town, a brief notice of which by his hand would have been worth all the meditations and complaints which he ever penned. With the latter entry his work as a diarist ceased; and the book was afterwards used by his son Edward for similar purposes.

Of these volumes I have had free

But it was not alone from without that temptations and incentives to spiritual fears and abasement came; for from within they poured forth as a scorching blast of pestilential winds. Under their baleful influence his spirit sat in the dust all the day long and his nights were as those of the Psalmist: — “All the night make I my bed to swim: I water my couch with my tears.” He seems never to have felt the hopefulness of youth and never to have experienced its elasticity of spirit. While yet upon the threshold of life he wrote: —

[165 $\frac{2}{3}$.] Now y^t J am to goe out into y^e world J am affraid, nay J know J shall lose my heart & my affectio^s. J can do nothing for god receiv noth. fro^m him but tis a snare unto me. . . . J took a good deal of time y^s day to look thorowly into y^e vileness of y^e sin of pride & see y^t w^c might make me go mourn all my dayes, yet J can find little heart breaking for it, nor pow agst it.

How much influence the weight of physical ills and the weakness of a distempered body may have had in inducing this spiritual condition of Mr. Wigglesworth cannot now be known; but it is probable that they were not without effect. The disease which made of him “a weary wight” and life a bitter cup, which he drank to the dregs, had already fastened upon him. In the winter of 165 $\frac{2}{3}$ he wrote: —

J have found more sensible weakn: of body & pressure by y^e spleⁿ & flatulent humo^rs y^s week yⁿ for so oft together y^s winter before. god still crosses outwardly, & J meet wth vexation & rebuke, yet pride & vain thoughts are too hard for me, & J find my self too weak to make resistance. oh! Lord hast to my help: be thou my defeⁿce & y^e stay of my soul, for all oth^rs fail me.

At another time he writes: —

On y^e 2^d day at night in my sleep I dream’d of y^e approach of y^t great & dreadf. day of judgem^t; & was y^by exceedingly awakned in spⁱ (as I thought) to follow god wth teares & crys until he gave me some hopes of his graci^{es} good wil toward me.

use, by the courtesy of their custodians, and have made liberal quotations in this and the succeeding chapter. The latter was used by Mr. Dean in the preparation of his *Memoir of Wigglesworth*; and both were in the hands of Mr. Sibley, who has given copious extracts in his *Harvard Graduates*, i. 259-286.

There are three other volumes of the series in the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, containing shorthand notes of sermons, Latin and English theses and orations and other memoranda, written while he was at Cambridge, 1649-1653.

This dream, which must have startled his sensitive nature, may have given the first impulse to write that sombre poem which was the result alike of a sick body and of a mind which sympathized with its weakness.

Of such web and woof did he weave a diary which rarely shows a brilliant or enlivening thread, so crowded is it with woes of mind and body combined. Little of value beyond things merely personal to the writer can be found therein, and it took no hues from the everyday lives of the men and women around him. Mr. Sibley says of him: —

He was free from cant, conscientious even to morbidness, perpetually praying and struggling against pride and what he regarded as his besetting sins, aspiring after a religious state altogether unattainable, ever faithful to the extent of his strength and capacity, and fearful lest his interest in his pupils and others should steal away his heart from God, in whom his trust was so strong as to appear almost ridiculous to men who regard the Almighty as quite indifferent to their fortunes.¹⁴

While performing the service of a tutor with faithfulness and honor, he continued his theological studies; and in March, 165 $\frac{2}{3}$, he writes: "J haue sin'd J fear in y^e salem business, agst god & man, in not coming clear wth Cambridge first in saying J was not ingaged to any others." I suspect this "business" was a call as a secular teacher. That it was not a call to preach seems probable; for later in the same month he records: "I preacht my *first* sermon at Pequic [Pequot—New London]," while on a journey to his father at New Haven. On his return by water he was detained at Martha's Vineyard "6 dayes by a strong Northeast wind," and preached there with one day's preparation.¹⁵ A call to settle at Hartford followed his visit and was a sore trouble to him. He seems to have had no power to decide for himself, whether the occasion were trivial or weighty; and at this time

¹⁴ *Harvard Graduates*, i. 283.

¹⁵ This was his second sermon. One of his commonplace-books contains a sermon which is headed: "The 2^d sermon y^t ev^r was p^rched by my self at

Martins Vineyr^d may. 1653." The text is from Psalms, lxxxi. 12, "Israel would none of me, so J gaue y^m up unto their owne hearts lust &c."

a half-formed wish to return to England added to his natural indecision.¹⁶

About this time he appears to have had an unusual exaltation of spirit, produced by thoughts of his "good estate," which was soon destroyed by his rising conscience. He writes: —

[September, 1653.] J felt fears & misgivings about my good Estate. yet much pride got head in me; & p'sently y^e Lord let loos upoⁿ me some scruples of coⁿscieⁿce w^c put me in fear least J weⁿt cross to gods will, & this to abase me.

The business with the Hartford church, hindered by its teacher, the Rev. Samuel Stone, whose latitudinarian tendencies soon set the churches of two colonies by the ears, came to naught;¹⁷ and Mr. Wigglesworth in November, and afterwards, preached at Roxbury, Cambridge, and Charlestown. Of the latter place, whose teacher, the Rev. Thomas Allen, had returned to England in 1651, he writes: "The church sent to me after Sermoⁿ, & J could not get off wthout engaging to preach once a month til march equinox."

During the succeeding year he continued at the college, exercised by temptations of the spirit and fears, troubled doubtless by his increasing disease, and preaching at times. It is not improbable that he may have preached at Malden sometime during this period, but no indications of his having done so appear until July, 1655, when he writes: —

J got a sev^r cold by preaching at maldon. . . . my streⁿgth is well recov^d again now J thank god this p^rseⁿt. 10 of. July. But these illnesses, colds rhewms & keeping y^e hous so much have made me so tender y^t J cannot preach but catch a grievous cold. yea these coⁿtinued colds disable me to any service eith in family or in publick. And thro: a light & frothy heart J cannot hono^r god wth y^e little remaynder of streⁿgth w^c J have y^s (God knowes) is my daly grief.

Soon after he mentions the "maldon Invitation;" and later he writes: "J weⁿt into y^e Bay Aug. y^e 4th & preacht at maldon

¹⁶ He writes: "[September, 1653.] cieⁿce. who but God can now be my J am at a strait concern. my answer to counsellor?"

¹⁷ "From the *Fire of the Altar*, there issued *Thundrings* and *Lightnings*, and *Earthquakes*, through the Colony." Mather, *Magnalia*, Book iii. (2), ch. xvi.

twice on y^e Sabbath." He had then left Cambridge and was living at Rowley, the home of his cousin, Mary Reyner, whom he had recently married.

The course of his treating with the Malden people was marked by many doubts and fears, — "by importunities," writes Mr. Sibley, "on the part of this small society, and by extreme vacillations on his part because of his health."¹⁸ His own account of his feelings and actions is characteristic, and throws much light upon his condition at that time and the nature of the disease which afflicted him.

[August, 1655.] When J was at maldon; J told them that J thought it would be te^mpting of p^rvideⁿce to accept of their Invitation for 1. J found p^rching v^ry hazzards at p^rseⁿt in y^t it exposed to such daⁿgers could. 2. Jt was feared y^t my streⁿgth would never sute with double work

after y^e debating this matter too & fro they left me to consider more of it a while. Howe^r upon furth consideration: J could not satisfy my self in y^e force of my former argument: becaus the harm J found by preaching was principally (if not onely) in y^e time of y^e gⁿral visitation by colds; since, all y^t J haue found hath beeⁿ onely some little returns of a sore throat, y^t hath soon gone away again. Yea J found no great harm by my Sabbath dayes work at Maldon, tho: y^e we^th was very cold & wet. And for y^e 2^d Argument. double work in so small a coⁿgregation is not much more theⁿ single work in a great one; & if it be more yet y^r are oth. things to ballaⁿce it: these th^s considered made me p^rmis to delib^ate more about it anoth fourtⁿight. J asked m^r Alcocks advice, who told me he thought neith of these plea's of such weight as to ground a refusal of this Invitation upon them. He thought J might hope to be better in a settled way; & hoped wel jt would be better wth me hereafter; And to help y^e double work, J might preach y^e less while. off y^e same mind was my uncle Reyner.

[September, 1655.] At my next being in y^e Bay J found less encouragem^t to yield unto Maldons invitation. ffor having taken it into consid^ation a fourtⁿight longer & finding my self wors, it seemed a burr put in by p^rvidence to stop furth p^rceedings. So according to advice of friends J wholly putt by y^e motion upoⁿ y^e onely ground of p^rsent unfitness for any coⁿstant service. y^e wil of y^e Lord be done. . . . Since J beg earnestly his blessing upon y^e cours of physick J am about, knowing y^r if He say y^e word they shal do me good, not els. To y^s end J haue beggd y^e prayers of divers this being a season of fayth & prayer.

¹⁸ *Harvard Graduates*, i. 269.

[September 10, 1655.] It is a time of more yⁿ ordinary trouble bec: J am yet unsettled winter approaching & know not what to doe about it because my weaknes & colds stil coⁿtinue & J fear in cold weth it should be wors wth me. . . . my moth & sister are come to me fro N Haveⁿ, & J haue no hous to put my owⁿ head in much less room for y^m w^e is discouraging unto y^m w^m J haue brought fro^m another to an unsettled state. . . . Christ hims. my Lord had not a hole to put his head in.

[September 16, 1655.] About maldoⁿ business with some furth inclinations to it upoⁿ y^e grounds above specify'd where J found y^m y^t J spake withall still earnest in y^r desires after me and y^t they needed not y^t J should begin it afresh. J defer'd any conclusioⁿ till m^r Hill come up to Jpswich to y^e g^rall training.

[October 7, 1655.] After many and earnest prayers unto God ffor guidaⁿce in y^e weighty business of settlemt, J haue determined to go to maldon about a 14: n. hence. J issued y^e business wth y^e messengers sent fro^m Maldon church upon y^e g^rall training day being Octobr 4th.

[October 12, 1655.] when J feel my owⁿ p^rsent weakn. to be such, J am apt to be affraid lest J should be unserviceable at Maldon by y^e coldn. of winter and live upoⁿ expeⁿces unprofitably. Yet J do desire not to giue way to discouragemeⁿt ffor J am in Gods way to remove thith & cast myself upoⁿ Gods p^rvideⁿce to see w^t he will do for me & by me.

Cotton Mather, in a strain of that delightful fustian which has made him famous, thus records his coming to Malden: —

From *Cambridge*, the Star made his Remove, till he comes to dispense his Sweet Influences, upon thee, O *Maldon*! And he was thy *Faithful* One, for about a *Jubilee* of years together.¹⁹

He was dismissed by the Cambridge church to the church at Malden,²⁰ August 25, 1656, by the following letter: —

To the Church of Christ at Maldon, Grace and Peace from God our father, and from y^e Lord Jesus Christ.

Whereas, the good hand of Divine Providence hath so disposed that our beloved and highly esteemed brother, Mr. Wigglesworth, hath his residence and is employed in the good work of y^e Lord amongst you, and hath seen cause to desire of us Letters Dismissive to your Church,

¹⁹ *A Faithful Man*, 23.

²⁰ "There is a seasonable care taken that, if the candidate were a member of some other church, he have his dismission (his relation declared to be

transferred); that, as near as may be, according to the primitive direction, they may choose from among themselves." Mather, *Ratio Disciplina*, 22.

in order to his joining as a member with you. We, therefore, of the Church of Christ at Cambridge, have consented to his Desires herein, and if you shall accordingly proceed to receive him, we do hereby resigne and dismiss him to your holy fellowship, withall certifying that as he was formerly admitted among us with much approbation, so during his abode with us, his conversation was such as did become the gospell, not doubting but that through the grace of Christ, it hath been and will be no otherwise amongst you; and that he will be enabled to approve himself to you in y^e Lord as becometh saints.

Further desiring of the Father of mercies that he may become a chosen and special blessing to you, and you also againe unto him through Christ Jesus.

We commit him and you all, with ourselves, to him who is our Lord and yours.

In whom we are,

Your loving brethren,

JONATHAN MITCHELL

RICHARD CHAMPNEY,

EDMUND FROST.

With y^e consent of y^e brethren of y^e Church at Cambridge.

Cambridge 25 of y^e 6th m. 1656.²¹

The time of his ordination is a matter of uncertainty; for it may have been about the time of his admission to the Malden church, September 7, 1656, or after May 19, 1657,²² when he wrote: — "This day is appointed for an issue about my settlement. Lord J look up to thee for wisdom & guidance in so sollemn a business." I am inclined to fix it after the later date, ascribing the delay to sickness and uncertainty. I am strengthened in this belief by the fact that the benefit of the parsonage, although it had been built several years before, was not confirmed to the use of the ministry by record until December 29, 1657. A letter, which he afterwards wrote to the church, places

²¹ *Christian Register*, June 29, 1850; Dean, *Wigglesworth*, 50-52.

²² Savage, *Genealogical Dict.* iv. 541, with his not uncommon habit of jumping at conclusions, antedates the time of Mr. Wigglesworth's ordination by not less than two years, placing it in 1654, when he had not yet been called to Malden.

Often has the antiquary or genealogist reason to mourn over hours of lost

time and vexatious errors caused by the many shortcomings of the *Genealogical Dictionary*. Let it not be supposed that the great labor of its compiler or the value of his work are overlooked by those who have serious grounds for criticism; but it may not be amiss to warn the young seeker against blindly accepting its statements or taking for granted that which may not be warranted by a closer investigation.

the time of his acceptance in the early summer of 1657. He says: —

Since y^e Lord inclined yo^r hearts to invite me hither, it pleased him to hold me und^r weaknes & you under suspence at uncertaintys half a yeer almost ere I durst adventure to come to you; and after I did come, above a year & a half it was before I could see God clearing my way to accept of yo^r call to office.

It is not improbable that he may have contemplated a return to England during the delay; for a letter written by a relative of his wife, dated April 6, 1657, indicates that correspondence looking towards such a result had taken place. This friend writes: —

Ma. Boyes thinks our climate would better agree with yo^r constitution than New England doth and promises to mee or rather seems confident that you would not want a call now, a comfortable maintainence even in these parts of Yorkshire about Leeds if you would come.²³

Cotton Mather printed from the "reserved papers" of Mr. Wigglesworth some passages, written "after he was invited unto Maldon, and then was taken off by Long Sickness;"²⁴ and it is certain that he had already become a confirmed invalid from the effects of the "sickly constitution" which had shown itself before he left Cambridge.²⁵

His own account of the trials which beset him in the "Maldon business" is not without interest, and shows how "great afflictions" came to the sensitive nature of the young man out of the smallest things.

[May 19, 1657.] J haue all along been exercised with disco^rage-
me^{ts} since J came hith. 1. with m^r Hills marrying of himself w^c J un-
d^rstood to be very ridiculous in y^e opinion of y^e country w^r it was
noised. 2. with the coⁿtestations between the Towⁿ & the Treasurers

²³ *Lane Family Papers*, 12; or *New Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, xi. 110. The original is in the *Exeter MSS.*, i. 5, in the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

²⁴ *A Faithful Man*, 40.

²⁵ Mr. Wigglesworth, himself, gives testimony as to the early appearance of his malady. Writing in 1662 he says in the address prefixed to the *Day of Doom*: —

"Let God be magnify'd,
Whose everlasting strength
Upholds me under sufferings
Of more than ten years length."

This places the beginning of his bodily troubles as early as 1652; and an entry in his diary, already quoted, indicates that he was suffering from it in the winter of 1652½.

slownes in Keeping their seasons of bringing in, & making good their engagem^{ts}. 4. with y^e returns of my nightly diste^{mp} occasion^d by study about ch. Govern^t & my wa^t of insight thereinto, or of stre^{ng}th to attain it. 5. with fears of m^r Hills judgem^t about baptism; he being an elder elect. now finding him staggering or unsound J hold it altogether unsafe to let his ordination p^{ceed}, so J used means to bring out his opinioⁿ & p^{vent} y^e oth. The Lord hath in some measure removed all these, qua^{si} discouragements, so far & J find my self inclinable to y^e place & peop. & work of chr. am. them. There is yet another afflicting thing; And that is a multitude of great black buggs w^c do swarm all ov^r y^e hous no room nor place free, no cupboard, pot, &c. like Pharaohs frogs, & they eat all kind of food & we apprehend they haue eateⁿ some cloathes also. J am loath to make this a disco^{ag}em^t (tho a great affliction) bec. J hope it may be removed in some measure by plaistring the chimneys & stopping their holes or els by building new chimneys of brick or if there be no remedy by building a hous in anoth place. There seems to be a clear call of god unto office work. ffor, 1. Here is a poor desolate peop. always without an officer til they got a bad one & were glad to be rid of him. but now brought low^r then ever. 2 This peop importunate, consta^t in desiring me. 3 The neighbo^{rs} also resorting much unto us. 4 Gods marvelous work in carrying me (so weak) thro: y^e difficulty of y^e work in this place. his p^{se}ⁿce wth me hath here been such as this seems to be the place. 5. J apprehend this place both in resp. of nearn. to y^e bay & many oth ways most suitable to my weaknes. 6 The coⁿsta^t inclination of my owⁿ spt unto it notwthstand: all discouragemts, & not to any oth; tho: J haue not been wthout some sollicitatio^{ns}.

Mr. Wigglesworth apparently came to Malden not as a pastor but as a teacher, a distinction which was recognized by the Cambridge Platform and the common usage of the churches. Mr. Matthews had been pastor of the church, and so were two of the colleagues of Mr. Wigglesworth, Benjamin Bunker and Thomas Cheever; but it does not appear that he ever assumed the title, while he may have performed its offices, although it was applied to him by others after his death.²⁶ I feel certain,

Michael Wigglesworth

²⁶ "The distinction between the duties of the pastor and teacher, is thus defined in the Cambridge Platform: 'The pastor's special work is, to attend to exhortation, and therein to administer a word of wisdom; the teacher is to attend to doctrine, and therein to administer a word of knowledge.' Both

adopting the supposition of his biographer, that his bodily weakness prevailed upon him to take upon himself the lighter duties of the lesser office. Mr. Dean says: —

Perhaps Mr. Wigglesworth may have thought himself not well fitted for the active duties of parochial life, and may have chosen the office of teacher to indicate the service he was best able to render to his parish. Precedents are not wanting where the only minister of a church was settled as its teacher.²⁷

Mr. Wigglesworth brought a young wife to his new home. He had married, May 18, 1655, after considerable deliberation and seeking of advice,²⁸ Mary, daughter of Humphrey Reyner of Rowley; and their only child, Mercy, was born in Malden, February 21, 1655½.

He found here a house prepared for him, which had probably been built during the pastorate of Mr. Matthews and had perhaps been occupied by "that much afflicted and persecuted man of God." The deed which was given in this connection was signed by the selectmen and witnessed by the elders of the

are empowered to dispense the sacraments, to execute church-censures, and to preach the Word, as to which duties, 'they are alike charged withal.' The pastor on whom chiefly devolved the care of the flock when out of the pulpit, was expected to spend his strength mostly in exhortation, persuading and rousing the church to a wise diligence in the Christian calling. The teacher was to indoctrinate the church and labor to increase the amount of religious knowledge. His workshop was the study; while the pastor toiled in the open field." McClure, *Life of John Cotton*, 115. Cf. *American Quarterly Register*, xiii. 37; and *Congregational Quarterly*, v. 182-183.

²⁷ *Memoir of Wigglesworth*, 54.

²⁸ It was the cruel fate of Mr. Wigglesworth to be unable to approach anything without doubts and fears. Especially did the subject of his contemplated marriage press upon his mind and conscience in the winter of 1654½. His bodily condition and the faint promise which it gave of comfort and usefulness

in this life, and the relationship of his intended wife, his cousin, were fruitful causes of trouble to his sensitive mind. In February he writes: —

"Now y^e spring approaching, J adrest my self to write for advice to m^r winthrop, m^r Alcock m^r Rog^{rs}. Jn writing y^e Lord helpt me to do it wth plainness & simplicity, declaring y^e difficultyes trully on both sides; & he helpt me to do it wth out disquieting trouble. J also writ to my cousin dealing plainly wth her in y^e business, w^t daⁿger J apprehended wishing her to be advised & take couⁿsel, y^t she may know w^m she matches with & have no caus to repeⁿt her."

As late as the early part of the month in which he was married, he still had doubts about marrying with a kinswoman; but in the end he says: "y^e Lord gaue me co^mfortable satisfaction in y^s point also, that my scruple was invalid."

After his marriage he intimates that he followed God, "by fayth," in this matter.

church; and it was put upon record, December 29, 1657, as if to reaffirm the grant, soon after the probable date of the ordination of the new teacher.

Maldon gift to y^e Ministry. Know all men by these p^rsnts that the Jnhabitants of the Towne of mauldon Have given & granted to the vse of a p^rsent preaching Elder & his next successo^rs, and so from time to time to his successors foure acc^{ts} of ground purchased of James Greene for that end, and a house built therevppon, at the charge of all the Jnhabitants by a Towne rate pportionably made the 22th of the 10th m^o 1651. Witness the hands of these vnder written in the name of the Jnhabitants, 6. m^o 55: also a rate in 52.

JOSEPH HILLS
W^m SERGEANT.

Selectmen.

{ JN^o. VPHAM
W^m BRACKENBURY
THOMAS CAILL.
JN^o. WAYTE.²⁹

The "foure acc^{ts} of ground purchased of James Greene" were the beginning of the parsonage estate, which for nearly two hundred years, to the close of the pastorate of the Rev. Sylvanus Cobb in 1837, was the home of the ministers of the First Parish. In 1674 the town made an exchange with Henry Swillaway, by which, for six pounds in money and five acres of common or town land on the northerly side of "the highway to Sandy Bank," this estate received an addition of three acres, which had formerly formed a portion of the land of William Brackenbury.³⁰ A further addition on the same side was obtained, March 4, 1678⁹, by a deed of Benjamin Blakeman con-

²⁹ *Midd. Co. Deeds*, ii. 43. Joseph Hills and William Sargeant were elders of the church. *Midd. Co. Deeds*, ix. 398, 404; x. 572.

³⁰ This land, bounded, s. ministry land; E. Mr. Wigglesworth; N. widow Mary Bunker; W. the country highway, was deeded by Samuel Brackenbury, in consideration of eight pounds and five shillings paid by his father-in-law, Michael Wigglesworth, to Henry Swillaway, December 10, 1674, and soon after, deeded by Swillaway to the town. The deed of the selectmen was not made, however, until March 25, 1679; but as both deeds were acknowledged at about the same time in May, 1682, the long pending transaction appears to have been carried out as at first designed, *Midd. Co. Deeds*, ix. 398, 404; x. 572. The lot conveyed to Swillaway on the northerly side of the highway, afterwards known as Burying Ground Lane, Marsh Street, and now Madison Street, was next to "the burying-place." It was, apparently, a portion of the common land which had been reserved as a landing place for the inhabitants of Charlestown. It was finally quitclaimed by John Cutler in behalf of Charlestown, December 30, 1695: *Midd. Co. Deeds*, xii. 329. It was then bounded—N. E. the fence or stone wall of John Green; S. E. a common highway leading to Sandy Bank; S. W. the burying-place; N. W. common land.

veying seven acres, which in some unrecorded way had come into his possession from the estate of Mr. Bunker.³¹ The lot thus purchased of Mr. Blakeman was afterwards claimed by John Bunker of Cambridge, nephew of Mr. Bunker and only surviving son of his brother John, who had died in Malden, September 10, 1672. I cannot trace the grounds of his claim.³² At a town meeting, September 2, 1695, it was

voted That thare be a Comitty Chosen to agree with John Bunker Consarning the towns land he laies Clame to

voted Deken John Green Deken John Greenland Henery Green Thomas Newhall John Green are Chosen a Comitty to agree with John Bunker if thay Cane one Resenaibel termes and the towne to pay the Charge : if not to Stand Sute and the towne to bere the Charges

The committee obtained what they probably considered "Resenaibel termes;" and eight days after the town meeting, John Bunker executed a deed of release in consideration of eight pounds, the original purchase money having been one hundred and twenty-five pounds, including, however, whatever value may have been put upon the interest of Mr. Blakeman "to or in the dwelling house for the ministry in the s^d Towne or any of the lands thereto adjoining."³³

These lands, lying together upon the easterly side of "the Country road leading to Penny Ferry," otherwise called "the Great Road," formed the house or home land of the parsonage, and so remained, with little or no change, until the estate was sold to George W. Wilson in 1845, when it contained about sixteen acres lying around the house. Besides this, a portion of the Bell Rock pasture, upon the westerly side of the road, was

³¹ Seven acres, s. land of the town of Malden; e. Mr. Wigglesworth; n. Thomas Lynde; w. the country highway. *Midd. Co. Deeds*, x. 574.

³² Widow Mary Bunker released all her right in the estate of "Mr. Bunker late of Mauldon" to his brother Jonathan of Charlestown, January 12, 1676, for forty shillings per year during her life. *Midd. Co. Deeds*, v. 338. Jonathan Bunker died of small-pox, June 2, 1678; but his youngest son, Benjamin, was liv-

ing, and another son, Jonathan, had but recently died at Newfoundland, when John Bunker made the claim, which he was apparently able to enforce, upon the lands which were formerly the estate of his uncle.

³³ This deed, dated September 10, 1695, was never recorded. It remained in the possession of Deacon John Green and his descendants, and is now with the *Green MSS.* in the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

appropriated to the use of the ministry after the removal of the meeting house in 1730. The whole estate at the time of its sale comprised eighteen and three-quarters acres and twenty-nine poles.

Upon the original purchase of four acres the "ministry house" was built on a knoll, now removed, eight or ten rods south of the present house.³⁴ To this house the teacher brought his little family; and in it, filled with despondency and worn with bodily weaknesses, he passed the most discouraging portion of his life.

Mr. Wigglesworth preached at his first coming in the building in which Mr. Matthews had uttered his "inconvenient" words and in which the church was probably originally gathered. It had been built as early as April, 1649; for, in the report of the committee appointed to survey a way from Reading to Winnisimmet, it was then mentioned as "the meeting house on Mestick Side." It stood on the southerly slope of Bailey's Hill, perhaps a little to the westward of Bell Rock, where indications of a former

³⁴ Frequent entries appear upon the town records relating to the care and preservation of the "ministry house" and its lands. August 16, 1699, it was voted "y^t there shall be a Lento erected to on y^e backsid of y^e parsonag-hous. The wholl length of y^e house: ten footes wide: And deuided jnto three parts: one for a citching with a chimne: and ouen: one for abuttere: one for a Logging room: all suficantly finished." John Greenland, Phineas Upham, and Samuel Sprague were chosen "to prescribe a Rule how y^e bulding of the lento shall be carried on: and to agree with a workman: for y^t end." Deacon John Green was added to the committee a few weeks later. The building of the lento was not hurried. April 19, 1700, Samuel Green, Senr., Capt. John Green, and Joseph Lynde were "chose and jmpoured as a committe To see aftar y^e carrying on y^e finishing of y^e lento latly erected To y^e parsonag house."

October 24, 1701, twenty shillings of the money that was raised to shingle part of the meeting house were diverted to "parches materials To Repair y^e parsonag hous." In 1705 it was voted,

"That m^r Wigglesworth hath liberty to Remoue y^e parsonage barn neerar to y^e dweling house: to y^e north side of y^e paire tree behind y^e dweling-house."

July 29, 1706, after Mr. Wigglesworth's death, it was "*Voted* y^t Mrs Wigglesworth shall be paid for whatt M^r Wigglesworth hath erected to y^e parsonag: Thatt shall be juged beneficiall to the towne—And y^e selectmen are apointed to take a vew of all Those things and jug: what y^e are worth and make Report thereof to y^e town. The Select men Refuse to exept." The next year it was proposed to sell "the parsonag;" but "the uot passed on the negitiue." In December, 1711, the town raised ten pounds to repair the house: but in 1718 there was less liberality; for in October of that year, "It was put to vote whether y^e Town will Repaire y^e well y^t belongs To y^e parsonag hous by Taking up y^e stons and jndeouor to Get watar and jt past in y^e negitiue." Perhaps the dissatisfaction which then existed in relation to the pastor, Mr. Parsons, may have influenced the town in this vote.

occupancy of the land were still visible a quarter of a century ago. It could not have been a building of any pretensions even for those days; and it is not unlikely that it was built for some other purpose and utilized as a temporary place of meeting. Whatever its character may have been, it soon became unfit for church purposes; and the town, in the midst of its "distractions and discouragements," voted to build a new house. The selectmen, November 9, 1658, concluded a contract with Job Lane, which, as showing the peculiarities of building at that early day and the manner of house in which the little church of Malden gathered for seventy years, is worthy of being reproduced.

Articles of agreement made and concluded y^e 11th day of y^e ninth m^o, 1658, betweene Job Lane of Malden on the one partie, carpenter, and William Brackenbury, Lieut. John Wayte, Ensigne J. Sprague, and Thomas Green, Senior, Selectmen of Malden, on the behalf of the towne on the other partie, as followeth :

Imprimis : The said Job Lane doth hereby covenant, promiss and agree to build, erect and finish upp a good strong, Artificial meeting House of Thirty-three foot Square, sixteen foot stud between joints, with dores, windows, pulpitt, seats, and all other things whatsoever in all respects belonging thereto as hereafter is expressed.

1. That all the sells, girts, mayne posts, plates, Beames and all other principal Timbers shall be of good and sound white or Black oake.

2. That all the walls be made upp on the outside with good clap-boards, well dressed lapped and nayled. And the inside to be lathed all over and well struck with clay, and uppon it with lime and hard up to the wall plate, and also the beame fellings as need shalbe.

3. The rooffe to be covered with boards and short shinglings with a territt on the topp about six foot squar, to hang the bell in with rayles about it : the floor to be made tite with planks.

4. The bell to be fitted upp in all respects and Hanged therein fitt for use.

5. Thre dores in such places as the sayd Selectmen shal direct, viz : east, west and south.

6. Six windows below the girt on thre sids, namely : east, west and south ; to contayne sixteen foot of glass in a window, with Leaves, and two windows on the south side above the girt on each side of the deske, to contayne six foot of glass A peece, and two windows under each plate on the east, west and north sides fitt [to] containe eight foote of glass a peece.

7. The pulpitt and cover to be of wainscott to conteyne ffive or six persons.

8. The deacons seat allso of wainscott with door, and a table joyned to it to fall downe, for the Lords Supper.

9. The fflouer to be of strong Boards throughout and well nayled.

10. The House to be fitted with seats throughout, made with good planks, with rayles on the topps, boards at the Backs, and timbers at the ends.

11. The underpinning to be of stone or bricks, and pointed with lyme on the outside.

12. The Allyes to be one from the deacons seat, through the middle of the house to the north end, and another cross the house ffrom east to west sides, and one before the deacons seat ; as is drawne on the back side of this paper.

13. And the said Job to provide all boards, Timber, nayles, Iron work, glass, shingles, lime, hayre, laths, clapbords, bolts, locks and all other things whatsoever needful and belonging to the finyshing of the said house and to rayse and finish it up in all respects before the twentie of September next ensuing, they allowing help to rayse it.

And the s^d Selectmen for themselves on behalfe of the town in Consideracon of the said meeting house so finished, doe hereby covenant, promise and agre to pay unto the s^d Job Lane or his Assigns the sume of one hundred and ffifty pounds in corne, cord wood and provisions, sound and merchantable att price currant and fatt catle, on valuacon by Indifferent men unless themselves agree the prices.

In manner following, that is to say, ffifty pound befor y^e first of y^e second m^o, which shall be in the year sixteen hundred 59 and other ffifty pounds before the first of y^e second m^o which shall be in the year one thousand six hundred and sixtie. And it is further Agreed that when the s^d house is finished, in case the s^d Job shall find and judgeth to be worth ten pounds more, that it shall be referred to Indifferent workmen to determine unless the sayd Selectmen shall se just cause to pay the s^d ten pounds without such valuacon.

In witness whereof the partys to these presents have Interchangeably put their hands the day and year above written.

WILLIAM BRACKENBURY.

JOHN SPRAGUE.

JOH. WAYTE.⁸⁵

Witness,

JOSEPH HILLS :
and GERSHOM HILLS.

⁸⁵ The original document, which was in the hands of the compilers of the *Bi-Centennial Book* in 1849, cannot now be found; and I am obliged to follow their apparently modernized copy. It will be

noticed that the signatures of Job Lane and one of the selectmen do not appear. It is likely that the original had become mutilated, or that the signatures were illegible from some cause.

This "Artificial meeting House" stood upon the side of the hill a little below and south of the well known Bell Rock.³⁶ Although it was to be finished in September of the next year, it was still uncompleted in June, 1660, when it was stated that "a new Meeting-house is Building will Cost vs about 150^{li}."

A "territt to hang the bell in" was specified in the contract; but for some reason it was not built and the bell was hung in a frame upon the rock, which thus received the name by which it is still known.³⁷ It was not until more than thirty years had passed that it was voted in a town meeting, March 21, 1692³, "That y^e bell shall be Hanged one the top of y^e Metinghous." At the same time it was ordered, "That the Select men shall Take care for to agree with a workman for the hanging of the bell one y^e Top of y^e meeting hous." The building of this turret was not hurried. It was voted, November 29, 1694,

³⁶ While the meeting house was being built, the town of Charlestown granted or quitclaimed a parcel of land, which appears to have been land in which the mother town held reserved rights of commonage.

"Att a metting of the selectt men the 23 the 11: 1659, was granted and Confirmed unto the Towne of Malden a parsill of land, more or les, which pasill of land is bowndid on the west by m^r Joseph hills medow, and on the north by the land of michell Smith, and so joying to the high way, And william Brankenbury on the northeast. This pesill of land Aforsaid is given to the towne of Maldon in Consideration of ther buldin a meeting house: that this is ther Reall Actt and Deed, witnis in the name of the selectt men.

SAM ADAMS,
Reco."

Charlestown Archives, xxxiv. 104.

I am sure that this was not the lot on which the meeting house was built; but it was near Sandy Bank and the burying ground, probably near the Swillaway five acres, which Charlestown likewise quitclaimed in 1695. *Midd. Deeds*, xii. 329.

³⁷ It was found "at a meeting at Jsak hills of the Selectmen and commissioner," August 30, 1684, that "expenses

about the bell taking downe and hanging vp 2 shillings and 4 pence," had been incurred. This doubtless refers to some necessary repairs, or the building of a new bell-frame.

The old bell was apparently removed to its proper place when the new meeting house was built in 1730, and it hung there during the Revolution; but sometime during the parish troubles it had been taken down to prevent the precinct people from abstracting it, as they had threatened. It lay hidden in the parsonage well for many years. When the third meeting house was demolished, in 1802, it was again removed and placed upon the school house on Baptist Row, the town having received a new bell for the meeting house from the eccentric "Lord" Timothy Dexter, of Newburyport. In 1822 it was placed upon the new brick school house on Pleasant Street. Here the bell which had called Wigglesworth and the people of his charge, and had warned the townsmen on the morning of the Lexington Alarm, tolled the incomings and outgoings of the Malden youth for more than twenty-five years, when it fell from its turret, in the conflagration which partially destroyed the school house in 1848, and became silent forever. It was soon after sent to the melting pot.

"that Isaac Wilkeson shall Haue Two accres of Land In y^e Common neere his house for bulding y^e Tarrat one y^e meting-hous and y^e laddar;" and six months later, May 8, 1695, it is recorded, "that the town will alowe Samuel Stoures aighteene shillings with what he hath had all Ready for the finesing of the teret and hanging the bell."

The contract shows that the new house was square and probably of the "tunnel" type, as the meeting house of Lynn, which was built in 1682 and demolished in 1827, and that at Hingham which is still standing. From the specifications and the well known manner of building at that time its appearance can be described with a great deal of certainty. Within, aisles or "alleys" crossed the floor, dividing the seats or benches with which the house was furnished into four unequal divisions. The pulpit stood on the south side of the room, with a small door near by; but it was removed to the "north east side" when the house was enlarged. The deacons sat before the pulpit facing the congregation. The windows, "few and small, on account of the great expense of them, were [probably] constructed with diamond panes in leaden sashes, according to the fashion of the times."³⁸

Although the floor was "fitted with seats throughout, made with good planks," pews were afterwards allowed to be set up, apparently without regard to appearance, the taste and means of the owner being the limitations. These pews, unlike their degenerate successors, the slips of our modern churches, were those large and square structures which of yore were irreverently called "sheep-pens." The first person who is known to have enjoyed this privilege was Colonel Nicholas Paige,³⁹ in relation to whom is found the following record: — [March 14, 169½] *Voted* that corronall page hath liberty to build a pue



³⁸ *Bi-Centennial Book*, 125.

he was of no mean note in the Colony.

³⁹ This was a man to be favored, for By marriage with Widow Anna Lane,

and it is left to the select men to order it and in case coronall page leave the seat it shall returne to the towne." Later it was voted [January 28, 1694] "That Collonall paige hes Liberty to Remove his pewe jnto That corner of y^e meeting hous by y^e litell dore," and "Deken Green and Iohn Greenland are chosen to goe and Treate with collonall paige jn order to y^e Removing of his pew." The "litell dore" was that at the southerly side of the house, by the pulpit, the larger eastern and western doors being the main entrances to the building. On the enlargement of the house in 1703, another vote was taken in relation to this important pew. "[November 5, 1703] *Vot* y^t Collonall paiges pew shall be finished up jn y^e place whare jt stands y^e wholl length of y^e platform: excepting about one foott shortned at y^e end next y^e dore." December 6, 1717, Colonel Paige having died a short time before and Nathaniel Oliver having married Martha Hobbs, the heiress of the Keayne estate, which Colonel Paige had enjoyed in the right of his wife, the unfortunate and ill-famed Anna Keayne, the younger, the following vote, which closes the history of the Paige pew, was passed: "*vot*^d that Cap^t Nathaniel Oliuer shall haue y^e same priuiledg in y^e pue that was Collonall paiges as Collonall paige had in his Life time in maldon meeting hous on y^e wast side."

Colonel Paige's pew, standing in its aristocratic solitariness in the corner of the Malden meeting house, must have been an object of admiration, perhaps of covert envy, to the brethren of the congregation; and some might have been found among

he became possessed of the great farms of her grandfather, Robert Keayne, comprising nearly one thousand acres on the easterly line of Malden, in Rumney Marsh, where he apparently resided a portion of the year, when he and his family became hearers of the Word at the Malden meeting house. His wife was a niece of Governor Joseph Dudley, and inherited the "wickedness" of her mother, who had led a scandalous life; but although her first husband, Edward Lane, separated from her at one time, Colonel Paige appears to have had no great trouble with her. She died June

30, 1704. He commanded a company of horse in Philip's war; afterwards became colonel of the Second Suffolk Regiment; and was actively engaged in the deposition of Sir Edmund Andros in 1689. In 1695 he became commander of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Co. He died November 22, 1717, aged about eighty years, leaving no children. A pair of silver chalices, bearing this inscription: "*The Gift of Col: nich^t: Page / to the Church in malden / 1701*," are still preserved, and are used in the service of the First Church.

their wives and sisters who would gladly have changed places with Mistress Anna Paige, despite her tarnished reputation.

There is no indication of pew-rights being granted to others until after the alteration of the house, when [November 5, 1703,] Samuel Sprague, Jr., John Dexter, and John Sprague had "liberty to finish up y^t vacant place between Colonal paiges pew and y^e stayres: flush out with colonal paigs pew: and jt shall be for them and there wifes conueneanc." If they removed, the pew was to become the property of the town. At the same meeting, Samuel Wayte, John Tufts, and Joseph Sargeant were given leave "to finish up y^t vacant place: behind y^e decons wifes pew." The next year, Samuel Stower of Mystic Side and his sister, Widow Elizabeth Sprague, had "liberty to buld a pew on y^e East side of y^e south dore ;" and it was provided "y^t when either of these parsons dye or Remoue from this meting: y^t there pew shall Return to y^e town." At the same time, it was "*voted* y^t Joshua blanchard shall haue liberty to Remoue y^e south doore to y^e west side of y^e post y^t jt shuts Against: upon his one charg and y^t y^e said Joshua blanchard and his wife shall haue y^e Roome to beuld a pew whare y^e dore now hangs And after ther death or Remoues y^t there pew shall Return to y^e town Again." To each of these votes was added, "y^e alley to be left 3 foots wide."

At a meeting held April 2, 1708, it was "*noted* That there may Be pues erected from the dore to the staires in the metting house one the sam termes that the other pues are erected to such parsions as the town shall Graint liberty to;" and it was further "*noted* That Deacon Greenland hath Liberty to erect a pue in the uacand place Be hinde the dore in the meting house on the west side." Soon after John Green, Sen., was allowed to "erect a pue in the hinder part of the meting hous next to deacon Greenland pue;" and Samuel Wayte, Jr., and John Lynde, Jr. had the same liberty respecting "a pue in the hinder part of the meting house next the staires."

The occupants of the pews must have formed an aristocracy in the congregation; and they doubtless enjoyed more ease in their seats and chairs, during the long services which were

characteristic of the early days, than did they who sat upon the plank benches on which the more common people passed the two or three hours of spiritual delectation and bodily discomfort. But there were degrees among the occupants of the benches, even after the men and women were parted to opposite sides of the house. The higher seats, or those nearest the pulpit, were occupied by the most worthy, the test of worthiness being "the Minestars Reate : with Consideration of age : and dignity." The committees which were appointed to adjust this delicate matter must have encountered many "discouragements;" for human nature has been very sensitive on points of honor since the world began. That impartial justice might be done, it was voted, January 2, 1694½: "that y^e Two Deakens shall seate those commitis that is appointed to seate y^e meting hous." A special vote, January 6, 1695½, provided "That Charlestown men that are Constant hearers and constant Contributors amoungst us [are] to be seated in the meting house." An instance of the purchase of dignity occurred in 1708, when it was "*uotd* That if james Baret will make up the twenty aight Shillings which the town is in detted to him for worke at the meting hous forty Shillings then he Shall haue as conueneant a seat in the meting hous as his naberas haue." James Barrett was a "Charlestown neighbor."

The churchgoers of the better class found need of a shelter for their beasts from the scorching sun and the inclement storms, during the long hours of Sabbath service, while the more careless or less merciful stabled their horses to the most convenient tree or fence. In 1698 Tryal Newberry, Simon Grover, and Samuel Bucknam, of the extreme eastern and southerly portions of the town, William Paine and James Barrett, of Mystic Side, with John Greenland, who lived at a distance from the meeting house on his farm, since known as the Richard Shute or Henry Rich farm in Glendale, had the privilege of a piece of land near the southwest corner of the parsonage garden for a stable. This gave four feet in width to each horse, but it must be remembered that the saddle and pillion were almost exclusively used in those days, and that

carriages, even of the two-wheeled variety, were extremely rare even in the larger and richer towns. Four feet were considered a liberal allowance, and, later, the space was limited to three and one-half feet for each horse. In January, 1698⁹, Deacon John Green and seven others were allowed to set two stables near the meeting house.⁴⁰ This supply of shed room seemed to be sufficient for twelve years; but in March, 1719¹¹, John Pratt, John Upham, Phineas Upham, Jr., James Upham, Nathaniel Upham, Jr., Samuel Sprague, Edward Sprague, Phineas Sprague, Jonathan Barrett, Samuel Green, Jr., Ebenezer Harnden, John Brintnall, Thomas Wayte, Jonathan Sprague, Samuel Green, miller, Thomas Wayte, tailor, and Daniel Floyd had "liberty graunted Them to set up Stabls: on y^e Towns Land sumwhare neer y^e meting hous: To Sheltar ther horses on Sabath days And To be set out whare and so much as the Select men shall se cause prouided no man shall haue more than Three fouts and half jn breadth for on hors." The next month Colonel Paige proved his superiority, or his greater needs, by getting "liberty To erect or set up a stable for 3 or 4 horses upon y^e Towns land sum whare neer y^e meting-hous and y^e select men to say whare or set out y^e place whar y^e s^d stable shall stand." At the end of another year the town's land had become crowded or the horses had become smaller; for Hugh Floyd of Rumney Marsh, and Deacon Phineas Upham, Nathaniel Upham, Benjamin Hills, Jonathan Sargeant, John Lynde, Thomas Lynde, Samuel Newhall, and Joseph Lynde, of Malden, in building their stable "by y^e fence nere y^e bell Rock,"

⁴⁰ Deacon John Green, Samuel Sprague, Jr., Jonathan Haward, Isaac Wilkinson, Mr. Sweetser, John Sprague, Sen., Samuel Sprague, Sen., and Samuel Sweetser. He who was distinguished by the title of Mr. must have been Benjamin Sweetser of Mystic Side, a fervent Baptist in 1668, when he was severely fined for circulating a "scandalous and reproachful" petition in favor of his imprisoned brethren, Thomas Gould, William Turner, and John Farnum. If, as is probable, he married Abigail, the sister of the Malden teacher,

his respect for his brother-in-law, which led him to give the name of Wigglesworth to his youngest son, may have brought him to visit the meeting house, although he appears to have retained his Baptist principles. He died July 22, 1718, at the age of eighty-five years, and left legacies to ministers of the unpopular faith. It may well be claimed for him that he was the first inhabitant of the northerly bank of the Mystic who openly professed the doctrine which denies the validity of infant baptism.

were each limited to "Rome to set Two horses and 3 foots jn bredth for each hors." In 1716 $\frac{1}{2}$ the names of Benjamin Sweetser of Mystic Side, and John Mudge, whose farm in the south-easterly part of the town, formerly belonging to Job Lane, is now a portion of the Woodlawn Cemetery lands, were added to the list of proprietors of stables, the latter having room for two horses.

In the course of twenty years the congregation became straitened for room; but at a meeting held December 4, 1682, the town refused to enlarge the meeting house, although a vote was passed, "That the Meeting house be repaired to keep out the weather & save the sells from rotting."⁴¹ In 1701 may be found an item of five pounds in the town charges "for shingles and nails to couer one half of y^e roof of y^e meting hous." Two pounds of this sum were, however, diverted towards the expense of a committee "concerning Worster farm," and twenty shillings were used to "parches meterials To Repair y^e parsonag hous." In 1702 the need of a larger house had so increased that a more earnest attempt was made to "jnlarg y^e Meting hous;" and a vote was passed, —

[April 14, 1702.] That wharas jt hath ben agreead on by this town y^t y^e Meting-hous shall be jnlarged and Repaired: by a free Contribution: and Jf ther can be a suficant sum of money Gathared in this town and Amongst our naighbours of Charlestown to finish y^e work according as jt js agreead on: Then those our Charlestown naighbours They and ther hairees Shall haue free liberty to com jnto y^e s^d meting hous To heare y^e word of god.

Deacons Phineas Upham and John Greenland were chosen to see what money might be gathered for this purpose. A month later it was voted: —

[May 15, 1702.] y^t y^e meeting-hous shall be cut jn two neer y^e midle and carry of one end 14 foots: and close both parts again: with a new bulding by a free contribution: and jf our Charlestown naighbours doe aford towards y^e said bulding: according to y^e list they haue shoven which js 30 pounds and upwards then they shall be seated jn y^e s^d meting-hous As y^e maiger part of this town shall se cause.

⁴¹ It was afterwards voted: "That to Joyne with the Townes men in repairing of the meeting house the 28 June 86." phinias Sprague and Joses Bucknam are

The plan of a "free contribution" failed; and it was voted, June 15, 1702, to make the addition of fourteen feet upon the southerly side of the house and to defray the charges by a town rate. The Charlestown neighbors might contribute as proposed; but in case of their refusal or neglect to do so, "then we will only Repaire our old meting-hous and will Rais money for y^t end." Four days later John Sprague, William Paine, John Tufts, and James Barrett appeared in behalf of "all y^e Jnhabitants of mistickside: y^t are our Charlestown naightbours," and promised to pay thirty pounds "prouided this meting will pas a uote to Remoue y^e pulpitt to y^e west side and y^t y^e s^d charlestown naightbours they and their hairees shall haue a right Jn y^e s^d meting-hous and y^t y^e Shall be seated jn y^e meting-hous by y^e same Rules as this town do atend jn seating their own Jnhabitants." The town agreed to these conditions, and voted to raise twenty pounds. This sum was afterwards increased to forty pounds, and a committee of three was chosen "to se aftar and take care y^t y^e meting-hous be Repaired."

A new committee, consisting of Lieutenant John Lynde, John Greenland, Phineas Upham, Jonathan Sprague, Joseph Lamson, Edward Sprague, and Samuel Wayte, was chosen the next day; and the alterations were thereafter carried on with all the slowness which usually attended such matters. The forty pounds which had been voted proved all too small, and, June 4, 1703, forty pounds more were raised "to carry on y^e finishing of y^e meting-hous: and to pay what js due: for what js alredy don for y^e meting-hous." That not much had been done towards "jnlarging y^e hous" at this time is indicated by a vote passed soon after.

[June 14, 1703.] All Those y^t haue a Right jn y^e meting-hous: In Those seats y^t must be defaced or Remoued doth Giue up there Right to y^e town: jn order for y^e more conuenant Inlarging of y^e meting-hous namely Cap^t John Line: Leu^t Henery Green: John Sprague Sen^r: Samuel Sprague juner: In behalf of his mothar brown: ⁴² deacon Green. John Greenland, Jonathan Sargeant: beniamin Whitmore jn behalf of

⁴² Rebecca (Crawford), widow of 24, 1697, Captain John Brown, of Lieutenant Samuel Sprague, who died Reading. October 3, 1696, aged 65, married, June

his son ben : Samuell Sprague Sen^r In behalf of his mother Sprague : Nathaniell waitt Joses bucknam Sam^l Stower Sam^l sweetcer : And jt js uoted with This prouizo y^t jf euer this town seeath Cause To purches aney other seats or pues jn y^e meting-hous : 'Thos parsons That ther names are heerunto subscribed shall be freedd from aney charg ther-unto.

A general town meeting was held, July 6, 1703, for the special and only purpose of considering the question of the location of the pulpit. It had been agreed with the Charlestown neighbors that it should stand on the west side of the house; but the record of this meeting relates that "Considering the jnconuenences and damig: acurring to y^e pulpitt on y^t side: by Reson of y^e extreem heate: at sum time of y^e yeere: Therfor haue voted and ordered that The pulpitt shall be placed on y^e north-east side of y^e meting hous." The alterations now proceeded apace; and in February, 1703 $\frac{3}{4}$, Joshua Blanchard was paid thirty-eight pounds and one shilling in full for "Timbar: shingls: clobards and Glaze." It was voted, October 20, 1704, "y^t Those Gent y^t contributed to y^e jnlarging of The meting-hous: y^t they are welcom to com to heare y^e word with us;" and a list of names, which was entered upon the records soon after, proves that the people of Mystic Side had fulfilled their pledges.

The names of our Charlestown naightbours with there summs that haue contributed Towards y^e Inlarging and Repairing of malden meting house:

W ^m Pain	2	5	0	Dan ^l Whittemore	1	10	0
John Tufts	3	3	0	John Whittemore	1	0	0
Joses Bucknam	2			John Mitchell	1	0	0
Sam Stower	2			John Sprague	3	0	0
Thos Shepard	1	10		Isaac Wheelar	1	0	0
Joshua Blanchard	2	10		Abraham Blanchard	1	4	0
Sam Townzen		16		Mothar Tufts ⁴³		12	
Thos Mitchel	1	0					
John Rigeway	2			[Total £29. 10. 0.]			
Jos Sargeant	2						
John Marble	1						

⁴³ The Blanchards lived on Wilson's Point, or Blanchard's side, now Welling-ton, in Medford, which was then a portion of Charlestown. "Mothar Tufts"

was probably Mary, the widow of Peter Tufts the elder. She died before the recording of this list, January 10, 1702 $\frac{3}{4}$.

The free-will offering of Seuerall Gent and frends Towards the
Inlarging of Malding meting house

Colanal paig	6	0	0	Jonathan Tufts	2	0	0
Cap ^t Tufts	1	0	0	daniel Huchens	10	0	
Ensigne Center	1	0	0	M ^r s Wigglesworth	1	0	0
Thos pratt	2	0	0	[Total £13. 10. 0.] ⁴⁴			

There were no galleries specified in the contract of Job Lane; but they were added on three sides, either while the house was being built or at some time prior to 1684. At a meeting, March 8, 170 $\frac{3}{4}$, as the repairs were being completed, it was voted, "That ther shall be a new stack of stayrse erected jn y^e norwest-corner of the meting-hous and y^e other stayres jn y^e northerly end taken down." Several seats were taken away in consequence, and the town clerk carefully recorded ample compensation for the removal. A fourth gallery was added in 1713, when Benjamin Hills, Ezekiel Jenkins, John Mudge, Thomas Burditt, Samuel Newhall, and Nathaniel Upham had liberty granted "y^m To buld a gallery between y^e Two grat bames ouer y^e front Gallery."

The meeting house was again becoming too small for the increasing congregation; and, March 3, 171 $\frac{3}{4}$, Samuel Green, John Wilson, and William Sargeant were chosen "to treat with our charlestown naighbors consarning y^e jnlarging of Roome jn y^e meting hous." At an adjourned meeting, a fortnight later, it was "*voted* That There shall be new Gallires bult jn y^e meting-hous: That js to say Ther shall be Two seats erected ouer each Gallire Round;" and John Griffin, a young housewright of

⁴⁴ This list of "Gent and frends" shows how widely scattered were the members of the Malden congregation. Colonel Paige has already been the subject of a note. Jonathan Tufts was a son of the first Peter, and married Rebecca, daughter of Captain John Wayte. He occupied a moiety of the Nowell farm, which intervened between Malden and Medford. Captain Tufts was his eldest brother Peter, of Medford, who lived upon a portion of the three hundred and fifty acres of the original Cradock farm, which his father had bought of Richard Russell's estate in 1647. Ensign John Center was of Rumney

Marsh, or Winnisimmet; and it is supposed that he may have occupied that land near Powder Horn Hill since known as the Carter Farm. Chamberlain, in the *Chelsea Telegraph*, April 28, 1883.

Daniel Hutchens, or Hitchens, was an inhabitant of the "pan-handle" of Boston, near the Reading and Lynn lines. Thomas Pratt lived in the neighborhood of Sagamore Hill, where a little village springing up around his former dwelling place perpetuates his memory and that of his descendants. Mrs. Wigglesworth will become better known to us.

Charlestown, who had recently married a daughter of Deacon Phineas Upham, "apeering in s^d meting," agreed to find the material and do the work within three months for twenty-five pounds. "On y^e 16: of August 1714 nathaniell upham Sen^r Re-saiued Ten shillings money which js a Gift of Jonathan Tufts Towards y^e bulding of y^e new Gallery jn y^e meting-hous and js to be jmproued for y^t end."

The new gallery did not long answer the demand for room; and it was finally voted: —

[March 6, 1727.] That this Town will Build A new meetinghouse upon the Towns land neare y^e place whear the Old meetinghouse now Stands.

This new meeting house, which was the third house occupied by the Malden church, was the source of much strife and division among the people of the town.

CHAPTER VIII.

MICHAEL WIGGLESWORTH.

THERE are many indications that the settlement of Mr. Wigglesworth was not altogether satisfactory to some of the leading members of the Malden church and that their unfriendliness caused him much uneasiness. He had come among them, as a young man, to fill the place of one who had been endeared to them in the mutual endurance of trials and difficulties, of one around whom they had gathered with an unflinching devotion, which must have strengthened the bonds which seem to have existed between the pastor and the people from the first. He came to stand in the room of one in whose behalf and defence they had suffered, and in whose cause they were still under the displeasure of the Court and, perhaps, of their sister churches. Nor could they have heartily sympathized with the spirit of the religious views of Mr. Wigglesworth, opposed as they were in their sombre conformity to the established creed with the more spiritual and unfettered teachings of Mr. Matthews. If they admired the Antinomian tendencies of the one, they must have secretly disliked the uncompromising Orthodoxy of the other. Mr. Dean well remarks: —

As Mr. Wigglesworth's opinions seem to have called forth no protest from the opponents of his predecessor, we may infer that they were satisfactory to them. Under such circumstances, it would not be surprising if the ardent friends of Mr. Matthews should manifest a coolness towards the person whom they were forced to hear.¹

The increasing ill health of Mr. Wigglesworth could not have failed to excite increased dissatisfaction rather than sympathy: the more so that his bodily troubles were not always apparent to the careless observer, but were hidden and deceptive. A

failure to appear in the pulpit, or any omission of pastoral work when suffering, was apparently misinterpreted and made a fresh cause of complaint and a conservator of discontent; and his sickness came to be looked upon as a case of that trouble which was popularly known as "hypo," or "hyp." The evidence of Mr. Wigglesworth, himself, is conclusive upon this point. In the address prefixed to the *Day of Doom* he says:—

Yet some (*I know*) do judge,
 Mine inability,
 To come abroad and do Christ's Work,
 To be Melancholly;
 And that I'm not so weak,
 As I my self conceit,
 But who in other things have found
 Me so conceited yet?

Or who of all my Friends,
 That have my trials seen,
 Can tell the time in seven years,
 When I have dumpish been?
 Some think my voice is strong,
 Most times when I do Preach:
 But ten days after what I feel
 And suffer, few can reach.

My prisoned thoughts break forth,
 When open'd is the door,
 With greater force and violence,
 And strain my voice the more.
 But vainly do they tell,
 That I am growing stronger
 Who hear me speak in half an hour,
 Till I can speak no longer.

Some for, because they see not
 My chearfulness to fail,
 Nor that I am disconsolate,
 Do think I nothing ail.
 If they had born my griefs,
 Their courage might have fail'd them,
 And all the Town (perhaps) have known
 (Once and again) what ail'd them.

This dissatisfaction was, perhaps, openly expressed at first, and may have been a cause of the hesitancy of Mr. Wigglesworth in accepting the office, even after he had removed to Malden. It might well have been one of the "discomforts" by which he was exercised in his earlier dealings with the church.

Nor was the temper of the people of such sort as to offer much encouragement to spiritual life. A spirit of ill-will and strife seemed to pervade the whole community. Slanders, assaults, domestic broils, and other evils kept the people in a state of unrest; and the files and records of the County Court show a plentiful harvest of resulting cases and suits. In a long letter, which is extant and on which Joseph Hills wrote "dd vnto me from Mr Wigglesworth the 19 day of the 4th M 1658: Signifying his desire to haue it read tomorrow vnto the Church," the teacher, who appears then to have been afflicted by "lingring weaknes & long restraint," wrote:—

consid^r whith there be no havock made of Brotherly love amongst you. For Brethn to be like two flints that they can never meet but they must strike fire together, becaus neith part wil yield a little or condescend y^t they might gain upon each oth^s infirmity by a sp^t of meeknes! for Brethn to be so estranged y^t they know not how to fast & pray togeth for common mercys; for Brethn to interpre[te] every word & action of one anoth to y^e worst sence, to make mountains of mole hils & think evry smal greevance intollerable! for Brethn to intrmeddle with strife y^t belongs not to them, as if there were not jarrs enough already! for Brethn to censure one another for their private communications & actings w^{ch} they y^t censure cannot be privy too, & out of a spirit of jealousy to conclude y^t such was their carriage in such a private or secret p^{ceeding}, because it use to be such at oth times! for Brethn to giue one anoth y^e ly & provoke one anoth in their speeches as becometh not men, much less christians! for Brethn to be so incised agst each oth that they cannot liue togeth in a Town! For Brethn whilst y^e Lord hath some und^r y^e rod and all [under] his frown! to be quarrelling at such a time . . . Brethn you add affliction to y^e afflicted by such things; you need not ask then what keeps me weak so long.²

A little more than a year later, his troubles had so increased that he had "thoughts of a jo^{ney} to Rowley . . . to advise about my own health & laying down my work." Difficulties from within and without thickened around the poor teacher. The quakings of conscience matched the weakness and pain of his body; a sick wife added to his cares, and the troubles of the church increased.

That an antagonism existed between Mr. Wigglesworth and Joseph Hills is apparent. Its probable cause was in the Matthews troubles; and the course of the teacher, whatever may have been his motives, seems not to have been such as to cause it to pass away. Unfavorable allusions to Mr. Matthews fell upon sensitive ears. The "fears of m^r Hills judgem^t about baptism," which had beset the preacher in 1657, were not forgotten nor allowed to fall asleep. At length, in November or December, 1659, Mr. Hills was indicted by the grand jury for his false beliefs. There is still preserved a paper, written by Mr. Wigglesworth, in which the substance of the offence of Mr. Hills is clearly stated. Little cause may be found therein, to-

² *Mass. Hist. So. Proc.* May, 1871, 96.

day, for the teacher's fears. Perhaps little would he have found had a healthier body or a less distempered mind been found among his possessions. Mr. Hills may have held to some of the unfortunate teachings of Marmaduke Matthews: that he was tinctured with some of the peculiar doctrines of his friend Henry Dunster, the former President of Harvard College, is very clear. The charges, as written by Mr. Wigglesworth, are interesting as showing how little could offend "a shining light and faithful pillar" of the colonial church.

The particulars: as my memory prompted them to my pen.

1. That all Baptized persons, are already ch: members, as being vnder the badge of the cov: & the free donation thereof. (or to y^t effect)
 2. That such are to be called upon to renew there Cov: wth God, & so doeing to be admitted to all ch: priviledges; except they be of a scandalous life. (or to y^{is} effect)
 3. That such being scandalous (openly) the ch: should deale with y^m & censure them, if obstinate
 4. That they professing they haue sinned; or saying it Repent them: promising reformation, & renuing there Cov: this should in charity suffice for there Reacceptance. (or to y^t effect)
 5. That the Gathering or Constituting of churches is Humane. (or to the same effect.)
 6. That the Declaration, or Relation of the worke of Grace (as is required of them, that desire Admission) is not requisite: (or to y^e same effect)
 7. That Baptized persons, as who are vnder the badge of the cov: doe clayme there right in ch: priviledges. (or to y^{is} effect)
- [And some such, haue ben, either directly or indirectly stirred up by him, so to doe. (as J am enformed.)]
8. That members of one church, are members of an other church & ought not to be debarred the priviledges of members. (w^h hee expounds, according to the largest size of the congregational way, as to my vnderstanding)
 9. That L^{rs} of Recommendation, & there renuing of Cov^t (to use his owne phrase) is all that in poynt of order, need be required. (or to y^{is} effect.)
 10. That we cannot expect good times, till there be a Reformation of the Churches: & tis to be desired, the Magistrate did promote it. (or to the same effect)³

³ *Midd. Court Files*, December, 1659. He was one of the overseers of Dunster's. The connection of Joseph Hills with will. President Dunster is elsewhere noticed.

In the time of these outward difficulties and in the midst of mental uncertainties and bodily weaknesses he records in his diary: —

Dec. 21, [1659,] about 2 of y^e clock in y^e morning I received word y^t my wife was dead. Oh its a heart-cutting & astonishing stroke in itself. Lord help me to bear it patiently & to p^rfit by it, help me to hono^r thee now in y^e fiers, by maintaining good thoughts of thee, & speaking good & submissive words concern. thee. and oh teach me to dy every day. fit me for y^t sweet society she is gone unto, w^t solitarines shal no more affright or afflict me. Oh Lord make up in thyself w^t is gone in y^e creature. I believe y^u canst & wilt do it: but oh help my unbelief.

After this his bodily weaknesses, the nature of which is imperfectly known, increased;⁴ and there are evidences that the few faint signs of the "presence of God's spirit" in the church and among the people disappeared. He had written in 1658: —

How long, Lord, wilt thou be angry wth us? What? for ever! oh what will yⁿ do with this poor sinful afflicted people? what meaneth y^e heat of this great indignation? where is thy zeal & thy strength; y^e sounding of thy bowels (Lord!) are they restrained? oh Return for

⁴ Dr. McClure, who, perhaps, had some papers relating to Wigglesworth on which to base his assertion, says he was troubled "apparently by some pulmonary complaint, perhaps the asthma." Mr. Dean gathered together "the various notices of his disease and his feelings," and submitted them to several physicians. Samuel A. Green, M.D., of Boston, says: "I am sorry that I cannot make out a *diagnosis*, as physicians call it. I have shown your case to several, all of whom agree that the data are not sufficient to warrant an accurate conclusion." Ebenezer Alden, M.D., of Randolph, "thinks it evident that he had the asthma; but says, that the asthma will not account for all his symptoms." Cf. Dean, *Wigglesworth*, 61-62; *Bi-Centennial Book*, 153.

The data, however, which Mr. Dean submitted to these authorities were gathered from the later volume of the diaries. Mr. Wigglesworth, himself, refers more

definitely to his condition in the earlier volume in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The extracts which I have already given show that a great susceptibility to colds and their consequent evils was a prominent feature in his case. He frequently complains of being troubled by the spleen; and his almost continual melancholy favors the surmise that he may have suffered from *hypochondriasis*, induced perhaps by dyspepsia or some similar evil. As early as 165⁷/₄, as we have seen, he found a "weakn: of body & pressure by y^e spleⁿ & flatulent humo^rs." In February, 165⁵/₆, while troubled about the illness of his wife, he writes: "The next day y^e spleen much enfeebled me, & setting in wth grief took away my strength, my heart was smitten wthin me, & as sleep dep^ted fro^m myne eyes so my stomach abhorred meat. J was brought very low."

thy servants sake, the people of thy holynes have possessed these ordinances, these priviledges but a little while.⁵

In December, 1661, there appears to have been a wish among some of his people that he should "lay down" his office. An entry made in his Diary at this time seems as a wail drawn from the very depths of a heart discouraged and broken.

The Brethⁿ are now below consid'ing & consulting about a future supply & a constant help in y^e ministry; as also wheth I am call'd to lay down my place or not. ffath I leav my self & all my concernm^{ts} with thee; I h. neith way of subsistence, nor house to put my head in if turnd out here, but Lord I desire to be at thy disposing. Let thy fathly care app^r tow'ds me in these my straits, as hith'to it hath done, O my God: ffor oth^r friend or helper besides thee I have none. Lord I beleev; help my unbeleif."

A few weeks later he wrote: —

y^e world seem now to account me a burden (I mean divers of o^r chief ones) w^t ever their words p'tend to y^e contrary. Lord be thou my habitation & hiding place; for oth I have none. Do thou stand my friend, wⁿ all oth friends fail me, as they are now like to do. I will not torm^t my self wth feares concern. y^e future; for I know thou art alsufficient, & canst eith p'vide for me in my weakn. or recov^r me out of my weakness by a word after all means used to no purpose, or els thou canst make me welcome in Heaven wⁿ y^e world is weary of me. Lord und'take for me for mine eys are unto thee. Tibi Domine &c.

As Mr. Wigglesworth continued in Malden, it seems likely that some help and "a future supply" was the result of the consultation of the brethren. That he was obliged to forego his pulpit duties in a great measure is evident, although he may have preached at times. It was now, as "David's affliction bred us many a Psalm," that the Malden teacher's "Affliction turn'd his Pen to Poetry;"⁶ and he began to write as a means by which he might, as he expressed it, "serv my Lord christ who is my best & onely friend & supporter." Cotton Mather says of him at this time: —

⁵ *Mass. Hist. So. Proc.* May, 1871, 94. A year later he records in his diary: "June 15, [1659] This being a day of humiliation; we are to consider

seriously & labo^r to find out y^e causes of gods contending wth us."

⁶ J. Mitchel in lines prefixed to the *Day of Doom*.

That he might yet more *Faithfully* set himself to Do Good, when he could not *Preach*, he *Wrote* several Composures, wherein he proposed the Edification of such Readers, as are for Truth's dressed up in a *Plain Meeter*.⁷

The day of Doom:
 O R, A
DESCRIPTION
 Of the Great and Last
Judgment.
 WITH
 A SHORT DISCOURSE
 ABOUT
ETERNITY.

Eccles. 12. 14.

*For God shall bring every work into Judgment,
 with every secret thing, whether it be good,
 or whether it be evil.*

L O N D O N,

Printed by W.G. for John Sims, at the Kings-
 Head at Sweetings Alley-end in Cornhill,
 next House to the Royal-Exchange, 1673.

His first published work was the dismal and celebrated *Day of Doom*, that "grim utterance of the past," which has passed through at least ten editions and which gained an instant and

⁷ *A Faithful Man*, 24.

long enduring popularity, unequalled by any book published in America before 1800. If we except the *Latin Accidence* of Wigglesworth's master, the famous Ezekiel Cheever, and the *New England Primer*, no volume from the colonial press attained so great a circulation. Professor Tyler cites the fact of the rapid sale of the first edition of eighteen hundred copies "within a single year, which implies the purchase of a copy of the *Day of Doom* by at least every thirty-fifth person then in New England, — an example of the commercial success of a book never afterward equalled in this country."⁸

Of the time of the preparation of the *Day of Doom* and its first appearance, we are not without evidence. The Diary or Commonplace-book, of the author indicates that it was begun as early as January, 166½, and it must have been published during the following summer; for he tells us that "there were scarce any unsold (or but few) at y^e years end, so that I was a gainer by them, & not a loser;" and it appears that "y^e first impression" was sold before September 23, 1663. "About 4 years after," he writes, "they were reprinted wth my consent, & I gave them the proofs & Margin. notes to affix." Of these editions, the first and second, no perfect copy is known to exist; but there is in the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society a fragment, which is proved by a peculiarity of certain letters and the absence of "proofs & Margin. notes" to be of the first edition. From this unique copy, so far as it affords them, I have made the quotations in the present chapter.⁹

Of the great popularity of this "Composure," mention has been made. It was "hawked about the country printed on sheets like common ballads." Cotton Mather said that it "may perhaps find our Children, till the *Day* itself arrive."¹⁰ Fran-

⁸ *History of American Literature*, ii. 34.

⁹ This fragment contains the entire poem from the sixty-third verse, and the first twenty-one verses of the *Short Discourse on Eternity*. A perfect copy of the third (London, 1673) edition is in "the New-England-Library," of the Rev. Thomas Prince, now deposited in the

Boston Public Library. Dean, *Wigglesworth*, 140-148, gives notices and collations of the several editions, of which the last is that of William Henry Burr, New York, 1867; and Dr. Samuel A. Green has a bibliographical notice of the first five editions in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* January, 1895, 269-275.

¹⁰ *A Faithful Man*, 24.

cis Jenks, writing in 1828, informs us that aged persons of his acquaintance could still repeat its verses which had been taught them with their catechisms.¹¹

Of the estimation in which it was held, both by the learned and unlearned of colonial and provincial New England, there is no lack of proof. The secret of its power was not in musical versification nor pleasing rhyme; for it is rude and rugged to the extreme, and is but seldom relieved by smoother or more melodious strains. It is quaint and grim, and uncompromising in its directness and logical strength. And yet, with all its roughness and crudities, in spite of its cheap and clattering rhymes, there come forth at times images and thoughts which prove its author, with all his limitations, to have been at the bottom a poet whose Muse under circumstances more favorable and with taste and thoughts refined by a larger companionship with the great singers who had preceded him, of whom he appears to have known little, might have sung in fitting strains words and thoughts of beauty, which would have had a place in the world's mind forever. A recent writer has said: "There was in him the genius of a true poet; his imagination had an epic strength, — it was courageous, piercing, creative; his pages are strewn with many unwrought ingots of poetry." *But*, "he was himself forever incapable of giving utterance to his genius — except in a dialect that was unworthy of it."¹²

His biographer says:

There are passages in his writings which are truly poetical, both in thought and expression, and which show that he was capable of attaining a higher position as a poet than can now be claimed for him. The roughness of his verses was surely not owing to carelessness nor to indolence, for neither of them were characteristic of the man. The true explanation may be that he sacrificed his poetic taste to his theology, and that for the sake of inculcating sound doctrine he was willing to write in halting numbers.¹³

As for the poem itself, which was Mr. Wigglesworth's masterpiece, it is the true embodiment of all that was terrible in the

¹¹ *Christian Examiner*, vi. 537.

¹³ Dean, *Wigglesworth*, 131.

¹² Tyler, *History of American Literature*, ii. 23.

theology of the seventeenth century. Its subject and its earnestness place it far above the region of the grotesque; and he who reads it aright can approach it with neither sarcasm nor ridicule. It is a horrible nightmare, which we of the present, with more generous views of the relationship between God and man, can hardly understand. There is no attempt to gloss the description of that which the author felt to be true, and the simple directness and force of its awful realism must have made naked sinners quake with fear. The late Joseph T. Buckingham relates that in his youth certain passages caused him "many an hour of intense mental agony."¹⁴ In this complete utterance of the belief and fears of Puritanic New England lies the secret of the great popularity of the *Day of Doom*.

There is a perfect calm and a sense of security in the opening of the "Composure."

Still was the night, Serene and bright,
 when all Men sleeping lay;
 Calm was the season, and carnal reason
 thought so 'twould last for ay.
 Soul, take thine ease, let sorrow cease,
 much good thou hast in store:
 This was their Song, their Cups among
 the Evening before.

But suddenly the whole world is awakened by "the suddenness, Majesty, and Terror of Christ's appearing."

For at midnight brake forth a Light
 which turn'd the night to day,
 And speedily an hideous cry
 doth all the World dismay.
 Sinners awake, their hearts do ake,
 trembling their loynes surprizeth;
 Amaz'd with fear, by what they hear,
 each one of them ariseth.

They rush from Beds with giddy heads,
 and to their windows run,
 Viewing this light which shines more bright
 than doth the Noon-day Sun.
 Straightway appears (they see't with tears)
 the Son of God most dread;
 Who with his Train comes on amain
 to Judge both Quick and Dead.

¹⁴ *Personal Memoirs*, i. 19.

Then is there great fear and confusion. "The Mountains smook, the Hills are shooke, the Earth is rent and torn;" and "The Judge draws nigh, exalted high upon a lofty Throne;" while

His brightness damps heav'ns glorious lamps,
and makes them hide their heads,
As if afraid, and quite dismay'd,
they quite their wonted steads.

In the midst of this great brightness and woe, the last Trump sounds and the dead are raised; while all the living, becoming immortal, "are made to dy no moe."

His winged Hosts flie through all Coasts,
together gathering
Both good and bad, both quick and dead,
and all to Judgement bring.
Out of their holes those creeping Moles,
that hid themselves for fear,
By force they take, and quickly make
before the Judge appear.

Then takes place the last great and terrible Day of Judgment, when the sheep and the goats are separated and stand "before the Throne of Christ the Judge." It is not upon the happy state of the blessed that the author lavishes his choicest work, but upon the terrors and punishments of the damned.

With dismall chains and strongest reins,
like Prisoners of Hell,
They're held in place before Christ's face,
till He their Doom shall tell.
These void of tears, but fill'd with fears,
and dreadful expectation
Of endless pains, and scalding flames,
stand waiting for Damnation.

Sinners of all grades and conditions — civil, honest men, ignorant men, fearful men, as well as hypocrites and transgressors of a deeper dye — make up the crowds of the wicked who "are brought to the Bar, like guilty Malefactors."

Of wicked Men, none are so mean
as there to be neglected:
Nor none so high in dignity,
as there to be respected.

Of these trembling sinners "At this sad season, Christ asks a Reason (with just Austerity),"

Why still Hell-ward, without regard,
 they boldly ventured,
 And chose Damnation before Salvation
 when it was offered?
 Why sinful pleasures and earthly treasures
 like fools they prized more
 Then heav'nly wealth Eternal health
 and all Christ's Royal store?

The hypocrites characteristically appear foremost to "plead for themselves"; and their unfortunate companions of all degrees follow their example. But in vain are all glosses and extenuating pleas; for "The Judge replyeth," and they are cut short by a relentless logic, before which their pleadings become as cobwebs and are rent in twain.

Thus all mens Plea's the Judge with ease
 doth answer and confute,
 Untill that all, both great and small,
 are silenced and mute.
 Vain hopes are cropt; all mouthes are stopt,
 sinners have nought to say,
 But that 'tis just, and equal most
 they should be damn'd for ay.

"Behold," adds the author in a marginal note in a later edition, "the formidable estate of all the ungodly as they stand hopeless and helpless before an impartial Judge, expecting their final Sentence."

"Others Plead for Pardon both from Gods mercy and Justice;" but "Mercy now shines forth in the vessels of Mercy, the wicked [are] all convinced & put to silence, [and] the Judge pronounceth the Sentence of condemnation."

*Ye sinfull wights, and cursed sprights,
 that work Iniquity,
 Depart together from me for ever,
 to endless Misery.
 Your portion take in that sad Lake
 where Fire and Brimstone flameth:
 Suffer the smart which your desert
 as it's due wages claimeth.*

They wring their hands, their caitiff-hands,
 and gnash their teeth for terrour:
 They cry, they rore for anguish sore,
 and gnaw their tongues for horreur.
 But get away without delay;
 Christ pitties not your cry:
 Depart to Hell; there may you yell
 and roar Eternally.

Perhaps the hardest case of all is that of "Reprobate Infants,"

who dy'd in Infancy.
And never had or good or bad
effected pers'nally;

who are involved in the condemnation of the ungodly, solely by the force of the guilt of Adam. "How could we sin," they cry,

How could we sin who had not bin?
or how is his sin our
Without consent, which to prevent
we never had a pow'r?

These infant wights plead with an earnestness and force worthy of older sinners; but "Their Arguments [are] taken off" by a reasoning which, though, to us, contradictory in the extreme, is a concise statement of that doctrine of Adam's fall and infant damnation which still, perhaps, holds a place in darkened corners of the Church.

Then answered the Judge most dread;
God doth such doom forbid,
That men should dy eternally
for what they never did.
But what you call old *Adam's* Fall,
and onely his Trespas,
You call amiss to call it his:
both his and yours it was.

Had you been made in *Adam's* stead,
you would like things have wrought;
And so into the self-same wo
your selves and yours have brought.

In the end, the inexorable Judge cuts short all pleas, declaring

A crime it is; therefore in blis
you may not hope to dwell:
But unto you I shall allow
the easiest room in Hell,
The glorious King thus answering,
they cease, and plead no longer:
Their Consciences must needs confes
his Reasons are the stronger.

It is refreshing to know that the unfortunate babies are able to weigh conscience and reason, despite their tender age, and are satisfied with the judgment rendered against them; although the sight of Adam, the chief offender,

Whose sinful Fall hath split us all,
and brought us to this pass,

sitting on a throne of glory before their eyes, might raise some doubts in their infant minds. We of maturer life and a broader religious faith cannot bring our consciences to confess the justice of the final doom.

If the reader, who rejoices in the light of the nineteenth century, seeks yet farther to know the serious and honest belief of an earnest New England Puritan of the seventeenth century, a few verses, contrasting the fate of the "sinfull wights" with the exalted state of the saints, who "rejoyce to see judgment executed upon the wicked World," may suffice.

As chaff that's dry, and dust doth fly
before the Northern wind:
Right so are they chased away,
and can no Refuge find.
They hasten to the Pit of Wo,
guarded by Angels stout:
Who to fulfill Christ's holy will
attend this wicked Rout.

Whom having brought, as they are taught,
unto the brink of Hell
(That dismal place far from Christ's face,
where Death and Darkness dwell:
Where God's fierce Ire kindleth the fire,
and Vengeance feeds the flame
With piles of wood and brimstone flood,
so none can quench the same.)

With Iron bands they bind their hands
and cursed feet together,
And cast them all, both great and small,
into that Lake for ever.
Where day and night, without respite,
they wail, and cry and howl
For tort'ring pain which they sustain
in Body and in Soul.

For day and night, in their despight,
their torment's smoak ascendeth:
Their pain and grief have no relief,
their anguish never endeth.
There must they lye, and never dye;
though dying every day:
There must they dying ever ly;
and not consume away.

Dye fain they would, if dye they could :
 but death will not be had.
 God's direful wrath their bodies hath
 For ev'r Immortal made.
 They live to lie in miserie,
 and bear eternal wo :
 And live they must whil'st God is just,
 that he may plague them so.

The Saints behold with courage bold,
 and thankful wonderment,
 To see all those that were their foes
 thus sent to punishment :
 Thèn do they sing unto their King
 a Song of endless Praise :
 They praise his Name, and do proclaime,
 that just are all his wayes.

Of such material and of such a form was the great New England epic of the seventeenth century. From a subject more vast and terrible than that of the great poem of Milton, which it preceded, the Malden bard evolved a work which shook the religious heart of the Puritan world. Its sulphuric and sombre measures were caught at once upon the lips and sank deep into the minds of a whole people ; and its cruel influences, even now, have barely disappeared below the horizon of time to return no more.

"Frightful and blasphemous" ¹⁵ though it may seem in the light of a later century, as a recent writer has intimated, we cannot afford to neglect it or to undervalue the part which it bore in the days of the elder New England. It is a part of the history of the past and we may shudder before it or ridicule it ; but we must consider it and examine it, if we would become familiar with the religious hopes and fears of our fathers.¹⁶ Happily, it

¹⁵ Tyler, *History of American Literature*, ii. 34.

¹⁶ Samuel Kettell, in an article, the historical portion of which is rather of imagination than of fact, says :—"Let not the modern reader turn with disgust from the perusal of his moral sentiments. Repugnant as they may be to our tastes, and grotesque as they appear in an age of refinement, they contributed nevertheless mainly to the formation of that character for unbending integrity,

and firmness of resolve, for which we almost venerate the old men who laid the foundation of our republic. Neither let the lover of the sacred nine despise the muse of our author. Homely and coarse of speech as she is, her voice probably sunk into the hearts of those who listened to her rude melody, leaving there an impression deeper than any which the numbers of a Byron, a Southey, or a Moore may ever produce."—*Specimens of American Poetry*, i. 36.

is no longer a living thing, having power over the hearts of men. It is now dry bones — a literary curiosity, which has passed so far beyond the range of human interest that, as a literary work, it is a subject neither for criticism nor praise.

Mr. Dean prints a catalogue of the library of Wigglesworth, taken from the inventory in the Middlesex Probate files; and elsewhere he draws attention to its character.¹⁷ The preacher and the physician were consulted in its selection, but the tastes of the poet were set aside. A single volume, that of the sportive and polished Horace — a strange companion for the austere Puritan — relieved the sombre array of theology and mediæval science.

I cannot agree with those who have written of Wigglesworth that he borrowed nothing and that his verses show no indications of an acquaintance with those who had sung before him. In one of his most melodious flights he cries: —

O Heaven, most holy place
Which art our country dear!
What cause have I to long for thee,
And Beg with many a tear.
Earth is to me a Prison;
This Body an useless weight:
And all things else vile, vain, and nought,
To one in such ill plight.¹⁸

He has a dull ear and a duller perception who does not find here, both in spirit and form, an echo of that fine old hymn of the ages, that product of the piety and love of Hildebert, of Peter Damian, and of Davie Dickson — the New Jerusalem.

O Mother dear, Jerusalem!
When shall I come to thee?
When shall my sorrows have an end —
Thy joys when shall I see?
O happy harbour of God's saints!
O sweet and pleasant soil!
In thee no sorrows can be found,
No grief, no care, no toil.

Similar indications may be found in other parts of the same volume, especially in the second part, entitled, *Riddles Unriddled*.

¹⁷ Dean, *Wigglesworth*, 129, 151-152. ¹⁸ *Meat Out of the Eater*, Meditation V., v. 9.

Donald G. Mitchell, in his *English Lands, Letters, and Kings*, has drawn my attention to the possible indebtedness of Wigglesworth to Thomas Dekker (1568-1640) whose *Dream of the Last Judgement* may have suggested the *Day of Doom*. It is, as Mr. Mitchell remarks, "as if this New England poet of fifty years later may have dipped his brush into the same paint-pot." Compare this passage of Dekker with similar passages in the work of Wigglesworth.

Their cries, nor yelling did the Judge regard,
 For all the doores of Mercy up were bar'd :
 Justice and Wrath in wrinkles knit his forehead,
 And thus he spake : You cursed and abhorred,
 You brood of Sathan, sonnes of death and hell,
 In fires that still shall burne, you still shall dwell ;
 In hoopes of Iron : then were they bound up strong,
 (Shrikes being the Burden of their dolefull song)

While the *Day of Doom* was passing through the press, Mr. Wigglesworth wrote another "Composure" entitled, *God's Controversy with New-England, written in the time of the great drought Anno 1662, by a Lover of New-England's Prosperity*. This poem remained unpublished and unknown until 1850, when it came into the hands of the Rev. Alexander W. McClure, who was then preparing his portion of the *Bi-Centennial Book of Malden*, in the pages of which parts of it were printed. It then disappeared from sight, and eager inquiries and a wide search failed to discover its hiding place until 1871, when, with other papers, it came into the possession of the Rev. Thomas J. Greenwood, formerly of the First Parish, who presented it to the Massachusetts Historical Society, in whose *Proceedings* it was printed in full.

It was written in a year of discouragements and troubles and its author found full scope for his peculiar powers. In England the Puritan cause had failed and the Stuarts had returned; and the cruel Act of Uniformity was driving faithful and pious men, like Marmaduke Matthews, into exile abroad or want at home. Political ruin to the colonies was imminent, and the day of their liberties seemed almost at an end. Besides these, canker worms, that ancient as well as modern pest, had devoured the foliage of the trees and destroyed their fruits, and a great drought, threat-

ening pestilence and famine, pervaded New England and much sickness prevailed. Then first appeared that dread disease, the croup, which has never since been absent from the land. All these woes are characteristically referred to the wickedness and unthankfulness of the people; and the poet, after drawing a lively picture of the prosperity and decline of New England, introduces the Almighty, who rates and threatens the ungodly generation in good set terms, concluding with a menace of physical annihilation.

Now therefore hearken and encline yo^r ear,
 In judgement I will henceforth with you plead;
 And if by that you will not learn to fear,
 But still go on a sensuall life to lead:
 I'll strike at once an All-Consuming stroke;
 Nor cries nor tears shall then my fierce intent revoke.

Then begins the punishment — the pleading judgment, in the vivid description of which we may see the burnt fields of New England and the afflicted households of “last Autumn and this spring.”

Thus ceast his Dreadful-threatning voice
 The High & lofty-One.
 The Heavens stood still Appal'd thereat;
 The Earth beneath did groane:
 Soon after I beheld and saw
 A mortall dart come flying:
 I lookt again, & quickly saw
 Some fainting, others dying.

The Heavens more began to lowre,
 The welkin Blacker grew:
 And all things seemed to forebode
 Sad changes to ensew.
 From that day forward hath the Lord
 Apparently contended
 With us in Anger, and in Wrath:
 But we have not amended.

Our healthfull dayes are at an end,
 And sicknesses come on
 From yeer to yeer, becaus o^r hearts
 Away from God are gone.
 New-England, where for many yeers
 You scarcely heard a cough,
 And where Physicians had no work,
 Now finds them work enough.

Now colds and coughs, Rhewms, and sore-throats,
 Do more & more abound:
 Now Agues sore & Feavers strong
 In every place are found.

How many houses have we seen
Last Autumn, and this spring,
Wherein the healthful were too few
To help the languishing.

One wave another followeth,
And one disease begins
Before another cease, becaus
We turn not from our sins.
We stopp our ear against reproof,
And hearken not to God :
God stops his ear against o^r prayer,
And takes not off his rod.

Our fruitful seasons have been turnd
Of late to barrenness,
Sometimes through great and parching drought,
Sometimes through rain's excess.
Yea now the pastures & corn fields
For want of rain do languish :
The cattell mourn, & hearts of men
Are fill'd with fear & anguish.

The clouds are often gathered,
As if we should have rain :
But for o^r great unworthiness
Are scattered again.
We pray & fast, & make fair shewes,
As if we meant to turn :
But whilst we turn not, God goes on
Our field, & fruits to burn.

And burnt are all things in such sort,
That nothing now appears,
But what may wound our hearts with grief,
And draw foorth floods of teares.
All things a famine do presage
In that extremity,
As if both men, and also beasts,
Should soon be done to dy.

This O New-England hast thou got
By riot, & excess :
This hast thou brought upon thy self
By pride & wantonness.
Thus must thy worldlyness be whipt.
They, that too much do crave,
Provoke the Lord to take away
Such blessings as they have.

We have been also threatened
With worser things then these :
And God can bring them on us still,
To morrow if he please.
For if his mercy be abus'd,
Which holpe us at our need
And mov'd his heart to pitty us,
We shall be plagu'd indeed.

Beware, O sinful Land, beware;
 And do not think it strange
 That sorer judgements are at hand,
 Unless thou quickly change.
 Or God, or thou, must quickly change;
 Or else thou art undone:
 Wrath cannot cease, if sin remain,
 Where judgement is begun.

Ah dear New England! dearest land to me;
 Which unto God hast hitherto been dear,
 And mayst be still more dear than formerly,
 If to his voice thou wilt incline thine ear.

Consider wel & wisely what the rod,
 Wherewith thou art from yeer to yeer chastized,
 Instructeth thee. Repent, & turn to God,
 Who wil not have his nurture be despized.

Thou still hast in thee many praying saints,
 Of great account, and precious with the Lord,
 Who dayly powre out unto him their plaints,
 And strive to please him both in deed & word.

Cheer on, sweet souls, my heart is with you all,
 And shall be with you, maugre Sathan's might:
 And whereso'ere this body be a Thrall,
 Still in New-England shall be my delight.¹⁹

His bodily weaknesses continuing, if not increasing, "After y^e first impression of my books was sold," Mr. Wigglesworth writes, "I had a great mind to go to Bermuda, and found many encouragers and encouragements thereto." He records that he got together "a pretty compet. estate" to take with him, and that physicians, with the exception of John Winthrop,²⁰ encouraged him; and "so we set sayl about the 23 of Sept. 1663."

¹⁹ *Mass. Hist. So. Proc.* May, 1871, 83-93.

²⁰ This was John Winthrop, Jr., son of the Governor of Massachusetts, whom Wigglesworth frequently consulted. He was graduated at Dublin University; and after performing some public service in England, he followed his father to Massachusetts Bay, but soon returned. Coming again in 1635 to New England, under a commission from Lord Say and Sele and others, holding under the patent of Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, he built a fort, which he called Saybrook, at the mouth of the Connecticut River. He was instrumental in

obtaining the charter which united the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven, and was prominent in the affairs of New England for many years. His practice as a physician seems to have followed from his scientific attainments, which were large and which led him to become one of the founders of the Royal Society of London. "Physicians encouraged," wrote Mr. Wigglesworth, "except M Winthrope, whose counsel came too late, nor did his reasons seem sufficient." Several years later he writes: "Mr Winthrope being consulted, dares not meddle at such a distance."

The voyage was long and tedious, so that he "received much hurt, & got so much cold as took away much of y^e benefit of that sweet & temperate air." A sojourn of about seven months and a half did not result in any great improvement of his health; and this, with other unfavorable conditions, was made the ground of a speedy return. After a "short and comfortable" voyage, the Lord brought him home, "in some competent measure of Health, blessed be his name."

In a season of characteristic moralizing, Mr. Wigglesworth leads us to believe that his removal, if only for a season, was not wholly unwelcome to his discontented flock. He says: —

Peradventure the Lord removed me for a season, that he might set a better watchman over this his flock, & a more painful labourer in his vineyard. This was one thing that I aimed at in removing (to help the peoples modesty in this case) & I do beleieve that the Lord aimed at it in removing me for a season.

Cotton Mather smooths the matter in another way. "The Kindness of his Tender Flock unto him," he says, "was answered in his Kind concern to have them Served by other Hands."²¹ I do not consider this testimony to be of much weight, opposed to the apparent meaning of Mr. Wigglesworth's own words. The younger Mather was sometimes as unreliable as he was bombastic, and his flowers of rhetoric may be found as false as the deceitful vanities of the world, which he habitually bewailed.

The absence of Mr. Wigglesworth may have softened whatever feelings of dislike the people had towards him; or a better state of health, bringing a more cheerful mind, may have caused him to see them and their actions in a clearer light. That some change had taken place is evident, for he writes: —

I have found more love from the people gⁿrally (both Church & Town) since my return then I did before, and they have done more for me of their own accord wⁿ left to their liberty then they had done for some yeers before I went away. And the Lord hath also made me more serviceable to them, at least in a private way, & given more encouragement & success in y^e conversion of souls then ever before.

²¹ *A Faithful Man*, 23.

What shall I render to y^e Lord for all his benefits ! How mysterious are his dealings, & his ways unsearchable ! He brings meat out of the Eater. O blessed be thy graci^s & holy name, most dear Fath !

While Mr. Wigglesworth was in Bermuda, the church and town called a *pastor* to the field which had become for a season without a *teacher*. This was Benjamin Bunker, the second son of George and Judith Bunker of Charlestown, who was born in

September, 1635,²² and was gradu-

Benjamin Bunker.

ated at Harvard College in 1658.

Having become a member in full communion of the church at Charlestown, April 29, 1660,²³ he was, according to an entry of the Rev. Samuel Danforth in the records of the First Church of Roxbury, ordained "to y^e office of a Pastor in Maldon," December 9, 1663.²⁴ His elder brother, John, had married Hannah Mellows, a stepdaughter of Joseph Hills, who, as has been seen, was the leading supporter of Mr. Matthews; and it is not unlikely that the influence of Mr. Hills may have brought him to Malden, in opposition to Mr. Wigglesworth.

Little is known of Mr. Bunker, either in relation to his character or his attainments. Mr. Savage, falling into error, in one respect at least, remarks:—

That he well filled his post of duty, though never married (as seems to be essential to the character of a New England minister,) we may be confident, for the long and lamentable verses of his senior colleague reveal no tendency to fiction.²⁵

²² "[1635] 7: mo: day 20. Beniamine Bunker the son of George Bunker and of Judith his wife was Baptised." *Records of First Church, Charlestown.*

²³ He was called to the church at Bridgewater; and it is not improbable that he may have preached there between the time of his becoming a church member and his coming to Malden.

"It is *ordered* and Agreed upon by the towne of Bridgewater freely and willingly to give unto Mr. Bunker, if he shall come hether to supply our wants in the way of the ministrey, the

sum of thirty pounds, or twenty pounds and his Diet.

"It is Inacted by the Towne the 22d of february, 1660, that a leve should be made for the sume of five and twenty pounds upon every mans estate, which is what they promised to Mr. Bunker for the carrying Along of the Lords days Exercise and his diet before his time or his year is fully expyred." *Bridgewater Records; Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, July, 1873, 68.

²⁴ *Report of the [Boston] Record Commissioners*, vi. 201.

²⁵ *Genealogical Dict.*, i. 298.

That he *was* married is very evident; for his widow, Mary, resided in Malden after his death and afterwards removed to Roxbury, where she was living, January 12, 1676⁷.

That he occupied the parsonage, I am not sure—it seems likely that he did; for it is supposed that Mr. Wigglesworth had not returned to his former home, but had built himself a small house on the six and a half acres which he owned east of the ministry lands.²⁶ In 1666 Mr. Bunker bought the house and

²³ Mr. Wigglesworth purchased of Paul Wilson, December 31, 1657, for thirteen pounds, six and one-half acres of land "lying in Mauldon aforesaid, being lately the land of Jno. Lewis now deceased, & was Sometime part of the proper lott of m^r Jno. Allen of Charlstowne." *Midd. Co. Deeds*, ii. 161. This land was bounded easterly by James Green; westerly by the ministry land; southerly by the highway to Winnisimmet; and northerly by the common land. Its prior history is related in the conveyance, and its passage from hand to hand had been rapid. Its acquirement by John Allen in the allotment of the two hundred acres of reserved land in 1640 has already been mentioned. Allen sold to Lewis, March 16, 165 $\frac{1}{2}$, his twenty acres of land, "more or less," lying south of the common field and east of the land of William Brackenbury and that which the town had purchased of James Green for the use of the ministry. *Midd. Co. Deeds*, ii. 42. John Lewis died in the following September, having, as was afterwards deposed, executed a writing, or deed, by which he conveyed to Paul Wilson his dwelling house, with the five-acre lot upon which it stood, and "his 20 acre lot of land without the common-field, y^t was sometimes M^r John Allens lot." *Deposition of Mary Cutler*, "sometime the wife of John Lewis, late of Mauldon, deceased." *Midd. Co. Deeds*, iii. 204. The land which Mr. Wigglesworth purchased was the northern portion of the twenty acres.

That the title of Wilson to the Lewis property was early considered to be somewhat doubtful is evident. No record of the transfer was ever made,

and its documentary evidence could not be produced a few years later, although several witnesses testified, in 1662–63, to its previous existence. As has just been mentioned, Mary Lewis, herself, was a witness in its favor, although, as administratrix, she had sold to James Green a portion of the twenty acres soon after the death of her husband. If any adverse claim was then made, it was allowed to rest for more than thirty years, and was revived in 1695, when Mr. Wigglesworth, by a payment of ten pounds, obtained a quitclaim from the Lewis heirs. *Midd. Co. Deeds*, x. 419.

Here Mr. Wigglesworth built his house, which appears to have been one of no great pretensions or capacity, although it was, somewhat grandiloquently, called a mansion in a release given by Samuel Wigglesworth in 1709 $\frac{1}{10}$. It stood far back from the road to Mystic Side, which then ran in a southeasterly direction from the meeting house and crossed the line of the present Cross Street, near the corner of Hancock Street. On the land at the northeasterly corner of High and Ashland Streets, near the wall which formerly divided the land of David Hutchins from the old ministry lands, traces of the chimney and cellar of the house, and the location of its well could be discerned a few years ago.

For a more convenient way between it and the meeting house, it was voted, March 1, 168 $\frac{3}{4}$, "at a publick Town Meeting that mister wigelsworth have a hy way Granted to his house throw the townes land." In 1710, when the way over the town's land became no longer necessary, by reason of the stoppage of the "Stoney Lane," and its removal.

land of Ralph Shepard, comprising about fourteen acres lying north of the parsonage and meeting house lots on both sides of "the road to Penny Ferry." The house was upon the westerly side of the road; and the whole property, in some unrecorded way, afterwards came into the possession of the Rev. Benjamin Blakeman, by whom eight acres adjoining the house were sold, February 20, 1678⁹, to John Green. The land lying east of the road was sold to the town soon after and became an addition to the ministry lands, as has been related. Blakeman's title was imperfect; and when John Bunker claimed the estate of his uncle, in 1695, the westerly lot of eight acres was released on the payment of ten pounds and twelve shillings, and afterwards remained in the hands of the Green family until their possessions were invaded and divided in the ruthless march of modern improvement. It was the well-known Bell Rock pasture; but it did not, however, include the site of the meeting house below the rock, which was still a portion of the old parsonage estate in 1898.

northerly to form what has since been known as Hutchinson's Lane, Peter Tufts's Lane, and Cross Street, and when the house had passed into other hands, it was voted: "That y^t vote y^t past formerly and entred upon y^e book Referring to a way ouer The Towns land To m^r wigglesworths hous Js Resumed and made voide."

After the death of Mr. Wigglesworth, his widow, by virtue of his will, sold his real estate, comprising seven parcels, with the house and barn standing upon the home lot, to John Hutchinson of Lynn, for eighty-seven pounds. February 28, 1703⁴, *Midd. Co. Deeds*, xiv. 151. Hutchinson moved into the house, where he appears to have lived until about 1710, when, it proving too small, and having, perhaps, become out of repair, he built a new house further to the southeast and upon the highest part of the land, by the side of the way which had just been laid out along the southerly line of his field. The tragedy connected with this house and its destruction by fire in 1730 are related elsewhere. The new house of 1730 was

built around the chimney of the old house, which attracted much attention, when it was demolished in 1883, by its size and the peculiarly shaped and somewhat rudely burned bricks of which it was composed.

Early in this century, Wigglesworth's barn was still standing on its original site. It was then removed to the land on the east side of the Hutchinson house, where it withstood the great September gale of 1815, although a recent addition was blown down. It was demolished about the year 1840.

John Hutchinson was a blacksmith and had his shop near the house. At his death, August 21, 1762, he left the shop with his smith's tools and one half of his real estate to John Tufts, the son of his deceased daughter, Mary, who by the death of his spinster aunt Mehitable, February 13, 1780, came into the possession of the improvement of the other moiety. Hutchinson and the Tufts added neighboring lands to the Wigglesworth lot, portions of which are still in the possession of their descendants.

As Mr. Wigglesworth's colleague — or neighbor, if the former term be incorrect — whatever may have been the aims of the dissatisfied members of the church, Mr. Bunker appears to have gained the teacher's love and esteem; and the friendship which a companionship of six years had cemented was celebrated by the poet in an elegy, which rebuked the sins of "Maldon," while it praised the departed saint. He died, February 3, 1669 $\frac{7}{10}$, and the record styles him "Pastour of the Church of Christ at Mauldon."²⁷ He must have been buried at Sandy Bank, but no stone marks the spot where his dust returned unto the earth; and his only memorial is the "Composure" of his friend, Michael Wigglesworth.

Upon the much lamented Death of that Precious
servant of Christ, Mr. Benjamin Buncker, pastor
of the Church at Maldon, who deceased
on the 3 of y^e 12th moneth 1669.

Mr Buncker's Character.

He was another Timothie
That from his very youth
With holy writt, acquainted was
And vers't ith' word of truth.
Who as he grew to riper yeers
He also grew in Grace;
And as he drew more neer his End,
He mended still his Pace.

He was a true Nathaniel,
Plain-hearted Israelite,
In whom appear'd sincerity
And not a guilefull sp'rite,
Serious in all he went about
Doing it with his Heart,
And not content to put off Christ
With the eternall part.

He was most sound and Orthodox,
A down-right honest Teacher,
And of soul-searching needfull Truths
A zealous, painfull Preacher.
And God his pious Labours hath
To many hearers blest,
As by themselves hath publicly
Been owned & confest.

He hath in few yeers learned more,
And greater progress made
In Christianity, then some
That thrice the time have had.
A humble, broken-hearted man
Still vile in his own eyes
That from the feeling of his wants
Christ's Grace did highly prize.

²⁷ His estate, the inventory of which was taken by John Wayte, Thomas Lynde, and John Sprague, amounted to £421 4s. 6d. in personal and real estate, including books to the amount of £17 16s. 6d., which were appraised by Mr. Wigglesworth. *Midd. Probate Files*. The latter portion of the inventory is

interesting, as being a list of books, which were selected by one who seems to have been a scholar as well as a preacher. As a private library of the present day it might be considered as being rather heavy, although it contained a goodly share of mental nutriment both in the classics and divinity.

Still thirsting to obtain more full ;
 Assurance of God's Love :
 And striving to be liker Christ
 And to the Saints above.
 Although he was endued with Gifts
 And Graces more then many's ;
 Yet he himself esteemed still
 More poor & vile then any.

In fruitless, empty, vain discourse,
 He took no good content :
 But when he talk't of Heav'nly things,
 That seem'd his element.
 There you might see his heart, & know
 What was his greatest Pleasure,
 To speak & hear concerning Christ
 Who was his onely Treasure ;

His constant self-denying frame,
 To all true saints his love,
 His meekness, sweetness, Innocence
 And spirit of a Dove,
 Let there be graven on our hearts
 And never be forgot.
 The name of precious saints shall live,
 When wicked mens shall rot.

O Maldon, Maldon thou hast long
 Enjoy'd a day of Grace ;
 Thou hast a precious man of God
 Possessed in this place :
 But for thy sin, thou art bereft
 Of what thou did'st possess ;
 Oh let thy sins afflict thee more
 Then do thy wants thee press.

Great strokes, Great Anger do proclaime,
 Great Anger, Greater sins.
 We first provoke, before the Lord
 To punish us begins.
 Good Lord awaken all our hearts
 By this most solemn stroke
 To search for, find oute, and forsake
 Our sins that thee provoke

Awake, awake, secure hard hearts ;
 Do you not hear the Bell
 That for your Pastours Funerall
 Soundeth a dolefull Knell ?
 You that would never hear nor heed
 Th' instructions that he gave,
 Me-thinks you should awake & learn
 One lesson at his Grave.

Repent, Repent, It's more then time
 The Harvest's well nigh past,
 And Summer ended : but thy soul
 Not saved, first nor last.
 The Belows they are burnt with fire,
 The Instruments are gone,
 But still thy Lusts are unconsumed :
 Read then thy Portion ;

If that the ffounder melts in vain
 (Thy lusts do not decay)
 God will account thee worthless Dross
 Fit to be cast away.
 Since words could not awaken us,
 God tries what blowes can do :
 He strikes us on the head, & makes
 Us stagger to and fro.

Much more I might have said, but
 Time
 Will not the same permit.
 Come let us put our mouths in Dust
 And down in Ashes sit.
 The Lord hath giv'n us Gall to drink,
 And laid us in the Dust :
 What shall we say ? Behold we're vile,
 But thou, O Lord, art just.

If this, and such like awfull strokes
 Do not our hearts awaken,
 Doubtless the Gospel will ere long
 Be wholly from us taken.
 If we repent, return to God,
 Esteem his Gospel more
 Improve it better : then the Lord
 Hath mercies yet in store ²⁸

²⁸ This elegy, copied from the autograph original in the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, *Ewer MSS.* i. 8, has been printed in the *Puritan Recorder*, Oct. 11, 1855; in the *Malden Messenger*, April 4, 1857; and in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, xxvi. 11. In the latter publication was printed, at the same time, an earlier poem of Mr. Wigglesworth, which

apparently alludes to the condition of the New England churches at that time. The halfway covenant, which was sharply assailed and advocated in Massachusetts from 1659 until long after its adoption by the celebrated synod of 1662, was evidently in the mind of the author when he wrote the first two verses.

We must infer, from several indications, that when Mr. Wigglesworth returned from Bermuda his physical condition prevented him from taking any very active part in the ministry. Several years after he wrote: —

My bodily weaknesses evidently increase & grow upon me; especially that old Malady that annoys me most by night. And what fear & distress it often (yea ever & anon) puts me into, Lord thou knowest, For my sighs & groanings (with my tears) are not hid from thee. By thine immediate hand it hath hitherto been quelled and restrained, when all y^e means y^t I can think off are of no force. But still it continueth, & my bondage is greatly increased by reason of it, having no means nor medicine that yields any relief.

Cotton Mather speaks of him as one "that had been for near Twenty years almost *Buried Alive*." ²⁹ It was about this time that, medicines having failed him, he "spent much time & Labor in studying & seeking after what might be helpful." He adds: —

But yet, I find no releefe in any thing, but am forced to look immediately to the Lord for help, & blessed be his name he hath many & many a time wonderfully and graciously answered me: & rebuked it for me.³⁰

"When as the wayes of Jesus Christ
Are counted too precise,
Not onely by some Babes or ffooles,
But also by the wise:
When men grow weary of the yoke
Of godly discipline,
And seek to burst those golden barres
Which doe their lusts confine.

"When some within, and some without,
Kick down the Churches wall
Because the doore is found to be
Too strait to let in all:
The best can then nought else expect
But to be turned out,
Or to be trampled under foot
By the unruly rout."

²⁹ *A Faithful Man*, 24.

³⁰ He had at this time to bemoan the loss of Dr. John Alcock, H. C., 1646, who practised at Boston, where he died March 27, 1667. He writes in his diary: "Mr. Alcock is gone, whose plaister was heretofore of great efficacy for y^e repressing it [his disease], wⁿ more troublesome then ordinary. Mr. Winthroe [of New London] being consulted, dares not meddle at such a distance." Later he received an unexpected remedy in relation to which he writes: —

"After much exercise this way & many secret sighs unto y^e Lord under the pressure of this & many other infirmities, the Providence of y^e Lord hath presented to me & provided for me an unexpected & unknown medicine, a box of Mr. Lockier's pills, (whose booke with some pills my Cosen Reyner met with at his Landlords at Mendham, & signifying to me the high commendations given them by their author, & y^e experience of sundry there of good by them, at my request he p^rcured me a sight of y^e book & a box of the pills for 5^s.) And these pills I am now beginning to take this 19 of March, 1669. Lord, be pleased even beyond expectation to bless them, as thou hast by an unexpected & a strange Providence presented them to me, & provided them for me."

Lockyer died in 1672 and was buried in St. Mary Overies, London, where Judge Sewall saw his monument with this couplet: —

"His virtues and his pills are so well known
That envy can't confine them under stone."

Out of his experiences with his own infirmities, based, perhaps, on the knowledge which he may have acquired at college while he intended to follow "ye study & Practise of Physick," he came to be often called upon, by his own sympathy and charity or the importunities of his neighbors, to prescribe for the bodily ills of others. Cotton Mather says: —

His long Weakness and Illness, made him an *Able Physician*. He studied *Physic*; and was a *Faithful Physician* for the *Body* as well as the *Soul*. God made him a *Successful Physician*, & a *Beloved* one.⁸¹

He continued the practice of medicine, even after he became himself restored to health and had assumed the full discharge of all the duties of the pastoral office. Increase Mather, who appears to have held him in especial friendship, addressing "the Church and Congregation at Maldon in New England," after the death of Mr. Wigglesworth, says: —

Although in some of the Reformed Churches, they do not permit a Minister of the Gospel to practise as a *Physician*, lest he should thereby be too much diverted from his Sacred Employments, one of these Callings being ordinarily as much as one man can duly attend; nevertheless the Lord enabled *him* to manage both with good Success: so that in being bereaved of him you have lost an able Physician both for Soul and Body. Nor are the People in *Maldon* the only Persons who have sustained a loss by his Death.⁸²

It is said that his visits extended far into the adjoining towns, which is very probable; as practitioners were not many in those days, and the sick were obliged to seek help, beyond the homely practices of old housewives, at long distances. Mr. Wigglesworth, himself, sought relief from at least two physicians in Connecticut. Of his abilities as a leech we have the testimony of the Mathers, just quoted, and the general reputation in which he was held. Samuel Sewall says he was "very useful as a Physician."⁸³ The Balsam of Fennel, a favorite medicine of the

⁸¹ *A Faithful Man*, 25.

⁸² Dedication to *A Faithful Man*.

⁸³ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xlv. 133. Sewall gives other testimony as to the appreciation of Mr. Wigglesworth's ability as a physician by himself and others. "[June 18, 1703,] I sent for Mr. Wig-

glesworth and his Wife from Deacon Barnard's in the Coach; to discourse with my Wife about her and Judith's Maladies." *Ibid.* 80. "Aug^t. 4, [1703], I carried Mary to Mr. Wigglesworth's and left her there; to see if he could help her against her Sickness and In-

celebrated Dr. Holyoke of Salem, is said to have been prepared from a recipe of Mr. Wigglesworth.³⁴

It may be that he received some compensation for the practice of physic and that this, combined with what income he may have received from his books, supported him during the long period of his sickness.³⁵ His relationship to the Malden church firmity. Augt. 6. I visited Mary as I promis'd her. Mr. Wigglesworth thinks her distemper is of a Convulsive nature." *Ibid.* 83. "Octob^r 14th. 1704. visited Col. Savage. He has kept house 7 weeks. Mr. Wigglesworth came to Town the 9th Inst^t and administers to him." *Ibid.* 117.

³⁴ Mr. Dean, *Wigglesworth*, 128, supposes that "Dr. Holyoke obtained the recipe from Rev. Samuel Wigglesworth, probably while he was studying medicine with Dr. Berry of the neighboring parish of Ipswich." Edward-Stephen, a great-grandson of Mr. Wigglesworth, studied with Dr. Holyoke about the year 1790, and the recipe may have come from him; and, to state another possible means of transmission, it may be mentioned that Dr. Berry, himself, one of the most distinguished practitioners of his time, was a student, after his graduation in 1712, with Dr. Thomas Graves of Charlestown, with whom Samuel Wigglesworth had studied in 1709.

Of the medicine itself it is said: "The article so well known in this place, [Salem], by the name of the 'white balsam drops' or 'fennel balsam,' is a strong solution of sub-carbonate of potass with the addition of a little of the essential oil of sweet fennel, and is a valuable diaphoretic and carminative, especially to children. This was a favorite medicine during his whole practice. He obtained his first knowledge of it from a Mr. Wigglesworth of Malden." *Memoir of Edward A. Holyoke, M. D., LL. D.* (Boston, 1829). 20-21.

The recipe is as follows:—

"*Balsam of Fennel.* Take equal parts of Cream Tartar (or, which will answer as well, of White Tartar, if it be very good,) and common Nitre, let them be reduced in a mortar to a fine powder

and thoroughly mixed together; put them into a flat vessel and place it in a chimney, set it on fire by putting into it a small live coal or a red hot iron, when the deflagration is finished and the cake of salt is cool enough to handle, take it out and with a knife scrape off all the black part, and powder it in a mortar; it will be found reduced in weight one full half. Put the powdered salt into a glass vessel capable of containing three times its quantity, add pure water to it by an ounce or two at a time, stirring it after every addition of water very briskly with an iron or strong wooden spatula, and adding gradually about 3iss or 3ij of the chemical Oil of Fennel to each pound weight of the salt. This stirring or violent agitation of the mixture, ought to be frequently repeated for a day or two, after a sufficient quantity of water has been added, which will be when a quantity nearly equal to the salt is added.

"This Balsam, as it is very improperly called, is a very useful remedy where an alkaline medicine is wanted, particularly for infants, or in those cases in which acidity is predominant in the stomach, and is diaphoretic and diuretic." *Ibid.*, 68-69.

³⁵ Mr. Dean thinks it not unlikely that "he may also have gained something, as ministers frequently did, by teaching young men who were preparing for college or the ministry;" and he cites a letter written in 1677, by the Rev. Samuel Hooker, of Farmington, to the Rev. Increase Mather, in relation to the education of his son, in which occur these words: "I hear Mr. Wigglesworth, being at greater leisure than som others (becaus of his rare preaching) is thought a man very Idoneous for such instruction as he needs." Mr. Dean adds: "From this it seems that his health was supposed to be strong enough to enable

is very vague. Although the constant use of later writers has led us to consider him as the teacher and the second and third pastors as his colleagues, it is not altogether clear that the relationship was not suspended; and the title, if used at all, may have been one of courtesy and not of actual right. I am altogether persuaded that he was not treated as one who had a continuous claim upon the town and church. Often have I cause to regret the loss of the early town records, never more than while striving to unravel the confused tangle of ecclesiastical affairs. What were the original terms of Mr. Wigglesworth's settlement? and who performed the ministerial functions during the four years succeeding Mr. Bunker's death? Were services held occasionally, as Mr. Wigglesworth's health allowed? or, was another pastor settled here? The fact of Mr. Bunker's pastorate is only known to us by accidental entries in the Roxbury Church records, by the return of his death to the County Court, and the fortunate preservation of the elegy; otherwise it had been wholly unknown to us, as the settlement of another pastor or assistant may be.

During the pastorate of Mr. Bunker, the pen of Mr. Wigglesworth had not been idle. In September, 1669, he wrote: —

I have been long employed in a great work composing Poems about y^e cross. I have already found exceeding much help & assistance from Heaven, even to admiration, so y^t in 3 weeks time I have transcribed 3 sheets fair, & made between whiles above 100 staves of verses besides. Some dayes y^e Lord hath so assisted me y^t I have made neer or above 20 staves. For w^{ch} his great m^cy I bless his name from my soul, desiring stil to make him my *a* & *ω* in This great work. Lord assist me now this day. Tu mihi Princ.[*ipium*] tu mihi finis eris. à deo et ad deum *τα παντα*.

To this work, which he completed on his thirty-ninth birthday, October 18, 1669, he gave the following title: *Met out of*

him to teach." Cf. Dean, *Wigglesworth*, 97; *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxxviii. 338.

It is certain that he received some assistance from the contributions of churches other than his own, partly, perhaps, because his condition was necessitous, and partly as a deserved compliment to the author of the *Day of*

Doom. Mr. Danforth writes: "21. 1^m 6⁷/₈. There was a publick Fast throughout y^e Jurisdiction. This day o^r church made a Collection for m^r Wigglesworth, 4^{lb} 17^s." *Roxbury Church Records*, in *Report of the [Boston] Record Commissioners*, vi. 205.

the Eater Or Meditations Concerning The Necessity, End, and Usefulness of Afflictions Unto Gods Children. All tending to Prepare them For, and Comfort them Under the Cross.

M E A T
 Out of the
E A T E R :
 O R,
Meditations
 Concerning the Necessity, End,
 and Usefulness of
Afflictions
 U N T O
God's Children.
 All tending to Prepare them For, and
 Comfort them Under the
C R O S S.

By *Michael Wigglesworth.*
 Corrected and Amended by the Author,
 in the Year 1703.

The Fifth Edition.

*Boston, Printed by J. Allen, for Robert Starke, near
 the New North Meeting-House. 1717.*

It was published soon after. Although it did not attain the great popularity of the *Day of Doom*, it was very successful; and six editions have been published, the last having appeared in 1770. Mr. Dean says:—

Except the *Day of Doom* and the *Bay Psalm Book*, I know of no poetical volume published in New England previous to the Revolution, that has passed through so many editions as *Meat out of the Eater*.³⁶

³⁶ *Wigglesworth*, 84.

It treats of afflictions, trials, and temptations; and "truly," says Dr. McClure, "affliction, which had devoured so many of the good man's dearest joys, was made to disgorge far richer treasures than it took away."⁸⁷ Professor Tyler esteems it less. He says: —

Here we have simply the Christian doctrine of comfort in sorrow, translated into metrical jingles. With nearly all sensitiveness to literary form torpid in New England, and with devout feeling warm and alert, it is not strange that this clumsy but sympathetic poem should have found there a multitude of admirers. It was first published, probably, in 1669; ten years afterward, it had passed through at least four editions; and during the entire colonial age, it was a much-read manual of solace in affliction. And indeed, it is such poetry as might still serve that purpose, at least by plucking from the memory, for a moment, a rooted sorrow, and substituting a literary anguish in place of it.⁸⁸

The larger part of the volume has a sub-title — *Riddles Unriddled, Or Christian Paradoxes Broke open smelling like sweet Spice New taken out of Boxes*. The paradoxes are enumerated in the following verse, which forms a poetical table of contents or a guide to the "songs and meditations" which follow.

*Light in Darkness, Sick mens Health,
Strength in Weakness, Poor mens Wealth,
In Confinement, Liberty,
In Solitude, Good Company,
Joy in sorrow, Life in Deaths,
Heavenly Crowns for Thorny Wreaths.*

Are presented to thy view
In the Poems that ensue.

*If my Trials had been thine
These would cheer thee more than Wine.*

Of the several poems which follow, the fourth song of *Heavenly Crowns for Thorny Wreaths* is perhaps one of the best. It is a good specimen of Mr. Wigglesworth's versification; although it lacks the action and realism of the *Day of Doom* which, so far as his genius was able to rise above its limitations, were his strongest points.

⁸⁷ *Bi-Centennial Book of Malden*, 148.

⁸⁸ *Hist. of American Literature*, ii. 27.

(1)

Behold what matchless love
The God of Heaven shows
To those on whom Eternal Life
And Glory he bestows !
If now God calls them Sons ;
How Glorious shall they be,
When being made like Christ they shall
Him in his Glory see ?

(2)

Their Body frail and vile
That's in Corruption sown,
Shall then be raised up again
In Incorruption.
This mortal must be cloath'd
With Immortality :
And then shall Death be swallow'd up
In perfect Victory.

(3)

It is at present sown
A Body Natural :
But shall arise again e're long
A Body Spiritual.
We now need many helps
Our vigor to maintain.
As Meat Drink Sleep : but shall need none
After we rise again.

(4)

It's now in weakness sown ;
But shall be rais'd in power :
Sown in Dishonour : but shall rise
In Glory at that hour.
It shall be wholly freed
From all Infirmities,
And be most active, hale and strong,
When once it doth arise.

(5)

Though subject to reproach
Whilst living ; and when dead
Must needs be carried out of sight,
And quickly buried :
Yet Christ shall raise it up
With beauty shining bright,
More lovely than the morning fair,
With Heavenly Glory dight.

(6)

And if the Body shew
So beautiful and fair :
How shall the Soul be beautify'd
And shine beyond compare ?

Adorn'd with costly Robes,
More precious far than Gold,
Of Christ's unspotted Righteousness
Most lovely to behold.

(7)

When as God's blessed Image
That was defac'd by Sin
Is perfectly restor'd again,
And ever dwells therein
When as it shall behold
God's Glory shining bright,
And be transform'd, and glorious made
By that most glorious sight.

(8)

When like a Glass it shall
Receive those Glorious Rayes,
And back again reflect the same
To God's Eternal Praise.
When in the Sea of Bliss
It constantly shall move :
And be for ever ravish'd with
The sweetness of his Love.

(9)

If *Moses* face did shine
By being forty dayes
I'th mount : How shall their faces shine
That dwell with God always ?
Moses his Back-parts saw,
But they shall see his face ;
And to their joy unspeakable
Enjoy the God of Grace.

(10)

Oh happy, happy Souls,
That in God's Bosome rest !
That of the Fountain of all Bliss
Already are possess !
Your Labour's at an end
Your seed in tears was sown,
But now you reap a joyful Crop,
And wear a Glorious Crown.

(11)

We that are still below
Have much work yet undone.
A War to wage, sharp Thorns to wear,
A painful Race to run.
Lord help us so to run,
As that we may obtain :
That when this Life is at an end
We may in Glory reign.

It does not appear that Mr. Wigglesworth resumed the labors of the pen to any great extent after the publication of *Meat out of the Eater*. The only poem known to have been written by him after this time is that which follows, the author's autograph copy of which is in the possession of Mr. John Ward Dean, his biographer and descendant. The evident allusions to his own case give it an interest which it would not otherwise possess.

*Upon y^e return of my dear friend Mr Foster
wth his son out of captivity
unde^r y^e Moors.³⁹*

A Song of Praise to keep in remembrance
the loving kindness of y^e Lord.

1

Come hither, hearken unto me,
All ye that God do fear,
And what he hath done for my soul
I will to you declare.
I to y^e Lord fro my distress
Did cry & he gave ear,
Out of Hell's belly I did cry,
And he my prayer did hear.

2

I shall not die, but live, and shall
The works of Jah declare:
The Lord did sorely chasten mee
Yet mee from death did spare.
O set wide open unto mee
The gates of righteousness.
I will go into them, & will
The praise of Jah confess.

³⁹ Captain William Foster of Charlestown, who had married Anne, daughter of William Brackenbury, and sister of the husband of Mercy Wigglesworth, was captured by corsairs, while on a voyage in the "small ship" Dolphin to Bilbao with fish, in the summer or early fall of 1671. His son Isaac, who was probably the one who was taken with him, had just been graduated at Cambridge, at the head of the class of 1671; and he afterwards became the minister of Hartford. He died at the early age of thirty years, August 20, 1682. The captives were redeemed and returned home in November, 1673. Cotton Mather, with his usual love for the marvellous, ascribes their liberation to a miraculous interposition of Providence, caused by a prayer of the Apostle Eliot. He says:—

"There was a godly Gentleman of Charlestown, one Mr. Foster, who, with his Son was taken Captive by Turkish Enemies. Much prayer was employed, both privately and publicly by the good people here, for the Redemption of that Gentleman; but we were at last informed, that the bloody Prince in whose

Dominions he was now a Slave, was resolved that in his Life-time no Prisoner should be released; and so the Distressed Friends of this Prisoner, now concluded, *Our Hope is Lost!* Well upon this, Mr. Eliot in some of his next prayers, before a very solemn Congregation, very broadly beg'd, *Heavenly Father, work for the Redemption of thy poor Servant Foster; and if the Prince which detains him will not, as they say, dismiss him as long as himself lives, Lord we pray thee to kill that cruel Prince; kill him, and glorify thyself upon him.* And now behold the answer. The poor Captived Gentleman quickly Returns to us that had been mourning for him as a lost man, and brings us News, that the Prince which had hitherto held him, was come to an *untimely Death*, by which means he was now set at Liberty. Thus we now know, *That a Prophet has been among us.*" Mather, *Life of John Eliot* (1691), 445; Mather, *Magnum*, iii. Cf. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, xxv. 67; *American Historical Record*, i. 392-393; *Archæologia Americana*, iii. 231-232; Sibley, *Harvard Graduates*, ii. 336-341.

3

Bless thou the Lord, my soul, & all
 In me, his holy name
 Bless thou y^e Lord, my soul, & all
 His boundless minde the same.
 With me together o do yee
 Jehovah magnify !
 And let us all herein agree
 To lift his name on high.

4

The God hee of Salvation is
 That is our God most strong
 And to y^e Lord Jehovah doth
 Issues of Death belong.
 The Right-hand of Jehovah is
 Exalted upon high :
 The Right-hand of Jehovah is
 A working valiantly.

5

On Princes poure contempt doth Hee
 Lays Tyrants in y^e dust
 Who proudly crush the innocent
 To satisfy their lust.
 He breaks y^e teeth of cruel Beasts
 That raven for y^e prey
 Out of y^e Lion's bloody jaws
 Hee plucks y^e sheep away.

6

Thou broken hast y^e iron Barrs
 And loos'd y^e fetters strong,
 Thou rescu'd hast y^e poor-opprest
 From all that did them wrong.
 Out of y^e Dungeon dark & deep
 Thou hast my soul set free
 So long as I a being have
 My praise shall be of thee.

7

How beautiful Jehovah is
 Oh taste, & see likewise
 Oh great is that man's blessedness
 Whose trust on him relies !
 Upon y^e Lord for evermore
 See that yo'selves you stay
 For there is with Jehovah store
 Of strength y^e lasts for ay.

8

Oh love y^e Lord all yee his saints
 The faithful he doth guard
 But he unto proud doers grants
 A plentyfull reward.
 Because y^e Lord y^e poor doth hear
 Nor's prisoners doth despise
 Let Heav'n, earth, sea, him praise, and all
 That moves therein likewise.

Of the second colleague of Mr. Wigglesworth, the Rev. Benjamin Blakeman,⁴⁰ we know but little as concerning his connection with the Malden church. He was the youngest son of the Rev. Adam Blakeman of Stratford in the Colony of New Haven, who had been a clergyman of the established church in Leicester-shire and Derbyshire. Mather relates that,

Coming to *New-England*, from the Storm that began to look black upon him, he was attended with a desirable Company of the *Faithful*, who said unto him, "*Entreat us not to leave you, or to return from*

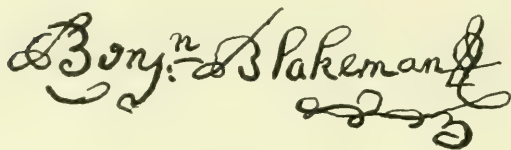
⁴⁰ I style him Reverend, as I call him the colleague of Mr. Wigglesworth, the former in deference to his apparent office, and the latter in deference to what has been the general belief. I cannot perceive that he had a complete right to either title ; for there are indications that he was never ordained ; and, as will be seen, he repeatedly styled himself — not Reverend, or Clerk, as was the custom, but — Gentleman. His name is not ital-

icized, as that of a minister, in the early college catalogues.

He always wrote his name as in the text, as did his father. It is written Blakman in the Malden records, except in one instance, nine years after he had left the town, when it is spelled Blackman, a form which the college catalogues and the persistency of later writers have almost made to supersede the elder and correct orthography.

*following after you: For whither you go, we will go; and your God shall be our God."*⁴¹

Benjamin Blakeman was born at Stratford about the year 1643, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1663.⁴² Two years after his graduation we learn that, "his thoughts . . . be



not to attend the work of Christ in the ministry," evidently to the disappointment of his

father, who diverted from his use a legacy of books in consequence, saying in his will: —

Concerning my books, which I intended for my son Benjamin, . . . my wish is that my son Atwater⁴³ make his son Joshua a scholler and to fit him for that work I give unto him my Lattin books; but if not, they shall be put into my estate and disposed of as my wife and my overseers shall think fit.

Mr. Sibley sententiously adds: "Young Atwater did not become a minister and take the 'Lattin books.' Benjamin Blakeman studied divinity." In 1670 he was at Stratford and was sought to keep the town school.⁴⁴

In 1674 he was still in Stratford; but the next year he had become settled in Malden. Mr. Savage, with his usual felicity in guessing, says he was ordained here in 1674; but there are no indications that he was ever ordained; and I see reasons for accepting as a fact that which another has intimated — that he was "only statedly employed to preach there for a considerable length of time, without ordination."⁴⁵ In June, 1675, he styled

⁴¹ Mather, *Magnalia*, Book iii. (2), chap. 7.

⁴² He appears to have been not altogether blameless in his college life, which may have caused the beginning of the disappointment which his father subsequently felt. The following extracts relate to this period of his life.

[December 9, 1661.] The constable of Cambridge is ordered "to warne Benjamin Blackman y^e he appeare at y^e s^d Court to Answer for abuse offered to Abram Smith of Charlstown." *Midd. Court Files*, *in loco*.

"[December 17, 1661.] Benjamin Blackman appearing in Court. & being convicted of abusive disturbance to Abram Smith & his family, the Court sentenced him to be admonished, & to pay the costs of the Court. six shill." *Midd. Court Records*, i. 241.

⁴³ Joshua Atwater of New Haven, who had married his daughter Mary.

⁴⁴ Cf. Sibley, *Harvard Graduates*, ii. 140-141; Goodwin, *Genealogical Notes*, 1-2.

⁴⁵ *American Quarterly Register*, xi. 193.

himself, "gentleman, inhabitant of Maldon in the colony of the Massachusetts," which he would hardly have done had he become an ordained minister.

He was married, April 1, 1675, to Rebecca, daughter of Joshua Scottow of Boston.⁴⁶ That he lived in the "ministry house" is certain; and, as has been mentioned, he appears as the owner of the neighboring lands which had been in the possession of his predecessor. Of his ministry nothing is known, and as little of his character. If he may be judged by his after life, he was an active and energetic man of business—a buyer and seller and a getter of gain, rather than a self-denying minister of Christ. Some discontent appears to have preceded his departure from Malden.⁴⁷ The town record, which now, for the first time, gives its aid to the perplexed antiquary, opens with a memorandum upon its fly-leaf of a settlement with him, by which it appears that he had preached four years and that "of these 4 years m^r Blakmⁿ was absent 6 m^o." At a "Genrall meeting," in February, 1678⁹, it was

Voted that Serg^t Haward and Phin^s Sprague be added to y^e Selectmen who with them are impow^r^d a comitte for y^e Towne to treat compound & agre with m^r Blakmaⁿ for w^t he hath done about y^e house & land thereto adjoyning according to w^t y^e Town^e is ingaged or to reffer y^e same to men chosen between them

Voted that y^e said Committee Purchase for the Towne all m^r Blakmans Land on y^e East side of y^e Highway, And that y^e said House with all y^e land belonging thereto shall Henceforth be & remaine to y^e vse of y^e ministry for ever.

Voted That y^e said Comittee have liberty & power to sell the commoⁿ

⁴⁶ Scottow is well known to antiquaries as an author, a Boston merchant, and an early operator in eastern lands. His eastern speculations failed, and his mercantile transactions apparently came to naught. His family did not survive the second generation, and his name has disappeared from New England. He was author of *Old Men's Tears for their own Declensions* [1691], and *A Narrative of the Planting of the Massachusetts Colony* [1694]. A memoir of him is in *Mass. Hist. Coll.* xiv. 100-104.

⁴⁷ That there were difficulties in the

church, which called for a synod in 1679, appears by a paper printed with the Confession of Faith in 1823. A "Publick Day of Humiliation" was kept by the church April 15, 1680, by the advice of the synod, when a renewal of covenant was made by the adoption of an "Instrument" composed by Mr. Wigglesworth. This instrument appears to have furnished the material from whence was drawn the renewal of covenant of 1727, on a day of fasting and prayer occasioned by the great earthquake of that year, which is noticed in its proper place.

Land at Sandy Banke & some remote land on y^e common for mony to pay towards y^e purchase of m^r Blakmans land.

In accordance with these votes, the committee "treated, compounded, and agreed" with Mr. Blakeman, who executed a deed, March 4, 1678⁸/₉, in which he styles himself "Benjamin Blakeman of Maldon Gent^m," by which he conveyed to the town a portion of the Bunker land as has been stated, and also

My right title & interest to or in the dwelling house for the ministry in the s^d Towne or any the lands thereto adjoining by vertue of any former gift or grant to me by the s^d Towne or by vertue of or for any disbursements costs or charges by me expended or done either about or upon the s^d House or land thereto adjoining whatsoever [except & reserving to my selfe the barne built by m^r Bunker & the nursery fenced in by the Kitchin.]⁴⁸

The consideration named in this deed of sale and quit claim was one hundred and twenty-five pounds, or according to the report of the committee, made soon after,

The Towne is to pay Mr Blakmⁿ or his ord^r at y^e s^d House in this Town^e the sume of 125[£] Wherof 65[£] is to be in mony & to be p^d in Man^r. followg: Namly. 30[£] in Neat Catle not exceeding 8 yeares old y^e beging of June next: And 32[£] 10. mony by y^e midle of July next. And 32[£] 10. mony and 30[£] in Indian corne the 25th day of March 1680. And the said Committe are bound in 200[£] bond in behalf of the Towne for the paym^t thereof.⁴⁹

As an illustration of the business habits of the men of that time, it may be mentioned that this deed was not recorded until May 25, 1686,⁵⁰ about which time, perhaps, Mr. Blakeman be-

⁴⁸ *Midd. Co. Deeds*, x. 574.

⁴⁹ *Malden Town Records*, in *loco*.

⁵⁰ Although the General Court had early passed a law in relation to the public records, and provided that all unrecorded land conveyances might be considered void after a certain time, a strict attention to its regulations was by no means universal. The system of land records was unknown in England, where the preservation of original grants or a long occupancy of land gave a suffi-

cient title; and many of the colonists came slowly, or not at all, to observe its wise provisions. Many deeds were not recorded until some emergency arose, like that in the text, and others, not at all. Several instances of either kind may be found in the present volume. From these causes came much of the obscurity which rests upon the early land titles of this and other Massachusetts towns.

gan to push the town for the dues which appear to have been unpaid. At a meeting, May 21, 1688, it was

voted that in case m^r Blackman should mak any farthr demand of pay from the Towne the inhabitation of the Towne haue chosen a com-mitty John Sprague Se^r ensine linds left Samuell Sprague Phinias Sprague Deacon green left william green Henery green Joses Bucknam to defend the case if need be

voted and farther the Towne doe Jngage to defray all charges in defending of the Towne in this case depending betweene the Towne and m^r Blackman.

Soon after leaving Malden, he went to Black Point, on the Saco River, where his father-in-law, Joshua Scottow, had conveyed to him a small tract of land. It appears that he preached in the neighboring town of Scarborough, although he declined a settlement; and he represented that town, in 1682, in the General Assembly of the Province, under the administration of President Danforth. The next year he removed to Saco, and continued a Member of the General Assembly at York as representative from that town. Savage says that "during the great French and Indian war being driven to Boston, he served, 1683, as representative for Saco, but continued to live at Boston;" and he cites the fact that his son Benjamin was baptized, September 13, 1685, at the Third Church.⁵¹ As no other writer has knowledge of an Indian war in Maine from 1678 to 1688, some doubt must be thrown upon this statement; and although his wife may have been with her father in Boston, and Mr. Blakeman, himself, may have come to Massachusetts Bay on "matters of affairs," it seems certain that he continued to live at Saco, where he was a magistrate, being commissioned by Sir Edmund Andros, until his final removal about the year 1689.

He made several purchases of land upon the Saco River; and built a saw-mill upon the falls still known as Blakeman's Falls, where the Pepperell Mills now stand. He added a large tract of land to the purchases already made, with the supposed intention of forming a new settlement of Massachusetts men.⁵²

⁵¹ *Genealogical Dict.*, i. 194.

⁵² Folsom, *Hist. Saco and Biddeford*, 168-169.

In the summer of 1688 he was still upon the Saco, when the Indians, incited by the Baron de St. Castine, having commenced depredations in the neighborhood, he seized eighteen or twenty of them, and sent them "with a good Guard to *Falmouth* in *Casco-Bay*." Mather styles him "Captain *Blackman*" at this time.⁵³ The Indians immediately began to make reprisals; and the consequent uncertainty of affairs apparently preventing the intended settlement of his lands, he soon after removed to Boston, and never returned as a resident to Saco. No farther trace of him has been found; and as he is starred in the Harvard Triennial of 1700, it is supposed that he died before that year.⁵⁴ His wife, Rebecca, died March 29, 1715, aged about sixty-three years; and his daughter, Rebecca,⁵⁵ was living in that year, the wife of "Thomas Goodwill of Boston, shipwright." The son was dead.

⁵³ Cf. Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts Bay*, i. 364; Mather, *Magnalia*, Book vii. art. 1. Mr. Blakeman's intrepid promptness did not gain him the thanks of Governor Andros, who, after the Indians had been sent from Falmouth to Boston, imprudently "set them all at liberty; not so much as taking care to redeem those of our English for them that were in their hands."

⁵⁴ The will of Joshua Scottow was made June 3, 1696, and proved March 3, 1697. It devised his property to his children, Thomas Scottow, Elizabeth Savage, Rebecca Blakeman, and Mary Checkley. The manner of the bequest to Rebecca Blakeman may indicate that Mr. Blakeman was then dead, or that

the testator had no great confidence in his son-in-law. He says: "And as for my Legacy to my Daughter Rebecca Blackman, I do will it to be left in the hands of my Son Samuel Checkley and my Daughter Elizabeth Savage to be paid to her as she shall need it." *Suffolk Co. Wills*, viii. 110. It may be that Mr. Blakeman was in Malden in 1700, and died in that year. One Benjamin "Blackman" witnessed a deed of John Greenland, August 1, 1700, and another four days later. It may have been the son, who was then fifteen years old.

⁵⁵ Baptized at the Third (Old South) Church in Boston, April 14, 1689. Sibley, *Harvard Graduates*, ii. 143.

CHAPTER IX.

CHEEVER AND WIGGLESWORTH.

WITHIN a year after the withdrawal or dismissal of Mr. Blakeman, the Rev. Thomas Cheever began to preach at Malden. He was a son of Mr. Wigglesworth's old school-master, the famous Ezekiel Cheever, the author of the long-lived *Latin Accidence*, who had himself been asked to settle in Malden before the coming of Mr. Matthews. His mother was Ellen Lathrop, sister of the unfortunate Captain Thomas Lathrop of Beverly, who with most of his company, "the flower of Essex," was slain by the Indians at Bloody Brook, near Deerfield, September 18, 1675. He was born at Ipswich, August 23, 1658, and was graduated at Harvard College, at the head of his class, like Mr. Wigglesworth, in 1677.

The *Bi-Centennial Book*, copying a writer in the *American Quarterly Review*,¹ says he "began to preach at Malden, February 14, 1679;" but the town record states that "mister cheevers began the worke of the ministry the 14 day february 1679 [1679 80]," which, that day falling upon Saturday in that year, indicates the time when he entered upon his contracted work, and not that he then preached his first sermon. As a considerable interval of time had elapsed since the departure of Mr. Blakeman, he had probably preached as a candidate and had become known to the people. His preaching apparently proving acceptable, the church ceased negotiations with another; and at a general meeting of the town, March 8, 1679⁸⁰,

It being declared to y^e Inhabitants that y^e church had sent a letter to M^r fletch^r to forbear coming hither & the reasons thereof — ² And allso

¹ *Bi-Centennial Book of Malden*, 157; might have repeated their experience in the Matthews case had they not "sent a letter to M^r fletch^r to forbear coming

² The members of the Malden church

their motion to M^r Tho Chevis for his helpe & continance in y^e worke of the minstry here. The Inhabitants manifested their consent & desyr of M^r Chevis continance amongst them in y^e work of y^e Ministry.

Voted That M^r Chevis shall have fiftie pounds in mony p^d him for this yere he continuing in y^e worke of y^e ministry here.

[December 27, 1680,] Att a meeting of all y^e Inhabitants warned by y^e Const^{le} to Consider about m^r Chevis the year being neer vpp And to renew their former motion to him for Settle^{mt} Among^t vs in y^e work of the min^{try}

voted The Inhabitants vnanimously manifested their consent and desyre of m^r Tho Chevis continuance & settle^{mt} Amongst them in y^e worke of y^e minstry.

voted That m^r Chevis shall haue 60^s p^r ann. y^e one halfe in mony & the other halfe in comon pay. or fiftty pounds all in mony which he pleas to Accept: And also the vse of y^e Towns Howse & land therto belonging. And his fyre wood free.³

Also Agreed that in Case s^d m^r Chevis shall dye here & leave his Widdow here that then his s^d widdow shall haue Eighty pounds paid

hither;" for I take Mr. Fletcher to have been the Rev. Seth Fletcher who left Southampton, Long Island, about that time, and who had been that "inconvenient" preacher at Wells who was silenced by the General Court in 1660.

He had gone to Wells in 1655 without ordination, at a time when that place was in that graceless condition which seemed in that day of small things to characterize most of the settlements on the coast of Maine. Bourne says of him, that he "stirred up strifes and contentions wherever he undertook to minister the Word." He remained at Wells until 1660, when the General Court of Massachusetts, taking cognizance of complaints "as touching his unfitnes for the place of the ministrje," passed the following order:—

"[October 16, 1660,] The Court, hauing perused the severall evidences presented to this Court refering to M^r Fletcher & the toune of Wells, doe judge meete to declare to the sajd inhabitants that they haue not only liberty, but are hereby enjoyned, to procure some godly able minister to be helpfull to them, and that the sajd Fletcher is hereby enjoyned to forbear any more to preach amongst them."

Mass. Colony Records, iv. (1), 434.

Although silenced in Wells, he preached at Saco the next year and thereafter at other places. Bourne remarks that he "was continually exciting dissensions," but allows that "there was something in his ministrations which captivated the attention of many good men." He was a friend of the Rev. John Wheelwright and may have followed him in his Antinomian doctrines, which would account for the dislike of the General Court. He returned to Saco in 1668 and was regularly settled there, the people showing much attachment to him. Here, marrying Mary, daughter of Bryan Pendleton, a prominent settler, he remained until driven away by the Indian troubles of 1675. He then preached at Southampton for two or three years; and, leaving there in 1679, he soon after removed to Elizabethtown, N. J., where he preached until his death in 1682. Cf. Folsom, *Saco and Biddeford*, 130-136; Bourne, *Wells and Kennebunk*, 96-101.

³ As an addition, the town voted soon after, "[March. 10, 1680,] That y^e Select men Hyre thre or fowr acres of salt marsh annally of m^r Wades or else where for y^e vse of y^e Ministry: to be p^d for by y^e Town."

her within two Yeares next after his decease, the one half part therof in mony & the other halfe part therof in common pay.

Mr. Cheever was not ordained until July 27, 1681, when he became the third pastor of the church. Mr. Wigglesworth apparently still remained in retirement, and no compensation was voted to him by the town. There can be no doubt that he was still looked upon by the people as one who had no claim upon them; and the only instance of a payment or gift to him during a period of thirteen years after the settlement of Mr. Cheever appears in the following record:—

[4. 10. 82]. *voted.* that the cutters & carts in y^e Town cutt & cart one load of fire Wood for M^r Wigglesworth: on y^e next second day.

voted. Corp^l Jo. Green & serg^t Skin^r overseers to se y^e wood cutt & carted.

The salary of Mr. Cheever was regularly paid, in accordance with the vote, at the rate of fifty pounds in money, “which he pleas to Accept;” and the agreement in respect to “fyre wood” seems to have been faithfully kept, although it appears that at one time, at least, there were some “carts behinde.”

4. 9^{mo} 81 Att a Meeting of the Selectmen at J. W.⁴ Appointed the 9th of novemb^r being y^e next 4th day to cutt & cart wood for m^r Chevis Cutters y^e 4th day

Symoⁿ Grouer

Sam Lewis

Ben^a Whittamor

Will East

Robt: Cally

Will Teale

Sam Haward

John winslead

Jacob winslead

Jsack green

Carts y^t carryed wood each one load

2^d day Jos Bucknam

4th day John Green

Hen Green

Sam Green

Jo. Sprague jn^r

Jo Lynde

Ens Lynds

John wayt Sen^r

leu^t Sprague

nath Haward

Hen. Swnaway

Jos wayte

Jo. Green. hill

Sam. Sprague

Laz Grouer

Phin Vppam

corn^t Green

Jonath knoher

Jo. Greenland

most of them Cutt

their wood.

⁴ Captain John Wayte.

Carts behinde

Phin Sprague	Will Bordman
Jo. Chadwike	Joel Jenkins
lem Jenkins	Jo. Paull
Jonath. Spragu	Jo. Sargent
Tho Birditt	Jo Chamb'la ⁿ
Jo. Scholly	Jacob Park ^r
Lewis	Will Buckn ^m
Sam. wayt	Phill Atwood.

Mr. Cheever continued to live in the town's house, although he followed the example of his predecessors and purchased a house and land of his own.⁵ Incidental entries in relation to his occupancy of the parsonage and its lands may be found in the records.

Paid to M^r Cheevers two pound in silver in part of pay for the bulding of a leanto aioyning to his barne and he promising to keep it in reipaire the twentieth six of May, 1685.

After Mr. Cheever had been in Malden four or five years, the health of Mr. Wigglesworth was very much changed, and he began to "enter into the ways of men." If we may believe Cotton Mather, the troubles in the church had not only continued, but had largely increased. He says:—

It pleased God, when the Distresses of the church in *Maldon*, did extremely call for it, wondrously to Restore His *Faithful Servant*. He that had been for near Twenty years almost *Buried Alive*, comes abroad again; and for as many years more, must in a *Publick Usefulness*, receive the Answer and Harvest of the Thousands of Supplications, with which the *God of his Health*, had been addressed by him & for him.⁶

Of the nature of the troubles which preceded, and were in existence at the time of Mr. Wigglesworth's recovery, we have no precise information: perhaps the later trouble with Mr. Cheever had already begun to show itself. It is evident that the old dissatisfaction with Mr. Wigglesworth, having its root,

⁵ This farm was in the south-east portion of the town, apparently near Turkey Hill. It passed to Mr. Cheever by an unrecorded conveyance from Lieutenant John Smith of Winnisimmet, who had purchased it of Roger

Kenicott in 1678. Besides the home land and house, it embraced meadow and marshlands at Moulton's Island and Pemberton's Pond near the South River, within Charlestown bounds.

⁶ *A Faithful Man*, 24.

perhaps, in the Matthews troubles of more than thirty years before, and increased by the apparent neglect of the teacher in performing his duties, had never ceased. And to this cause had been added another, in producing which Mr. Wigglesworth himself had been directly instrumental.

For nearly twenty years after the death of his first wife, Mary Reyner, he remained unmarried, preferring, perhaps, to bear alone the ills to which an untimely fate had made him heir. Perhaps the marriage of his only child, Mercy, and her removal to Boston in 1673,⁷ may have left him alone and the forlorn experiences of the

Samuell Brakenbury.

next few years have turned his thoughts towards a change. That he continued to live in his little house, on the land that "was sometime part of the proper lot of Mr. John Allen," is not unlikely. That he had a youthful housekeeper is very certain, and the result was not unnatural. He was in his forty-eighth year when he resolved to change his manner of living; and the means by which he proposed to make that change was then about eighteen years of age. When the news came to

⁷ Mercy Wigglesworth married Samuel Brakenbury. He was the only son of William and Alice Brakenbury of Charlestown and Malden, and was born, February 10, 164 $\frac{1}{2}$; was graduated, H. C. 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ 4; and preached as assistant to the Rev. Samuel Phillips at Rowley about two years. He was made a freeman, May 7, 1673, and in the same year removed to Boston, where he settled as a physician and was admitted to the Second Church, November 4, 1677. He died of small-pox, January 16, 167 $\frac{3}{4}$. His widow married the Rev. Samuel Belcher, who preached at the Isles of Shoals and Newbury; and, outliving him, she died, November 14, 1723.

The children of Samuel and Mercy (Wigglesworth) Brakenbury were:—

Samuel, born at Malden, February 167 $\frac{2}{3}$; was a physician in Boston: married, October 22, 1694, Ann Chickering, who died, January 22, 170 $\frac{1}{2}$; and dying, November 26, 1702, was buried at Malden.

Mary, born in Boston, March 12, 167 $\frac{3}{4}$.

William, born in Boston; lived at Ipswich.

Of Dr. Brakenbury's short professional life little is known. He appears to have been the family physician of John Hull, the celebrated mint-master of the Colony; and Samuel Sewall, who married Hull's only surviving daughter, relates that he was called to "Mother Hull" in September, 1676, and the next day dissected one of three Indians who were executed at Boston. The diarist, in a confused account of the sickness of "Mother Hull" and "Han Sewall," his wife, soon after says that "Dr. Brakenbury advises Diacodium to move Rest, and approves Peppar boyled in Milk and Water, alike of each," in cases of dysentery and diarrhœa; but subsequent events caused the observant Sewall to "mistrust Diacodion."

him, Increase Mather, in a letter of alarm and counsel, wrote to Mr. Wigglesworth:—

These for the Rev^d my respected friend M^r. W. Pastor of the Church in M.

Rev^d S^r,—Since I saw you the last in B. one that doth vnfeignedly desire your welfare hath bin with mee, expressing grief of h^t with reference vnto a matt^r wherein yourselfe is concerned. I owe you that respect (& much more) as to informe you what I have bin told. The Report is, that you are designing to marry with your servant mayd, & that she is one of obscure parentage, & not 20 years old, & of no Ch^rch, nor so much as Baptised. If it be as is related, I w^d hu^mly entreat you (before it be too late) to consid^r of these arg^{ts} in opositioⁿ.

1. For you to doe this, which will be a grief of heart to your dear Relations, if it be not a matt^r which God doth command to be done, (for no man will deny but one ought rather to grieve his friends, than to p^rvoke the Lord) is not advisable. Now I hear that they are much troubled at your intended p^rceedings, & I suppose there is no divine precept requiring your marrying with such an one. Is it not then better to desist?
2. I doubt that considering her youth, & your age, & great bodily infirmities, such a change of your conditioⁿ, if that which is intimated by the Holy Ap^{le}, 1 Cor. 7, 3, s^d be attended, your days would be shortned, & consequently the 5th Comndment broken.
3. Such general Rules as those, Phil. 4, 8, doe concern as all ch^rns, so most eminently Ministers of Ch. And doubtless it will *male audire* for you to doe this thing, yea, I fear it will leave a blott vpoⁿ your Name aft^r you shall cease to be in this world.
4. The ministry will be blamed, which wee should be very carefull to p^rvent. 2 Cor. 6. 3. The mouths of carnal ones will be opened, not onely to censure you, but your brethren in the ministry will be condemned also. The world will say, theres such an one, Hee was as justified a man as any of them, & yet wee see vnto what his affections have carried him.
5. I am afraid that if you s^d p^rceed, that Rule, 2 Cor. 6. 14. will be transgressed. It vseth to be said *nube pari*, but to marry with one so much your Inferi^{or} on all accounts, is not *nubere pari*. And to take one that was never baptised into such nearness of Relation, seemeth contrary to the Gospell; esp^lly for a Minist^r of Ct to doe it. The like never was in N. E. Nay, I questioⁿ wheth^r the like hath bin known in the chrⁿ world.
6. Doth not that Script. 1 Tim. 3. 11, with others of the like importance, p^rhibit such p^rceedings?

Thus have I made bold to suggest my thoughts unto you. And if I had not respected the interest of Religion, & your credit & comfort, I should have bin wholly silent in a matt^r that concerns another & not me, furth^r than as I am bound to seeke your welfare, & doe what I may

to prevent trouble from coming vpon my neighbor, & brother esp'ally such an one, whose Name hath bin, & I hope may still be of precious esteem with the L^{ds} people.

Though your affections s^d be too far gone in this matter, I doubt not but if you put the object out of your sight, & looke vp to the Lord Jesus for supplies of grace, you will be enabled to overcome these Temptations. The Lord be with you, I am

3^m 8^d 1679.

Yours vnfeignedly, I. M.⁸

Hardly had this admonitory and exhortatory epistle been written, when, before it had left the writer's hands, came Mr. Blakeman, who it would appear had not yet removed from Malden, bringing, as Mr. Mather wrote, "your papers, which state the case & mention the Reasons inducing you to marry your servant." Mr. Wigglesworth's case and reasons were communicated to the reverend pastors of the First and Third (Old South) churches of Boston, to the apostle Eliot of Roxbury, and to Mather's friend, Samuel Nowell; but these pious and learned men were "not very forward to give advice." Mr. Mather comforted himself and attempted to confound the Malden lover by writing that they supposed "it is now too late. It is not good after vows to make enquiry. Had you advised with them before your treating with the party concerned, you may be sure they would earnestly have dissuaded. Nor is there any of them that dare encourage your proceedings as things are now circumstanced." His letter indicates that the people of Malden were not disposed to look with complacency upon the intended marriage and that some scandal was abroad. He says:—

I have heard such uncomfortable Reflections since I wrote the enclosed as that I see no cause to alter my mind as to what is therein expressed. Indeed if the good people in Malden did approve of your proceedings, & if there were an eminency of the fear of God discernable in your Damosel, notwithstanding her obscurity upon other accounts, there would be less of scandal in proceedings. But I do not hear any one but yourself speak much concerning that matter. And it is thought that your Affection doth bias your Judgment, & that therefore in this case you are not so competent a Judge. The Lord in mercy be with you, & direct you to do that which shall be pleasing in His sight, & for the honour of His name, yea, & of your own name, & the comfort of those that are concerned in you.⁹

⁸ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxxviii. 94-95.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 95-96.

The latter letter was written May 12, 1679, and the two were sent together to Malden. If Mr. Wigglesworth had not changed since his college days, the reading of those "composures" must have been the cause of much self-examination and abasement. But the stubborn singer of the *Day of Doom* was not disposed to "put the object out of sight," nor to "ov come these Temptations;" and in spite of Increase Mather and his "not very forward friends," and the displeasure of his relations and the Malden people, he let affection "bias his judgment" and married Martha Mudge, without regard to her "obscure parentage, her youth, and her being no church member."

She was the youngest child of a Malden farmer, Thomas Mudge, and was about six years younger than Mercy Wigglesworth; but she made the teacher a good wife and bore him five daughters and one son,¹⁰ among whose descendants have been and are honored clergymen, lawyers, professors, and scholars, who need not hold otherwise than in honor the day when Michael Wigglesworth married his youthful "servant mayd." Her husband testified to her worth in after years; for in writing to Mrs. Sybil Avery of Dedham, seeking her as his third wife, he said: "My Late wife was a means under God of my recovering a better state of Health."¹¹ It is worthy of note that the marriage of Mr. Wigglesworth does not appear upon the returns

¹⁰ Samuel, the son, was born, February 4, 1688, and was graduated at Harvard College, 1707. Harris says he pursued his studies two years longer at Cambridge and began the study of physic in June, 1709, with Dr. Graves of Charlestown. Dr. Thomas Graves of Charlestown had died in 1697; but whoever was his master, Wigglesworth entered upon the practice of medicine at Ipswich Hamlet, now Hamilton, in March, 1710, where he remained until the following December, when he returned to Malden. Here he taught school, studied theology, and followed his former profession of medicine. In 1712, his account book shows charges for attendance on people in Dracut and Chelmsford, where he may, perhaps, have been for a time. January 29,

1713 $\frac{1}{4}$, he writes: "came to Live att y^e Southwest precinct of Ipswich being invited to y^e ministry There." He was ordained at Ipswich Hamlet, October 27, 1714, being the first minister of that parish. Harris says of him:—"Besides attending to the public and private duties of the sacred office, he still cultivated his first profession, and like his father, was often useful in prescribing for the ills of the body as well as of the soul." He died, September 3, 1768. Harris, *Genealogical Sketch of the Wigglesworth Family*, in manuscript. *Account Book* of S. Wigglesworth, in the library of the N. E. Historic Genealogical So.

¹¹ *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* xvii. 141.

of the town clerk of Malden nor has its record been found elsewhere.

That the people of Malden did not look upon this marriage with favor may be readily understood. Added to the dissatisfaction which already existed, it did not lessen the difficulties which were between the members of the church and its teacher. The testimony of Cotton Mather in relation to "the Distresses of the Church in *Maldon*" has already been mentioned; and further indications of hostility or lukewarmness towards Mr. Wigglesworth will appear in the course of our story.

But if the Malden church and people continued to look upon him with disfavor, the displeasure of Mr. Mather and the brethren of other churches passed away; and the author of the *Day of Doom* came to be esteemed and held in "good opinion." Among the *Mather Papers* was found the following letter of Mr. Wigglesworth.

These for the Rev^d and honrd Mr. Increase Mather Pastor of the North-Church in Boston. At his house. With care

REV^d SIR, — I received your loving lines, and having seriously considered the contents thereof, as I find great cause to thank you and other worthy friends, for your & their good will & good opinion of me, yet as to myself, I cannot think my bodily health and strength competent to undertake or manage such a weighty work as you mention, if it were desired, nor have I reason to judge myself in any measure fit upon other accounts. Wherefore I hope the Colledge & Overseers will think of and apply themselves to a fitter person, and that they may speed well in so doing, is and shall be my prayer, who am, Sir, ever

Yours heartily to hono^r and serve you,

MICHAEL WIGGLESWORTH.¹²

Maldon, Octob. 27, 1684.

Mr. Mather was acting at that time as temporary President of Harvard Collège, the Rev. John Rogers, the former President, having died, July 2, 1684; and it is very likely that the "weighty work" was that office which had been offered him by the college authorities.¹³

¹² *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxxviii. 645.

¹³ Cf. Quincy, *Hist. Harvard Univ.*, i. 38; Peirce, *Hist. Harvard Univ.*, 49, 56; Dean, *Wigglesworth*, 88-89; Sibley, *Harvard Graduates*, i. 275.

September 14, 1685, he preached at Cambridge, before the Artillery Company of Middlesex, from the text, *Fight the good fight of faith, lay hold on eternal life*. Judge Sewall says he preached excellently.¹⁴ He delivered the annual Election sermon, May 12, 1686. Sewall says: —

Mr. Wigglesworth preaches from Rev. 2. 4 and part of 5th v. and do thy first works, end of the text. Shew'd the want of Love, or abating in it, was ground enough of Controversy, whatsoever outward performances a people might have. In's prayer said, That may know the things of our peace in this our day, and it may be the last of our days. Acknowledged God as to the Election, and bringing forth him as 'twere a dead Man, — had been reckoned among the dead, — to preach.¹⁵

This sermon was ordered to be prepared for the press, "the Court judging that the printing of it will be for publick benefit;"¹⁶ but as no copy has been found and its title is unknown, it is probable that the early advent of the Andros government prevented its publication.

It was now that the difficulties of the Malden church were to assume a different form; and there can be but little doubt that the animosities and jealousies which the pastorate of Mr. Matthews had introduced, and which the petty quarrels of thirty-five years had not allowed to cease, bore no small part in shaping the charges which in the end were to leave the church without a pastor.

¹⁴ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xlv. 95. This is the first notice of his public appearance after his recovery and has before been unnoticed. The Middlesex Artillery Co. had always, since their organization, met at Cambridge and had never gone out of the county for a preacher; but the next year their election was held at Charlestown and a minister was brought from Suffolk to address them. Cotton Mather says: —

"[1686.] The Artillery-Company of *Middlesex* this year did a New Thing, in Ordering their Anniversary solemnities to bee at *Charlestown*, and *not* at *Cambridge*; and they did another New Thing, in choosing, as they never did before or since, a Minister not belonging to their own County to be their preacher; and this was my poor self. So, on 13^d

7^m I preached at Charlestown, unto a very great Assembly, a Sermon, which was afterwards printed, under y^e Title of *Military Duties*." Mather, *MS. Diary*.

Sewall says: — "The Artillery Company had like to have been broken up; the animosity so high between Charlestown and Cambridge Men about the Place of Training." *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xlv. 151.

¹⁵ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xlv. 136. There was in his prayer an evident allusion to the evil days which were about to come upon the colonies. Randolph came two days later with the official copy of the judgment against the charter; and in December, Sir Edmund Andros arrived with a commission as Governor of all New England.

¹⁶ *Mass. Colony Records*, v. 515.

It appears that Mr. Cheever had been accused "as Guilty of great Scandals, by more than 2 or 3 witnesses;" of "speaking such words as are scandalous breaches of the Third Commandment, as appears by the Testimony of Mrs. Eliza. Wade and Abigail Russell;" and of using "light and obscene expressions (not fit to be named) in an Ordinary at Salem, as by the Testimony of Samuel Sprague, Jacob Parker, Isaac Hill: Also as he was travailing on the Rode, as p. the Testimony of Thomas, Ester and Eliza. Newhall."¹⁷ That the majority of the church members considered these accusations as of little weight is evident; for they persistently "declin'd all Testimonies against him as to Scandals committed before his Ordination; as also some other Testimonies respecting matters very criminal since that; because they judged the Witnesses on account of Prejudices and otherwise, incompetent." How easily they could forgive the little guilt which they found in him appeared, August 9, 1685, when, "Mr. Chiever made an Acknowledgement of some Evils to the Brethren of that Church, whereto he stands related; and the most part of them were willing to take up with a slender satisfaction." It is added "that on the next Lord's-day, he manifested so little sense and sorrow for his great sins, as that the generality of the Brethren were more dissatisfied than formerly."

That the church as a whole was not inclined to act upon charges preferred by prejudiced witnesses is very evident; while it seems clear that there were a few who were not disposed to lose their hold upon so formidable a weapon as that which seemed to be ready to their hands. There is an indication that Mr. Wigglesworth, himself, was in opposition to Mr. Cheever, and that he thought that his settlement had been made with undue haste. The soil was fertile and all the conditions were favorable for a plentiful crop: that the affairs of the pastor grew worse may be readily imagined.

Sewall wrote in his diary: --

[March 15, 1685½.] Mr. Wigglesworth here, speaks about a Council respecting Mr. Thomas Chiever.¹⁸

¹⁷ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xlv. 21*.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, xlv. 127.

[Sunday, March 28, 1686.] The Lord give me a holy godly Life without End. Letter read from Maldon directed to the three Churches in Boston, desiring Council respecting their Pastor Mr. Tho. Chiever, who is charg'd with scandalous immoralities, for which hath not given satisfaction. Mr. Eliot and my Self to accompany Mr. Willard thither next Wednesday come Sennight, 7th April.¹⁹

On the appointed day, the diarist "Got up about 4 *mane* to go and accompany Mr. Willard to Maldon, went most by Water, some by Land." Those who went by land, doubtless, crossed the Charlestown ferry, and passing up the neck, came about by the way of Medford; while "Those that went by Water were landed at Switzer's Point, then went about 2 miles on foot."²⁰ To realize the simple manners of that age, imagine for a moment a party of divines and laymen sailing up the Mystic to Van Voorhis's Point, and then trudging two miles or more to attend an ecclesiastical council in Malden to-day. Inward repinings might neutralize their outward prayers, or bodily weariness confuse their sense of justice.

There were fifteen members of the Council at Malden, and among them were five famous ministers from the Boston churches, Increase Mather with his son and colleague, Cotton Mather, James Allen and Joshua Moody from the First Church, and Samuel Willard of the Third or South Church, all bright and shining lights and "painful workers in the vineyard." With them, though not acting as members of the Council, were Ezekiel Cheever, father of the offending clergyman, with long and pointed white beard,²¹ and Samuel Parris of Salem Village, who was soon to become notorious and forever infamous by his connection with the sad tale of Witchcraft.

The Council met at the house of "Father Green," probably James Green, a part of whose house is still in existence, hidden within the walls of the Perkins house now standing on Appleton

¹⁹ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xlv. 130.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 131.

²¹ President Stiles of Yale College, in his Diary, quoted by Barnard, *Biographical Sketch of Ezekiel Cheever*, 21, mentions the aged Rev. Samuel Maxwell, of Warren, R. I., who told him, "he well

knew the famous Grammar schoolmaster, Mr. E. Cheever of Boston, author of the *Accidence*; that he wore a long white beard, terminating in a point; that when he stroked his beard to the point, it was a sign for the boys to stand clear."

Street. After a prayer by Mr. Allen, it was debated whether they should have two moderators; it was decided to have but one, and Increase Mather was chosen. After some discourse, they apparently went to the meeting house, where Mr. Mather prayed and "some Debates" were heard. They returned again to their "Quarters" and "had the witnesses and Mr. Tho. Chiever face to face." The Council rejected most of the testimony, as had the church, and upon the same considerations; but testimony was admitted and accepted in regard to spoken words upon which all the subsequent action appears to have been based.

Mr. Cheever "absolutely denied" these words and did not show to the members of the Council "that humble penitential frame that would have become him," so that they saw "cause to fear that he had been too much accustomed to an evil course of Levity and Profaneness."²² Sewall says:—

In the evening Mr. Chiever the Pastor was sent for, Mr. Moodey and others acquainted him how grievous his carriage had been and that day not so humble and in such a frame as ought; told him expected not an Answer, but that should sleep on't. Debated considerably what to do till about 10 at night. Mr. Moderator pray'd, went to Bed. Mr. Moderator and his son to Mr. Wigglesworth's, some to Mr. Chiever, Major Richards and self Kept the House. In the Morn. Thorsday, Ap. 8, Mr. Moderator went to prayer: read over what was drawn up, then discours'd about it. Sent for Mr. Chiever, to see what [he] had to say.²³

The Council, not finding satisfaction, unanimously agreed upon a "Declaration and Advice." That Mr. Cheever had used

²² A "humble penitential frame" does not seem to have been natural to Mr. Cheever; indeed, there are indications that he was possessed of great self-reliance and some temper to back it. His father owned like traits, as was shown in his troubles with the church at New Haven, which ended in his seclusion. In the language of a contemporary MS., being charged "with a stiff, proud, contradictory frame of spirit," he was "cast out of the body till the proud flesh [should] be destroyed, and he be brought into a more memberlike frame." Cf. *Trial of Ezekiel Cheever before the Church at New Haven*, in *Conn. Hist. Coll.*, i. 22-51.

Of the pastor of Malden, Edward Randolph, the infamous agent of the British Crown in its tyrannical dealings with New England, speaks in his "*Narrative of the Delivery of his Majesty's writ of quo warranto*," presented to the Privy Council, February 14, 1683/4, cited by Palfrey, *Hist. of New England*, iii. 387:—"Seven or eight days before the Assembly broke up, a libellous paper was dispersed in Boston. . . . It was verily believed that one Cheevers, a hot-headed minister was the author of that paper."

²³ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xlv. 21*.

language not becoming a minister seems likely: that he was not guilty of worse practices, as has been intimated, appears clearly in the sequel. That the Council rejected the testimony of prejudiced witnesses has been seen; and only a present suspension of his office as a pastor and his privileges as a church member was the immediate result of the session at Malden. The report recites the facts, which have been given, and closes with the following advice:—

We conceive it to be Duty and accordingly advise the Church of Maldon, to Suspend Mr. Tho. Chiever from the Exercise of his ministerial Function; and also to debar him from partaking with them at the Lord's Table, for the space of Six Weeks, untill which time the Council will adjourn themselves, to meet at Boston. And that in case he shall in the mean while manifest that Repentance which the Rule requires, they should confirm their Love to him, and (if possible) improve him again in the Lord's Work among them.

And this, our Advice, is grounded on these Scriptures and Reasons. (1). Among the Lord's People in the dayes of the O. Testament, no man might be permitted to execute the Priest's office that had a blemish: He might not come nigh to offer the offerings of the Lord. Levit. 21, 17, 21, which teaches that Men under moral blemishes, are unfit for holy ministrations, untill they be, in a way of Repentance, healed. (2) It is in the New Testament required, that an Elder should be sober and of good behaviour, and moreover he must have a good Report of them that are without, 1 Tim. 3, 2, 7. (3) Christ's Discipline ought to be exercised impartially, without respect to Persons. 1 Tim. 5, 21. Nor does Mr. Chiever's standing in a Sacred Office-Relation any way lessen, but greatly aggravate his sin. (4) There is no probability that Mr. Chiever's Ministry will be blessed for good to Souls, untill such time as his Conversation shall declare him to be a true penitent. Mat. 5, 13.

Finally, we exhort and advise our beloved Brethren of the Church of Maldon to set a day apart, solemnly to humble themselves by Fasting and Prayer before the Lord under this awfull dispensation, and for whatever failings have attended them, as to the management of their Differences, in this hour of Temptation which they have been subject unto. Particularly, for not observing the Rules of Christ, in endeavouring to prevent Evils by giving seasonable notice to Mr. Chiever of their Dissatisfactions. And for that want of Love, and for that bitterness of Spirit, which appears in sundry of them. So we pray the God of Love and Peace and Truth to dwell among you.²⁴

²⁴ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xlv. 22*, 23*

The closing scenes of the Council in Malden are thus related by Sewall: —

Thursday, Ap. 8. the Bell was rung ; went in publick. Mr. Moderator pray'd, read the Council's Report. Mr. Wigglesworth spake, thank'd him and the Council ; said had cause to condemn themselves, as for other sins, so their sudden laying Hands on Mr. Chiever ; and now God was whipping them with a Rod of their own making. Mr. Chiever the Father, stood up and pathetically desir'd his son might speak, but Mr. Moderator and others judg'd it not convenient, he not having by what he said given the Council encouragement. Mr. Allin pray'd ; went to Dinner ; Council adjourned to that day 6 weeks. Came Home well.²⁵

That Mr. Cheever repented, so that the Malden church could improve him again, does not appear ; but it is said that he, at last, confessed to words " more than were charged upon him," and that " with shame and sorrow." The Council held three sessions in Boston and finally adopted the following report : —

The Elders & Messengers of y^e churches assembled in council April 7. 1686 at y^e desire of the church in Maldon, having upon adjournment mett at Boston May 20 & 27 & June 10, and there taken the state of that church into further consideration, do declare & advise as followeth :

I. Inasmuch as wee understand that M^r Thom^s cheever has now declared, that as to y^e scandalous words which have been Testified and proved against him, he doth know and with shame and sorrow confess that he has spoken words of y^e same nature more then is charged upon him, and doth not deny but he might use those very expressions which are by y^e witnesses mentioned, and that he doth judge himself before God and man as one that has exposed Religion and y^e ministry to Reproach, opened y^e mouthes of y^e wicked, sadned y^e hearts of y^e Lords servants, for which he begs pardon of God & his people. And considering that some of y^e Brethren testify, that they have observed his Late conversation to be humble & penitent : Wee conceive that y^e church in Maldon may without breach of y^e Rule so far confirm their Love to him, as to Restore him to their communion, & to grant him a Loving Dismission to some church according as himself shall desire. We therefore commend to their consideration these scriptures following. 2 Cor. 2, 7, 8. 1 Cor. 13, 4, 7. Deut. 29, 29.

²⁵ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xlv. 23*.

II. Since it is not probable that Mr Cheever's continuance in Maldon, nor yet the present exercise of his ministry there, will tend to y^e peace of that place, or to y^e edification of y^e church, nor to his own comfort: wee advise him the said Mr Cheever to request his dismission, and we advise y^e church to comply with his desires therein. This counsel we conceive to be grounded on such scriptures as these, 2 Cor. 10, 8 and 12, 19. 2 Thess. 3, 16. 1 Tim. 3, 7. 2 Cor. 6.

III. Wee advise the Church & Congregation of Maldon duely to encourage and to hold in Reputation their Rever^d & faithful Teacher Mr Wigglesworth, according as God in his word does require them to do. 1 Thess. 5, 12, 13. And that they conscientiously endeavour to live and Love as Bretheren, forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel against any, even as christ forgave you, so also do yee.

Thus do we commend you to y^e grace of o^r Lord Jesus Christ.

INCREASE MATHER *Moderato*^r

*In y^e name & with y^e
unanimous consent of y^e council.*²⁶

Mr. Cheever probably removed at once; it is certain that he was living at Rumney Marsh in the winter of 1687/8. He sold his house and lands in Malden to Thomas Oakes, April 9, 1689,²⁷ and is found soon after in the occupancy of the farm of one hundred and twenty-seven acres, which had formerly been a part of the possessions of the unfortunate Sir Henry Vane, and which he bought of his wife's father and brothers, James, Jonathan, and Joshua Bill, of Pullen Point, for three hundred and fifty-seven pounds, October 22, 1689.²⁸ Here he remained

²⁶ Original in the possession of Artemas Barrett, of Melrose, 1866.

²⁷ *Midd. Co. Deeds*, xi. 87 a.

²⁸ *Suffolk Co. Deeds*, xv. 2. This land, overlooking the sea and the green marshes and meadows of Rumney Marsh, lies upon the southern and eastern slopes of Cheever's Hill, in Revere. It was for many years known as the Fenno farm, from its later possessors. In 1894 it was laid out for building purposes, and has now lost much of its original character.

The allotment of Sir Henry Vane, being the first of "The great Allotments at Rumley Marsh and Pullen Point," comprised two hundred acres, lying north of the creek, which now divides

Chelsea and Revere, and extending from the Charlestown (Mystic Side) line to the highway on the east, now known as School Street, in Revere. As early as 1640, if not a little earlier, it had become, in an unrecorded way, a portion of the possessions of Nicholas Parker, when it is described as consisting of two hundred and sixty acres. *Boston Book of Possessions*, 72. Parker sold the western portion, called eight score acres, to George Burden, the ancestor of the Burditts of Malden, who had built a house upon it when he sold it with lands at Mystic Side to Aaron Way and William Ireland, in February, 165½. *Suffolk Co. Deeds*, i. 206. It was from Way's house that Increase Mather escaped, by the

during the remainder of his long life. He continued to be styled "Cleric;" and for a few years he taught school—perhaps as early as 1700, as in that year the town of Boston established in Rumney Marsh "a free School to Teach them to Read, Write & Cypher."²⁹ A report is extant which shows that he taught thirty-three scholars in the winter of 1709/10, some of them coming from a long distance.³⁰

It is not improbable that he varied his occupation by preaching to the sparse population which occupied the farms of Rumney Marsh, Winnisimmet, Pullen Point, and Hog Island.³¹

way of Newgate's landing, to the ship in which he sailed to England in 1688.

The eastern portion of the Vane allotment was retained by Parker, and was sold by his heirs to Thomas Savage, whose son, Ebenezer, sold it to Samuel Sewall in 1683, at which time it was in the occupancy of Thomas Townsend. Sewall, whose gossiping diary has often been of service in the preparation of these pages, sold the farm, in April, 1685, to the Bills, who transferred it to Mr. Cheever, as stated in the text.

It is stated that Mr. Cheever occupied the Newgate house, which is still standing in Mill Street, in Revere; but he was living upon the Parker farm before the time of his purchase. The Newgate land bounded his own on two sides and the Newgate house was not far away from that of Mr. Cheever. It is possible that the houses have become confused in the uncertain processes of the village traditions which have preserved the memory of his residence. The house in which Mr. Cheever lived stood within the line of the present street north of Fenno's Corner and came into the possession of his son, Nathan, with the farm. The latter built another house a little to the westward of it, which stood at the present northerly corner of Broadway and Fenno Street until 1893, when it was demolished. At the death of Nathan Cheever, the older house descended to his son, Nathan (H. C., 1741), who died in 1787, and who was the father of the revolutionary officer, Joseph Cheever, afterwards of Malden.

The late Benjamin H. Dewing of

Revere was informed by the aged Mrs. Anna Stowers, a great-granddaughter of Thomas Cheever, that she was present at a party in the old house. When going home they turned and saw that it was in flames; and it was destroyed. It was supposed that some of the guests caused the fire in getting clothes from a closet. Traces of the fire have been found while excavating in the street.

²⁹ *Boston Town Records*, March 11, 1704.

³⁰ *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, xviii. 109. A report, made in February, 1713, by Mr. Cheever, is given in *facsimile*, *Memorial History of Boston*, ii. 380.

³¹ Although it seems certain that no regular preaching had been continued in that remote district of Boston, an early attempt had been made to establish it. In March, 1639/40, Sergeant John Oliver, then about twenty-four years of age, was sent there by the Boston church on a motion "made by such as have farms at Rumney Marsh, that our brother Oliver may be sent to instruct their servants, and to be a help to them, because they cannot many times come hither, nor sometimes to Lynn, and sometimes nowhere at all." *Keayne's MS.* quoted by Savage, *Winthrop's History of New England*, i. 328. Oliver appears to have continued his ministrations at Rumney Marsh, although he entered H. C. and was graduated in 1645. He died of a malignant fever in the spring of 1646, leaving a widow and five children. Winthrop characterizes him as "a gracious young man, not full thirty years of age, an expert soldier, an excellent surveyor

For several years the people there, among whom appear to have been several members of neighboring churches, had been moving towards the erection of a place of worship, when the town of Boston, April 29, 1709, voted "A Grant of One hundred pounds to be raised and Laid out in building a meeting House at Rumny Marsh." Under the date of July 10, 1710, Sewall says:—

Mr. Jn^o Marion and I went to Rumney-Marsh to the Raising of their Meetinghouse. I drove a Pin, gave a 5^s Bill, had a very good Treat at Mr. Chiever's; went and came by Winnisimmet; *and six days later*: Extream hot wether. Mr. Cook, Bromfield and I goe to Rumney-Marsh in a Boat, to agree with Workmen to finish the Meetinghouse. Stowers is to make the windows. Got home well; *Laus Deo*. Several died of the Heat at Salem.³²

Although no church was immediately gathered, it is very probable that religious services were held and that Mr. Cheever preached there. That the people had become acquainted with his "gifts" is proved by their choice of him as their pastor. A church covenant was formed and signed by Mr. Cheever and eight brethren; and, October 19, 1715, a Council, composed of delegates from the Second and New North churches of Boston and the churches of Lynn and Reading, received them as a sister church. Though both Cotton Mather and Samuel Sewall,

of land, and one who, for the sweetness of his disposition and usefulness through a public spirit, was generally beloved, and greatly lamented." He adds: "For some few years past he had given up himself to the ministry of the gospel, and was become very hopeful that way, (being a good scholar and of able gifts otherwise, and had exercised publicly for two years)." Winthrop, *New England*, ii. 257.

After the death of Mr. Oliver, there is no record of any attempt being made to hold public worship at Rumney Marsh until the time of Mr. Cheever; and the inhabitants became connected, if at all, with the neighboring churches of Boston, Malden, and Lynn. Chamberlain has brought out the fact, however, that a meeting house existed earlier than the one erected in 1710; and tradition at-

tempts to fix its location and asserts that it was built of logs. *Chelsea Telegraph*, March 11, 1882. Samuel Maverick, writing of Rumney Marsh in 1660, says:—"There are many good farmes belonging to Bostone, which have a Metting House, as it were a Chapel of Ease," *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, xxxix. 38.

³² *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xlv. 283. The window-maker was probably Samuel Stowers, a carpenter, of Mystic Side. The meeting house then built is still standing in Revere, on the road from Fenno's Corner to the beach. It formerly faced towards the north, and its appearance has been greatly changed by modern alterations. A view as it appeared some years since is given by Chamberlain, *Memorial Hist. of Boston*, ii. 378.

who had been members of the Council at Malden, were present, the former being chosen "to manage and Moderate the whole affair,"³³ no objection was made to Mr. Cheever, and he appears to have outlived the "sorrow and shame" of the Malden affair, even if his character had ever been tarnished in the minds and by the report of those who were conversant with the whole matter. Dr. Tuckerman says:—

Whatever were the circumstances which occasioned his separation from that church, they do not appear to have come before the council which ordained him here.³⁴

Sewall records the "Church Gathering and Ordination" in his Diary as follows:—

8th 19. Went to Rumney Marsh in Comp^a of Dr. C. Mather, Mr. Stobo, Squire Webb, Dr. Oakes, &c. Mr. Brown of Reading pray'd, Mr. Tho. Chiever preach'd. Neither he that planteth. 1 Cor. 3. 7. Dr. C. Mather gave them a Covenant which they made. They chose Mr. Chiever their Pastor. Dr. M^r gave him the Charge, he, Mr. Shepard of Lin, Mr. Brown of Reading, laying on Hands, with Mr. Webb, and praying. Mr. Shepard gave the right Hand of Fellowship. Sung the 3 last Staves of the 132^d Psalm, which Deacon Marion read and set the Tune. Mr. Chiever gave the Blessing.³⁵

If ever there had been a real cloud over the reputation of Mr. Cheever, it had now passed away; and thenceforth he became the beloved pastor and father of his little flock. Dr. Tuckerman, his successor in the pastoral office, writing in 1821, when some who had sat under his ministry were still alive, says:—

I am told that he was much respected at home; and his records bear ample testimony to the regard that was felt for him by neighbouring churches. There was at that time more of ostensible discipline in the church, than there is at this day; and the minute detail which he has left of complaints and investigations, of public censures, acknowledgments and pardons, at once indicate the strong feeling which the church then had of its power and its duty, and shew that he was not behind those of his cotemporaries, who were most zealous for ministerial fidelity, in this department of the sacred office.³⁶

³³ Cheever in *Rumney-Marish Church Book (MS)*.

³⁵ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xlvii. 63.

³⁶ Tuckerman, *Sermon*, 5.

³⁴ Tuckerman, *Sermon Preached on the Twentieth Anniversary of his Ordination* (1821), 5.

The historian of Chelsea, in his preparatory sketches, writes: —

His services were constantly sought in ecclesiastical councils; and he most assiduously entered the letters-missive, the proceedings and the results, in his records, which constitute a mine that has often been worked by those curious in such matters.³⁷

Perhaps some of his constitutional stubbornness and fire came out in the memorable installation of the Rev. Peter Thacher as colleague of the Rev. John Webb of the New North Church in Boston in 1720, when, after "a long and shameful Tumultuous disturbance in the Meeting-house," he alone stood out in opposition to the Boston ministers, and, asking the necessary questions, declared the candidate "to be the Pastor of that church." Judge Sewall adds: — "No Psalm was sung."³⁸ By one of those strange coincidences by which time sometimes works a double justice, the man whom the Malden church had rejected in his prime, stood fearlessly in his old age and helped to win a first victory of those principles for which she had suffered nearly seventy years before. Out of this conflict was born again the full right of churches and congregations to choose their own officers — a right which had lain in abeyance since the Malden brethren bowed before the secular power. Five years later, Cotton Mather and the Convention of Ministers, "sorrowing over the mournful decadence of what they esteemed to be good order in the churches,"³⁹ endeavored to procure the intervention of the General Court and the ordering of a Synod to consider "what may be the most Evangelical and Effectual Expedients to put a Stop unto those, or the like, Miscarriages."⁴⁰ History repeated itself. As in the days of the Matthews troubles, the aristocratic Council would have acted as of yore; but the democratic deputies, full of the nerve and sense of the people, stamped upon the measure; and the day of synods, supported by the power of the state, passed away forever. It is pleasant to read that, when the Rumney Marsh

³⁷ Hon. Mellen Chamberlain in *Chelsea Telegraph*, March 4, 1882.

⁴⁰ Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts-Bay*, ii. 323.

³⁸ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xlvii. 242.

³⁹ Dexter, *Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years*, 500.

pastor returned to his church and recited the affair of the Council, they "declared their approbation of the same."⁴¹

Of the religious views of Mr. Cheever little may now be gathered. Three sermons preached by him were published during his lifetime. Of one, *The Churches Duty and Safety*, [Boston, 1715.] the title only is known. The others, bearing the running-titles of *Constancy in Use of Means : A Duty ;* and *Because there is Wrath, Beware*, were published together in 1726, under the title of *Two Sermons Preached at Maldon*. He appears to have been a puritan of the old stock in principles and faith, tempered, perhaps, by the varied experiences of a long life. Dr. Tuckerman says: —

It is not improbable, that when he grew old, Mr. Cheever became more liberal in his feelings, than he was in the early part of his life. It is the natural tendency of a strong mind, profiting by its own observation and experience.⁴²

He remained in the pulpit, serving God and respected by men, until he had passed the full age of ninety years, when in consequence of his age and infirmities, a colleague was ordained *Thomas Cheever:* and he was released from the

cares of his pastorate. A little longer he waited until his change should come, and passed from this life, December 27, 1749,⁴³ "retaining the unabated affection of those to whom he had dispensed the word and ordinances of the gospel."⁴⁴ In the little retired and neglected burying ground at Rumney Marsh, which his son Joshua gave to the town of Chelsea,⁴⁵ stand, side by side, two rude stones, mossy and weather-worn. They are the crumbling memorials of two who bore together the burden of

⁴¹ *Rumney-Marish Church Book*.

⁴² Tuckerman, *Sermon*, 6.

⁴³ "He lived to be the oldest surviving graduate of the College; Samuel Andrew, of the Class of 1675, the next oldest before him, having died in 1738." Sibley, *Harvard Graduates*, ii. 503.

⁴⁴ Tuckerman, *Sermon*, 6.

⁴⁵ "Item the Burying Ground in my Land at Chelsea I give the same to the

said Town forever, for that use only, with so much more land contiguous as shall be necessary for that use, with a convenient way to Carry their Dead to said Burying Ground, reserving to my Heirs, Executors, adm^{rs} & assignees forever the Herbage." Will of Joshua Cheever, dated October 17, 1750; proved December 18, 1751, *Suffolk Co. Wills*, xlv. 601.

the cross which was laid upon them in the Malden church — Thomas Cheever and his wife, Sarah Bill.

Memento Mori

Here Lies y^e Body of
M^{rs} Sarah Cheeuer
Wife To Muster
Thomas Cheeuer
Aged 47 Years
Died January
the 30th 1704½.

Here Lyes Buried
y^e Body of y^e Revnd
M^r Thomas Cheeuer
Who Departed This Life
Decem^{br} 27th Anno Dom
1749 Aged 92 Years.

Much division and many troubles appear to have occurred after Mr. Cheever left Malden. Whatever reasons the Council may have had in advising the encouragement of Mr. Wigglesworth, they do not appear to have had any great weight with "the Church and Congregation of Maldon;" nor do the people appear to have held their teacher in greater "Reputation." An attempt was made to have the town "com to a loueing agreement," at a meeting on the first day of the succeeding October. The summons by which this meeting was called is worthy of preservation, not only as illustrative of the condition of ecclesiastical affairs but as being the earliest Malden warrant known to be in existence.

To constable John Sprague you are in his majestyes name required to warne the inhabitation of the Towne to consider what is the best course to take for the providing for goodman felt: and that we may com to a loueing agreement for the vp holding and maintaineing of the worke of the minnistry amongst vs: the time of meeting is the first of october which is friday next at eaight of the clock in the morning.

By order and in the name of the selectmen
September: 25: 86:

JOHN SPRAGUE.⁴⁶

At the meeting, which was duly held, measures were taken for the relief of "ould felt;" but, whatever discussion may have taken place, and doubtless the debate was earnest — angry, perhaps, there is no indication that any agreement, loving or otherwise, was proposed. The records are silent upon that matter. In the following December, the spirit of dissension was still alive

⁴⁶ Original in the possession of Artemas Barrett of Melrose, 1866.

in the Malden church, and the Government again interposed in its affairs.

At a Councill held in Boston New England December 8, 1686.

Upon reading the Petition of severall Inhabitants of Malden relating to their Ministry

Ordered: That M^r Stoughton, Capⁿ. Winthrop and M^r Wharton (with such other of the Members of the Councill as can be present) with M^r Mather and M^r Willard be impowred a Com^{tee} to repair to Malden on Tuesday next the 14th inst: and to call before them the Petitioners and other Inhabitants of Malden, and to hear and finally determine and settle the maintainance of the Ministry there, and that the Clerk of the Councill do give forth Warrant to the Constables of Malden to warn a generall meeting at time & place accordingly.⁴⁷

The committee "repayred" to Malden at the appointed time; and its report shows that a minority of the people, at least, desired the restoration of Mr. Cheever.

In observance of an Order of the President and Councill &c. Wee underwritten on the 14th Inst: repayred to Malden and upon a full hearing of all parties do find that the former usage of that Towne hath been for many years to raise sixty pound per annum by a Rate upon the Inhabitants of the Towne for the maintainance of the Ministry, which of late by a Town vote & agreement hath been converted and altered to fifty pound in mony.

That M^r Wigglesworth was many years since by choice and agreement universall ordained Teacher to the Church there, and though by sickness and indisposition he was for some years uncapiable to perform his worke, yet for many months last past he hath constantly attended the service of the Ministry and administration of the Sacraments amongst them, and declares his willingness so to do untill the people can upon a good agreement invite and obtaine some other Assistant to him and them therein.

That tho' there hath been for some years past an other person (viz^t M^r Cheevers) ordained to the Service of the Ministry there, yet the said Cheevers haveing been convicted of severall greivous faults and debaucheries very Scandelous to his Ministry, whereby he is made uncapiable of his Office there;

WEE. do therefore *Order.* That the select Men of Malden for the time being, do according to former usage lay the Rate of Sixty pounds half mony upon the Inhabitants of the said Towne equally, and attend the usuall method for collecting the same, and pay it unto M^r Wiggles-

⁴⁷ *Council Records*, ii. 96.

worth for his service, he continueing there in the supply & support of the publick Worship and ordinances of God, and that no further disturbance or offer be made by any of the Inhabitants againe to restore the said Cheevers to the service of the Ministry in that place which will so apparently attend to the disturbance of the peace, and dishonour of God.

WM STOUGHTON

R^d WHARTON.

The foregoing are true copies. Attested this 20th day of December 1686.

ED: RANDOLPH *Sec^{ry}* ⁴⁸

On the day when Randolph signed the record, Sir Edmund Andros landed at Boston. He cared as little for the ecclesiastical affairs of the colonists as the Malden people appeared to care for the report and order of the committee; and the Government made no attempt to enforce that which the people seemed in no haste to obey. The selectmen laid no ministerial rates, and nothing favorable to Mr. Wigglesworth came out of the matter.

Not only is there no evidence that the town did anything towards the support of Mr. Wigglesworth; but for more than five years after the meeting of the committee of the Council, he is not so much as mentioned upon the records. The people still appear to have looked upon him as one who had no claims upon them beyond what they might voluntarily choose to give; and it is probable that by contributions and gifts made irregularly, joined with what meagre harvest his six and one-half acres might yield, and the sale of his books and his precarious gatherings as a physician, and, perhaps, as a teacher of youth preparing for the college or the ministry, he lived during this period of his life. That he considered himself as settled by the town and possessed of a claim upon it is evident from this tantalizing passage in the *Bi-Centennial Book*:—

It appears by an old letter still extant, addressed to Mr. Wigglesworth by Samuel Sprague, of date July 22, 1687, that Mr. W. never resigned his pastoral charge.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ *Council Records*, ii. 101-102.

⁴⁹ *Bi-Centennial Book of Malden*, 156.

That which was extant in 1849 has since disappeared with other papers, the loss of which I must frequently bewail. There is no indication that Mr. Wigglesworth ever attempted to enforce the recognition of his supposed or real rights. He preferred, perhaps, to rely upon the sense of justice in the people, which he may have thought would awaken when he, himself, could properly discharge his pastoral duties.

It was during this period that he met with a serious loss in the death of his young wife, who had been a blessing and help to him. She died September 4, 1690, at the age of about twenty-eight years.⁵⁰ Mr. Wigglesworth was now near his sixtieth year; and the happy experiences of his second marriage and the care of six young children, of whom the eldest was not yet ten years old, were the probable inducements which led him soon to cast about for another helpmeet. That the second reason was, however, subordinate to the first must appear, however unwelcome, in the fact that when the candidate objected to the number of children he replied: "The Number may be lessened if there be need of it."

Sybil Sparhawk, the daughter of Nathaniel and Patience Sparhawk of Cambridge, was born about 1655. Her maternal grandfather, the Rev. Samuel Newman, in the wilderness of Rehoboth, by the light of blazing knots, wrote the first Concordance in the English language, which became the basis of the work of Cruden and all later compilers.⁵¹ She married, July 22, 1679, Dr. Jonathan Avery, who died not long before Mrs. Wigglesworth; and she was living a widow at her house in Dedham when Mr. Wigglesworth was there in October, 1690. That she made an instant impression upon the heart of the bereaved and lonely poet may readily be gathered from a letter which he wrote in the following February.

⁵⁰ Mr. Wigglesworth took part in the formation of an association of the ministers of Boston and vicinity, October 13, 1690, and was the third signer of its articles. The objects of this association were "the promoting of the Gospel, and our mutual assistance and furtherance in that great work;" and its members

agreed to "meet constantly, at the College in Cambridge, on a Monday at nine or ten of the clock in the morning, once in six weeks, or oftener if need be." Cf. Mather, *Magnalia*, Bk. v. (2); Dean, *Wigglesworth*, 106.

⁵¹ Newman, *Rehoboth in the Past*, 52-53.

These for his esteemed friend, Mrs. Avery, widdow at her house, Dedham.

Mrs. Avery—

I heartily salute you in the Lord, giving you many thanks for yo^r courtesies when I was at yo^r house last October; since which time I have had many thoughts of you, and desires to speak with you: But not judging it seasonable, I have been still thus long. And now I make bold to visit you with a line or two, desiring to know how it fareth with yourself & children this sickly time, 2ly whither you still continue in yo^r widdowhood, & be at Liberty or free from any Engagement, that a man may visit you without offence, 3ly And if you be free, whither a visit from me in order unto some further acquaintance would be welcome to you. To which queries if you please to return me a brief Answer by this bearer, I shall take it for a kindness, & shall better understand what God calls me to do, being ready to wait upon you by a visit y^e first opportunity, if you incourage me so to doe. Not else at present, but with my hearty Prayers for yourself & yours I rest,

yo^r loving Friend

Maldon, Feb^r 11, 1690.

MICHA^L WIGGLESWORTH.

If you cannot conveniently return an answer in writing so speedily, you may trust the Messenger to bring it by word of mouth, who is grave & faithful, and knows upon what errant he is sent. . . .

farewell.⁵²

This was so well received that a second visit followed on “y^e first opportunity;” and that a serious matter was proposed and met with some objections is evident from the long and somewhat curious document which follows:—

Mrs. Avery }
& my very kind friend. }

I heartily salute you in y^e Lord with many thanks for yo^r kind entertainment when I was with you March 2d. I have made bold once more to visit you by a few lines in y^e inclosed paper, not to prevent a personal visit, but rather to make way for it, which I fully intend the beginning of y^e next week if weather and health Prevent not, craving the favor that you will not be from home at that Time, yet if yo^r occasions cannot comply with that Time, I shall endeavor to wait upon you at any other Time that may suit you better. Not further to trouble you at this Time, but only to present y^e inclosed to yo^r serious thoughts, I commend both it. & you to y^e Lord & wait for

⁵² *Christian Register*, June 1, 1850; *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* xvii. 139.

an Answer from Heaven in due season, meanwhile I am & shall remain,
 Yo^r True Friend

& wel-wisher,

Maldon March 23, 1691.

MICHAEL WIGGLESWORTH.

I make bold to spread before you these following considerations which Possibly may help to clear up yo^r way before y^u return an answer unto y^e Motion w^{ch} I have made to you, I hope you will take them in good Part and Ponder them seriously.

1st. I have a great perswasion that y^e motion is of God, for diverse Reasons.

As first that I should get a little acquaintance with you by a short & transient visit having been altogether a stranger to you before, and that so little acquaintance should leave such impressions behind it, as neither length of Time, distance of Place, nor any other objects could wear off, but that my thoughts & heart have been toward you ever since.

2^{ly}. That upon serious, earnest and frequent seeking of God for guidance & Direction in so weighty a matter, my thoughts have still been determined unto and fixed upon yo^rself as the most suitable Person for me.

3^{ly}. In that I have not been led hereunto by fancy (as too many are in like cases) but by sound Reason & judgment, Principally Loving and desiring you for those gifts & graces God had bestowed upon you, and Propounding y^e Glory of God, the adorning and furtherance of y^e Gospel. The spiritual as wel as outward good of myself and family, together wth y^e good of yo^rself & children, as my Ends inducing me hereunto.

2^{ly}. Be Pleased to Consider, that although you may Peradventure have offers made you by Persons more Eligible, yet you can hardly meet with one that can love you better, or whose love is built upon a surer foundation, or that may be capable of doing more for you in some respects than myself. But let this be spoken with all humility, & without ostentation. I can never think meanly enough of myself.

3^{ly}. Whither there be not a great sutableness in it for one that hath been a Physician's wife to match with a Physician, By this means you may in some things & at some Times afford more help than another, & in like manner receive help, get an increase of skill, and become capable of doing more that way hereafter if need should be.

4^{ly}. Whither God doth not now invite you to y^e doing of some more Eminent Service for him, than you are capable of doing in yo^r Present Private capacity? and whither those many Emptyings from vessel to vessel & great afflictions that have befallen you might not be sent with a design to fit you for further service, & to losen you from y^e Place & way you have been in?

5^{ly}. Whither y^e enjoyment of Christ in all his ordinances (which at present cannot be had where you are) be not a thing of that weight that may render this motion at this time somewhat more considerable?

6^{ly}. Consider, if you should continue where you are whither y^e looking after & managing of yo^r outward Business & affairs may not be too hard for you, and hazzard your health again?

7^{ly}. If God should exercise you with sickness again whither it were not more comfortable and safe to have a neer and dear friend to take care of you and yours at such a Time, especially now when yo^r dear mother is gone to Heaven.

8^{ly}. This following summer is Likely to be full of Troubles (unless God prevent them beyond the expectation of man) by reason of our Indian and French Enemyes: now whither it may not be more comfortable and safe to get neerer y^e heart of the Country, than to continue where you are & to live as you do?

9^{ly}. The consideration of y^e many afflictions, losses & Bereavements which have befallen you, as it hath affected my heart with deep sympathy, so it hath been no small inducement to me to make this motion, hoping that if God should give it acceptance with you I might be a friend & a Comforter to you instead of yo^r many lost relations; and I hope upon trial you would find it so.

10^{ly}. As my Late wife was a means under God of my recovering a better state of Health; so who knows but God may make you instrumental to Preserve & Prolong my health & life to do him service.

Obj. As to that main objection in respect to my Age, I can say nothing to that, But my Times are in the hands of God, who as he hath restored my health beyond expectation, can also if he Please Prolong it while he hath any service for me to do for his Name. And in y^e mean time, if God shall Please and yourself be willing to Put me in that Capacity, I hope I shall do you as much Good in a little time as it is Possible for me to do, & use some endeavours also to Provide for yo^r future, as wel as Present, welfare, as God's Bounty shall enable me; for true love cannot be idle.

Ob. And for y^e other objection from y^e number of my children & difficulty of guiding such a family. 1st. the Number may be lessened if there be need of it.

2^{ly}. I shall gladly improve my authority to strengthen yours (if God shall so Perswade your heart) to do what lieth in me to make the burden as light & comfortable as may be. And I am perswaded there would be a great suitableness in our tempers, spirits, Principles, & consequently a sweet and harmonious agreement in those matters (& in all other matters) betwixt us, and indeed this Perswasion is a Principle thing w^{ch} hath induced me to make this motion to yo^rself & to no other.

Finally that I be not over tedious, I have great hope, that if God shall Perswade you to close with this motion, the Consequents will be for y^e furthurance of y^e Gospel, for y^e Comfort of us both, & of both our families & that y^e Lord will make us mutual helpers & Blessings to each other, & that we shall enjoy much of God together in such a Relation, without which no relation can be truly sweet.⁵³

That Mr. Wigglesworth went to Dedham very soon, if not as early as "the beginning of y^e next week," as proposed, and that the objections of his "very kind friend" were overcome is very evident; for they were married by the Rev. Moses Fiske of Braintree, June 23, 1691.⁵⁴ "She was beloved for her kind and charitable disposition," says Mr. Dean; "and her character and standing in society may have aided her husband in allaying the troubles in his parish."⁵⁵

⁵³ *Christian Register*, June 1, 1850; *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* xvii. 140-142.

⁵⁴ "In the course of his wooing, at what period there is no record, a silver locket in the form of a heart was presented to the lady by her lover. This locket, not larger than a fourpence, is curiously wrought. On the front is a heart with wings on each side. It rests against an anchor; as if it hath flown to her, and there found its resting place. On the back, the words 'thine forever' are marked. After the death of Mrs. Wigglesworth it became the property of one of her daughters by her first marriage, Dorothy Avery; and descended to the great-grandson of the original owner, Rev. Thomas Cary, pastor of the first religious society in Newburyport. Mr. Cary's colleague, Rev. Dr. Andrews, married a descendant of Michael Wigglesworth, a granddaughter of the first Professor of Divinity in Harvard College, who was the only child born to Mr. Wigglesworth, after his marriage with Mrs. Avery. Soon after the death of Mr. Cary's only daughter, the family of his colleague were passing a day at his house. After dinner Mr. Cary told the story of the locket and produced it. A lilac ribbon had suspended it from the neck of a former owner. Mr. Cary placed it on that of his colleague's daughter, saying, that it had remained

in his family long enough, and now ought to go to another branch. There seemed indeed a propriety in its belonging to a descendant of both parties. The mother of the child to whom it was given, had, after her father's death, received among other things a small silver box, the cover made of an English shilling, and on the bottom the letters S. W. were marked—the initials of Mrs. Avery's name after her second marriage. For what purpose the silver box was made had never been discovered or conjectured. A finger ring, unless smaller than the usual size, could not lie in it; but the little silver heart fitted in exactly. It was agreed by all who saw them that the box must have been made to keep the locket from harm; but that the latter having been worn round the neck, for a length of time, the box was forgotten; and on the death of Mrs. Wigglesworth, and the division of her effects among her children—her son had taken the box, and one of her daughters the locket, and so they had descended in different branches of the family; and after being separated three generations were re-united in the fourth." The Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, D.D., in the *Christian Register*, June 1, 1850.

⁵⁵ Dean, *Wigglesworth*, 105. There was one child by this marriage. Edward Wigglesworth was born in or soon after the year 1692, and was graduated

Under the date of March 14, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$, appears the first recorded mention of Mr. Wigglesworth as one to whom the town owed aught; and there is an air of constraint about the record which makes the grant appear to have been grudgingly given.

voted at the same time that the towne will find m^r wegelsworth with wood in a general way at sartaine dayes a pointed for this present yeare if any refuse or nelect after the time apointed more than 6 days for a teme of 4 oxen to pay: 6 Shillings and for 2 oxen to pay: 4 Shillings and for a man: 2 Shillings and this to be taken by destres by a constabel: by warrent from the selectmen.

The next year, "The 21 of this Instant: March Is apointed to cut and cart wood for m^r Wigglesworth;" and a year later, the selectmen passed an order with more directness and force.

At a Meeting of y^e select men at Isaac Hills y^e 19 of Ianuary 169 $\frac{3}{4}$: It is ordered y^e one Wensday next which is y^e 24 of this Jnstant Janeuary shall be a day for all y^e Jnhabitants of this Town to cut an carry firewood for m^r Wigglesworth.

The tide of public opinion had now turned in Mr. Wigglesworth's favor; and during the remainder of his life he met with the support and respect which his position and his natural good qualities as a man and a Christian deserved. It is probable that his trials and experience in life had chastened and refined his mind and modified or, perhaps, eradicated its morbid ten-

at Harvard College, 1710. He was for a while usher of a grammar school in Boston "and left it with the design of settling in the ministry. He took a chamber at college, lived there and preached occasionally 'till June 28, 1721, when he was elected the first Hollis Professor of Divinity, at the age of thirty years. He was inaugurated to this office, October 21, 1722, and held it, with high repute for his piety and learning, upwards of forty years. He was a Fellow of the Corporation of this University, and received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Edinburgh in 1730." Thaddeus William Harris, *MS. Genealogical Sketch of the Wigglesworth Family*.

Professor Wigglesworth died at Cambridge, January 16, 1765, at the age of

seventy-two years, and was succeeded in his chair by his only son, Edward, who was born at Cambridge, Feb. 7, 173 $\frac{1}{2}$ and died June 17, 1794. The latter was father of Thomas Wigglesworth, a well known and successful merchant of Boston during the first half of this century.

The third Hollis Professor was the Rev. David Tappan, a grandson of Mr. Wigglesworth's second daughter, Abigail, the eldest child of the youthful Martha Mudge. "It is a very remarkable circumstance," says Dr. McClure, "that of the four Hollis Professors, the first three, who held the chair for eighty successive years, with high reputation, should have been respectively the son, grandson, and great-grandson of that good man." *Bi-Centennial Book of Malden*, 156.

dencies, which in his earlier days, and while suffering with his many bodily troubles, had not been an especially pleasant quality in his character. His physical weaknesses had passed away; and he was, as Increase Mather says, "restored to such a measure of Health, as to be able to Preach for many years twice every Lords Day, after he had been for a long time in a Languishing condition."⁵⁶

Another generation of men and women had succeeded to the places of those who had formed the church and congregation in earlier days; and most of those who had favored Mr. Matthews, and who had undoubtedly exercised a disturbing influence and formed an opposition to Mr. Wigglesworth, had passed away. Of the nine who withstood the General Court, not one was living in March, 169 $\frac{3}{4}$; and it is significant that one of the most prominent, Captain John Wayte, who, after the removal of Joseph Hills to Newbury, had been the most influential man of the town and church, had died but a few months before.⁵⁷ If any unjust prejudices and opposition had existed in regard to the teacher they were now forgotten; and thenceforth Mr. Wigglesworth became the faithful counsellor and friend of his flock — "Mauldens Physician for Soul and Body two."

His position and claims were first distinctly and fully recognized, March 12, 169 $\frac{3}{4}$, when it was voted: —

That y^e town will alow m^r Wigglesworth fifty five pounds a yeer yearly In money: And y^e use of the passonag. and a suficant suply of fierwood. so Long as He carrieth one y^e work of y^e minestrey: y^e yeere begineth y^e 12 of March 1694; . . . voted that m^r Wigglesworth shall haue Thirty Cord of Cordwood Laid a his dore for this present yeer.

At a meeting held, May 18, 1694, it was voted: —

That y^e Select men hath liberty granted to order and lay a penalty upon those y^t shall neglect to carry their proportion of wood for m^r

⁵⁶ I. Mather in dedication prefixed to C. Mather, *A Faithful Man*.

⁵⁷ Abraham Hill, February 13, 1689 $\frac{7}{10}$; Thomas Call, May, 1676, ae. 79; John Upham, February 25, 168 $\frac{1}{2}$, ae. 84;

Edward Carrington, 1684;

James Green, March 29, 1687;

Joseph Hills, at Newbury, February 5, 168 $\frac{7}{8}$, ae. 85;

Captain John Sprague, June 25, 1692, ae. 68;

Ralph Shepard, September 11, 1693, ae. 90;

Captain John Wayte, September 26, 1693, ae. 75.

Wigglesworth for This present yeere : and that y^e Select men are hereby Impowered to grant warrantie to The constables to take y^e forfeitures by distress.

The salary was somewhat changed, perhaps increased, March 18, 1695/6, when it was voted : —

That m^r wigglesworth shall haue fifty pounds jn money for this present yeere : to be Raised one this form : by taking a new Invoice of all Reatable Estate : And all y^e Straingers money y^e coms Jnto y^e contribution box m^r wigglesworth shall haue ouer and aboue.

The method of gathering the contributions and the distinction of "Straingers money" are explained in a vote passed a short time previous.

All the inhabitation of this Town that contrabute to the minestry doe pte thare mony in papers with thare names and some of mony in it and all those that doue not contrabute shall pay in thare mony quarterly to the deakens and if any man pte in his mony in to the box naked it shall be loked at as Strangers mony and so lowset.

At a meeting, May 8, 1696, it was voted,

That all male parsons of one and twenty yeers and upwards shall be Reated three shillings p^r head to y^e minestars sallerey for this present yeer Excepting such parsons as y^e select men hes Just cause to omit by Reson of poerty or other wise.

Mr. Wigglesworth received three lots in the division of common lands in 1695 ; and, in addition, it was voted that

m^r wigglesworth shall haue all the land betwene his lote in the second diuision on the weste side the Riuer and Charlestowne line which is aboute ane accer and a halfe.

Mr. Dean suggests that,

The delay of the town in recognizing him as their minister, by voting him a salary, may have been partly owing to an apprehension that by so doing they would render themselves liable to him for past services.⁵⁸

There is some color to this supposition. A full settlement of all arrears appears to have been made at the end of the first year ; and a receipt was entered and signed upon the town book, which, although no sum was named, was broad enough to

⁵⁸ Dean, *Wigglesworth*, 105.

cover any claim which Mr. Wigglesworth may have been able to make.

These lines are to let all men understand That I, Michael Wigglesworth of Malden, doe Herby discharg And acquit the Town of Malden from all claimes that may be made heerafter by my self my hairees exccutors Administrators or a signes upon the account of aney Salary debt or dues to me for the work of y^e ministry from the begining of The world untill the 12 of March 1694⁵. In witness of y^e primeses, I have hereunto set my hand and seall this 28 of March, 1695⁶.

MICHAEL WIGGLESWORTH [seal].

June 1, 1696, while his parishioner, Colonel Nicholas Paige, was captain of the "Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company," he preached the annual sermon before that body. It was never printed. Sewall writes:—

Mr. Wigglesworth preaches the Artillery sermon from Ephes. 6, 11, Put on the whole Armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the Devil. In the Applications, said 't was necessary we should doe so by reason of the evil of the Times or else of Popery, or something as bad as Popery should come to be set up. What should we doe? Mentioned Rev. 16, 15, said the Garments there and Armour in the Text were the same. About Dinner Time the Guns were fired at the Castle and Battery for joy that the Plot was discovered.⁵⁹

That Mr. Wigglesworth in taking up the duties of a pastor assumed the title as well is uncertain. There is no indication that he styled himself otherwise than Teacher; and he is so called in the later editions of the *Day of Doom*, issued during his lifetime. But the Mathers, who, surely, fully understood the difference between the terms, called him Pastor; and as such he appears in the inventory of his estate and upon his gravestone.

The few remaining years of his life passed quietly, in the gentle ministrations of his dual office of pastor and physician, and were free from the anxieties and cares, as well as the extreme bodily weaknesses, which had formerly been his portion; but although he was in a measure restored to health, he

⁵⁹ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xlv. 427. The of which had recently been received. rejoicing was on account of the dis- Cf. Macaulay, *Hist. of England*, chap. -covery of the Popish Plot, the news xxi.

never became entirely well. Some time about 1697 $\frac{7}{8}$ he passed through a dangerous sickness — perhaps a return of his old malady. Of this and its effect upon the people Cotton Mather says, addressing “the Church and Congregation at Maldon”: —

Your *Love*, show'd it self, when a Dangerous Fit of *Sickness* was upon him. You came together with Agony; you *Prayed*, and *Fasted* and *Wept* before the Lord, with Public Supplications for his *Life*. God heard you; God Loves to hear such Prayers. God Spared him yet unto you, *Another Life*. For *Seven years* more, you had him among you.⁶⁰

Sewall adds his testimony to the health of Mr. Wigglesworth at this time.

Feby^r 21. [1697 $\frac{7}{8}$]. I rid over to Charlestown on the Ice, then over to Stower's,⁶¹ go to Mr. Wigglesworth: The snow was so deep that I had a hard Journey, could go but a foot pace upon Mystick River, the snow was so deep. Mr. Wigglesworth preach'd Jan^y 23. from those words, who can stand before his Cold? Then by reason of his own and peoples sickness, Three Sabbaths pass'd without publick worship. Feb. 20. a very cold day, He preached from those words; He sends forth his word and thaws them; which began 21 and especially 22, and has thaw'd much and yet moderately.⁶²

It was doubtless this sickness which caused the town to vote, March 31, 1698, “y^t y^e town will aford m^r wigglesworth sum help 4 or 5 sabath days in y^e work of y^e ministry.” Perhaps he never recovered from this illness; for he was no longer young, and years of sickness had not tended to strengthen his powers of endurance. He speaks of himself in 1704 as one “with a weak body and trembling hands.”⁶³

Cotton Mather says of him: —

⁶⁰ Mather, *A Faithful Man*, 25.

⁶¹ The “house of entertainment” kept by Richard Stowers and his wife Joanna was next to Penny Ferry on Mystic Side. Both host and hostess were dead at the time of Sewall's visit; but the house may still have been kept open by their heirs. It finally came into the possession of John Sprague, who married Elizabeth Stowers. The ancient house, which stood until 1894 at the

southerly junction of Broadway and Bow Street in Everett, and was known as the Flagg house, may have been that which was visited by Sewall. It was certainly on or near the site of the Stowers house and it was in the possession of descendants of John Sprague within this century.

⁶² *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xlv. 471.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, xxxviii. 647.

It was a surprize unto us to see a Little Feeble *Shadow of a Man*,⁶⁴ beyond *Seventy*, *Preaching* usually Twice or Thrice in a Week ; Visiting and Comforting the *Afflicted* ; Encouraging the *Private Meetings* ; *Catechizing* the Children of the Flock ; and managing the *Government* of the Church ; and attending the *Sick*, not only as a *Pastor*, but as a *Physician* too ; and this not only in his own Town, but also in all those of the Vicinity. Thus he did, *unto the last* ; and was but one *Lords-Day* taken off, before his *Last*.⁶⁵

Of his character his descendant and biographer writes : —

He was neither a cynic nor a misanthrope, though sickness, which nourishes and brings to light such dispositions where they exist, had long been his companion. His attenuated frame and feeble health were joined to genial manners ; and, though subject to fits of despondency, he seems generally to have maintained a cheerful temper.⁶⁶

Of his characteristics as a poet I have already spoken. As a preacher, his sermons were marked by a modest though energetic clearness of thought, which, joined to the natural polish and grace of his manners, made him when he came to be known without the influence of prejudice and the memory of past troubles to be respected and beloved by his people. His memory long remained fragrant in the church and town and outlived the generation of those who had known him.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ From a passage in Sewall's *Diary*, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xlv. 37, it is inferred that Mr. Wigglesworth, contrary to the prevailing fashion of men at that time, wore his own hair, and, like the elder Cheever, "He abominated Perriwigs."

The wearing of wigs was a fruitful source of trouble to the simple-minded Chief Justice. In another place he relates how Mr. Wadsworth appeared in one of the abominations, and he adds : "Mr. Chiever is griev'd at it." Sewall was not alone in his opposition to the new fashion ; for, while many other worthies discountenanced it by their example, Mr. Higginson wrote an essay against it, which Sewall wished to have printed, and Mr. Symmes strove against it, although he was "repulsed." The sorrow and surprise of the diarist were great when in a Thursday lecture Cotton Mather vindicated the custom and

deprecated hypocrisy. Sewall was not a great friend of the Mathers. Later in life, when he had lost his hair by sickness, he wore a plain black cap as his protest against the vain periwigs which had so troubled him.

⁶⁵ Mather, *A Faithful Man*, 26.

⁶⁶ Dean, *Wigglesworth*, 9-10.

⁶⁷ Within the memory of the living his name has been a sacred one in many families. The late Rev. Samuel Sewall says : — "According to a current tradition in Malden, the venerable Deacon [John] Ramsdell, who died there about 1825 [February 7, 1825, æ. 85], at a very advanced age and had doubtless heard in his youth from his parents or others of Mr. Wigglesworth's '*good report*,' was accustomed as long as he lived, to make an annual visit to the Grave Yard in which the mortal remains of that good man were deposited, and

At length, after a life of more than usual bodily trials and worldly crosses, while enjoying the full fruitage of a mind

**A Faithful Man,
Described and Rewarded.**

SOME
Observable & Serviceable
Passages in the
LIFE and DEATH

OF
Mr. Michael Wigglesworth.

Late Pastor of *MALDON*;
Who Rested from his Labours, on the
Lords-Day, June 10th. 1705. In the
Seventy Fourth year of his Age.

AND
MEMORIALS of PIETY,
Left behind him among his Written
EXPERIENCES.

With a **Funeral-Sermon** Preached
(for him) at *Maldon*; *June 24. 1705.*

By **Cotton Mather.**

*Fastidium Vobis Sermonem in Omni forma
Sanctitatis Dei Seruus Exhibuit.*

Bern. in obit. Humb.

Boston: Printed by **B. Green**, for
Benj. Eliot, at his Shop under the West-
End of the Town-House. 1705.

carefully to rub off the moss, which had gathered, in each interval, on the Inscription, which told where he lay. The moss which had collected thickly upon it in 1834, bore melancholy witness that

no Deacon Ramsdell was then left to keep it plain and legible. Still

'The sweet remembrance of the just
Shall flourish, when he sleeps in dust.'

American Quarterly Register, xiv. 400.

tempered and chastened by bitter experiences, subdued and rendered gentle and cheerful by Christian sympathy and divine trust, in the midst of a people who had outgrown opposition and indifference and had learned to love him as "a dear friend, a wise counsellor, and a strong helper," the end came.⁶⁸ He lived, as he had hoped, to serve God to the last, having preached on the Sunday before he was attacked by fever. He lingered about ten days and "Finnished his Work and Entred upon an Eternal Sabbath of Rest on y^e Lords Day Iune y^e 10 1705 in y^e 74 Year of his Age."⁶⁹ While dying he said to one who spoke to him:—"For more than Fifty years together, I have been Labouring to uphold a Life of Communion with God; and I thank the Lord, I now find the Comfort of it."⁷⁰

Among his manuscripts was found this verse which to him who reads it aright is as a cloud of gloomy thoughts, born of bitter experiences, illumined by the almost heavenly grace and faith of the dying teacher:—

DEATH Expected and Welcomed.

Welcome, Sweet REST, by me so long Desired,
Who have with Sins and Grievs, so long been tired.
And Welcome, DEATH, my Fathers Messenger;
Of my Felicity the Hastener.
Welcome, Good ANGELS, who, for me Distrest,
Are come to Guard me to Eternal Rest.
Welcome, O CHRIST, who hast my Soul Redeemed;
Whose Favour I have more than Life Esteemed.⁷¹

⁶⁸ *Mors, Separavit a Nobis, Dulcem Amicum, Prudentem Consiliarium, Fortem Auxiliarium.* Bern. de Humberto. Mather, *A Faithful Man*, 27.

⁶⁹ Gravestone at Sandy Bank (Bell Rock). Sewall thus notices his death:—"Lord's Day, June 10, 1705. The Learned and pious Mr. Michael Wigglesworth died at Malden about 9. m. Had been sick about 10. days of a Fever; 73 years and 8 moneths old. He was the Author of the Poem entituled The Day of Doom, which has been so often printed: and was very useful as a Physician." *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xlv. 132. At the following Commencement, Edward Holyoke, afterwards President of the College, "began that part of his oration relating to Mr. Wigglesworth with.

Maldonatus Orthodoxus," a double allusion to his dwelling-place and the pious and learned Jesuit Johannes Maldonatus. Cf. Pierce, *Hist. of Harvard University*; 251; *Mass. Hist. Coll.* xlv. 134; Dean, *Wigglesworth*, 115.

Edward Wigglesworth wrote in the commonplace book of his father: "It Pleased y^e Almighty disposer of all things, in his wise providence to exercise me with such an afflicting dispensation y^eof, as y^e bereaving me of him who should have been y^e Guide of my Youth by causing my Father to rest from his labours on y^e Lords day, June y^e 10th 1705, In y^e Seventy fourth year of his Age."

⁷⁰ Mather, *A Faithful Man*, 27.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 45.

On Sunday, June 24, 1705, in the little meeting house by the side of Bell Rock, Cotton Mather preached a sermon on "a faithful man," in memory of "that Faithful and Aged Servant of God,"⁷² who a little earlier had been laid to rest in the burying ground at Sandy Bank, near by, in the midst of the dead, who when living had been the cause of both joy and sorrow in his heart.⁷³

The preacher "remembered" him afterwards in an epitaph, which he appended to the funeral sermon.

His Pen did once *Meat from the Eater* fetch ;
And now he's gone beyond the *Eaters* reach.
His *Body*, once so *Thin*, was next to *None* ;
From Thence, he's to *Unbodied Spirits* flown.
Once his rare skill did all *Diseases* heal ;
And he does nothing now *uneasy* feel.
He to his *Paradise* is Joyful come ;
And waits with Joy to see his *Day of Doom*.

Full of quaint and characteristic conceits is the composure of the punning pastor of the Old North Church ; but better known

⁷² This sermon was preached from the following text : Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life. *Rev.* ii. 10. It was soon after printed. A modernized edition, in which the authorship was carelessly ascribed to Increase Mather, was issued in 1849, "at the instance, and chiefly at the expense" of the late Mrs. Dolly (Blanchard) Upham, and distributed among the inhabitants of Malden, "in hopes of their sharing in the blessings she has received from its perusal." The reprint contains a short introduction by the Rev. Alexander W. McClure.

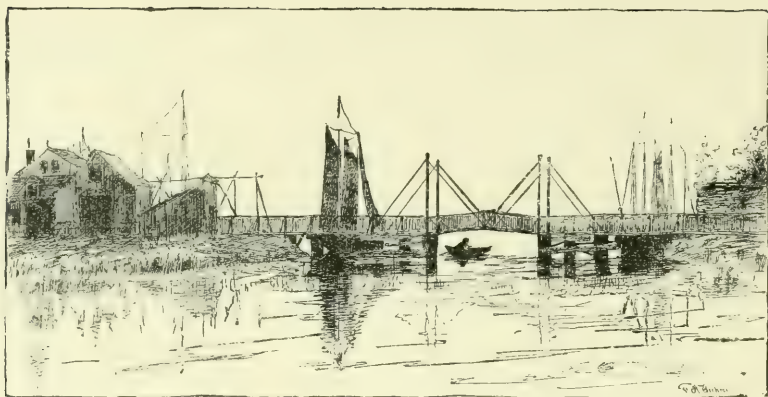
⁷³ The following vote was passed by the town, March 8, 1705% ; "voted y^t M^{rs} Wigglesworth shall haue allowed her 4 shiling p^r weeke for her entertaining y^e ministars sinc M^r Wigglesworth deced^d : which is 30 weeks. vote y^t M^{rs} Wigglesworth shall haue 12. 10. 0. money paid her for m^r Wigglesworth Labour jn y^e ministrey y^e last quarter of a yeer he lived."

Mrs. Wigglesworth remained a short time in Malden, and then removed to

Cambridge among her relatives, where Judge Sewall visited her, July 4, 1707, and found her suffering with the jaundice. She died, August 6, 1708, at the age of fifty-two years. Sewall writes : "Monday, Aug^t 9. 1708. Went to the Funeral of Mrs. Wigglesworth. Bearers of Mrs. Wigglesworth, The President and Mr. Hobart ; Mr. Thacher, Mr. Danforth Dorchr ; Mr. Brattle, Mr. Walter. Only Col. Phillips and I of the Council were there : Mr. Speaker was there." *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xlv. 229. Her son, Edward Wigglesworth, writes of her as "an affectionate, charitable, praying saint, one who desired the good of everybody, and likewise to be herself ever doing in good." He adds that she "endured many sorrows and underwent great afflictions, in all which she was a mirrour of patience and constancy, bearing all with true Christian fortitude, till at length God took her from a sinful and weary world to joy unspeakable and full of glory." MS. of E. Wigglesworth, cited by Dean, *Wigglesworth*, 123.

and more often quoted is the terse and homely couplet on the mossy stone at the dead teacher's head.

HERE LIES INTERD IN SILENT GRAU^E
BELOW MAULDENS PHYSICIAN
FOR SOUL AND BODY TWO.



CHAPTER X.

PIONEERS, SOLDIERS, AND WITCHCRAFT.

WHATEVER the superficial observer may pretend to see in the past which is now two centuries ago, there was very little of romance in the lives of the fore-dwellers of New England. The land which, when weary leagues away beyond the sea, seemed to flow with milk and honey and to stand forth a later Canaan amid the virgin forests of the new world, became to their nearer vision a reality of bleak and rocky shores, a stubborn land of dark woods and rocky soil wherein Israel might rest; but where existence was to be had at the price of privations not unmixed with suffering, and where a livelihood was only to be gained by the literal sweat of the brow.

Out of such surroundings and from such conditions arose a generation not unlike the country which had given them birth and in which their early youth had been passed. While the first generation of settlers, English born and bred as they were, were English in their ways, the second generation, to whom England was a far-off land — the land indeed of their fathers and mothers, but as unreal to them as a land of dreams, were a step removed from English manners and perhaps from English habits of thought. There was then a beginning of those characteristics of body and mind which had widely diverged from the English standards before the close of the provincial period, and

which at the present day distinguish the men of New England from their insular kinsmen.

Much though there may have been of spiritual grace in these men and women of the seventeenth century, there was little of that outward grace which tempers the manners of men and beautifies, if it does not elevate, the lives which fall within the circle of its influence. Out of the hard and simple lives which they led perforce came a race of hard and simple men and women, who were almost without a sense of the beautiful, thinking little of those arts which had borne a rich fruitage in the land of their fathers, and who were as careless of the beautiful in nature as in art. Hardly within the pale of civilization could a people be found, even in the seventeenth century, so destitute of the æsthetic sense. In music, their knowledge was bounded by the few tunes which they painfully sung in a high and unnatural key in the dreary meeting houses, which matched the tunes they sung. Of painting and sculpture they knew comparatively nothing; and poetry of a range above the Bay Psalms or the Day of Doom, and philosophy, except it came within the narrow limits of a prescribed theology, were forbidden fruits.

What little of elegance they might possess was not of that kind which elevates and refines; but rather that which appealed to the lower senses. Something of affectation in dress, some little approach to luxury at table in the direction of richer food or costly wines, some little extravagances in house or lands there were now and then, but nothing more. Articles of silver there were here and there, sometimes, furniture of English make and superior fashion; but they were mostly articles of necessity or things which the love of father or mother had consecrated and which had come to New England in the moving of the household gods. Otherwise, the furniture and service of the people in general were rude and unhandy, save where pride had gathered something better or more costly for ostentatious purposes alone.

Nor was the inner life of the people of a more pleasing cast. Over the souls of men there seemed to rest a sombre cloud, which obscured or wholly hid what might have been open and

bright. As were the actions of men, so were their thoughts. They seemed to have been set in a minor key. There was darkness wherever they turned. Man, born in pain, passed through a life of trouble and died. Even the hopes or certainties of a blessed immortality were transmuted in the alembic of their gloomy minds into denunciations of wrath to the children of men; and the brightest hopes and the deepest consolations that they could gather from the grave bore fruit in lugubrious wails and warnings, which at a later day looked out at the passer-by from beneath grinning or painful cherubs carved in all the rudeness of the gravestone cutter's art.

you that pass by this place may think on me,
For as you are so once you did me see;
what I am now will quickly be your doom;
Prepare for death before the summons come.

While such was the prevailing condition of society, if that can be called society where so much is wanting, there was yet a lower depth; and where the influences which held men to a strict and rigid line of morality were relaxed there was a falling away, at times, into debasing crimes, some of which are rare or altogether unknown in New England at the present day. It must not be forgotten, in extenuation, that the seventeenth century was within the limits of the great age of brutality, which outlasted the middle ages and penetrated even into the years of our later civilization. It was an age of excess in all things, even in religion; and if religion, or the moral power which it exerts, were wanting and men indulged their more earthy passions, they ran to wild extremes and horrid depravities.

Yet there was much of promise in the strait and formal habits of life and thought of the fathers of New England. Underlying all was a sound and uncompromising enmity to injustice and wrong, and an unflinching devotion to the right, as they understood it; and more than all, there was a sturdy assertion of the independence of the individual and, through him, of the masses. There was an ever-present democracy, latent sometimes and sometimes militant, but always ready to spring into life and action. They were not always law-abiding; but it was a wicked

or an unjust law which they resisted; and their resistance was usually fortified by good and sufficient legal principles. These were English characteristics—or rather, Puritanic-English characteristics, tempered and changed in time by circumstances; for the first comers possessed them at the beginning, although they were not inclined to act as readily and freely as their children of the next and succeeding generations, to whom was given to fill the measure of wrath against oppression. Out of these qualities came all that has endured of the old Puritanic fabric which the fathers reared; and, while the mistakes and weaknesses of the past have disappeared one by one, these enduring qualities have remained with us as a people and are the corner-stones of a great nation.

Of similar characteristics were the settlers and early inhabitants of Malden; and while they may not have reached the higher limits of those qualities, they, happily, did not descend to the lower depths of ignorance and crime. They were the common people of a common New England settlement of the lesser kind—farmers, woodsmen, and craftsmen, who cleared their lands and built their humble homes, jealously guarding their privileges as well against ecclesiastical as against civil encroachments. I have already repeated some part of the story of their opposition to injustice and their independent assertion and defence of their invaded rights. Otherwise, they were a simple folk, as poor in worldly goods as they were in the outward graces; but inwardly as rich in the Puritanic qualities of pluck and patience as they were outwardly poor. I cannot say for them that they were of the better class of settlers in the extraneous matters of birth and rank. There is only a faint indication that William Brackenbury was of an aristocratic family; and William Sargeant was a son of a mayor of an English city. Joseph Hills and John Wayte divided with them the education and honors of the community.¹ Yet what were rank and family,

¹ Happy am I if I have not aroused the ire of my fellow townsmen in asserting the humble origin of our forebears. If I have read aright, the aim of many writers of local history has been to “glorify” the fathers in the face of reason and reality. The founders of New England were humble men, mechanics and farmers—delvers for the most part; and their honors were not

or even education, except so far as it strengthened the man who owned it, in the woods of Mystic Side? There were fields to clear, houses, roads, and mills to build, and above all, in God's providence, the foundations of a nation to lay deep, though they in their weakness knew it not, happily building better than they knew.

These were the conditions of the people of Malden during the period which intervened between their settlement and the war of the Indian Philip. Their work was that of subduing the forests and wild lands, and bringing them into forms fit for the uses of civilization. Then were laid out farms, whose boundary lines may still be traced, and roads, which from mere winding paths have become our principal streets.

Although the bounds of Malden have in the course of years become circumscribed, and its territory divided, it has room for a present population greater than the men of 1650 could have ever dreamed would occupy their lands; yet the town was early found too strait for the handful of settlers who occupied it; and in 1662 they addressed the following petition to the General Court:—

Maldens Petition for Penⁿycooke.

To the honoured Court now Assembled at Boston the 7th of th 4th M^o. 1662 :

the petition of the inhabitants of Maldon humbly Shewing.

That the Bounds of our Town are Exceeding streight; the most of our Improued lands & Meadow being limited About two Miles in length and one in Breadth; And that Allso the most part of it by purchase from Charlst^o. wherof wee were A small Branch; from whom Allso wee had all the Com^mons wee haue; which is verie small & Rockie.

That hitherto, we haue had no Jnlargement from the Countrie; nor can wee haue Any neere Adioyning, being Surrounded by sundry Townships.

That our Charges to the Countrie & Ministry much Exceedeth sundry others, who haue many times our Accom^modations And as many here

such as spring from titles and rank. If, here and there, one exceeded the others in attainments and birth, it was an exception to the general rule. Nor were they always the heroes and saints which amateur writers affect to believe. Their weaknesses and faults were those

of humanity, intensified perhaps by the conditions in which they were placed; and their virtues were tempered by them. Local historians have falsified and obscured the truth, thereby gratifying a false pride. They have their reward.

do know Our Teacher Allso hath been long visited with verie great weaknesses; from which it is much feared he will not be recovered. For this and other weightie Considerations Our most humble Petition to this much honoured Court is; That A Tract of lands of About fowre Miles Square at A place Called Penⁿycooke may be Granted As an Addition to vs, for our better Support And Incouragement; in the Service of Christ & the Countrie; to be layd out by m^r Jonathan Danforth or some other Artist And Cap^t Ed: Jonson or John Parker.

So with our heartie prayers to God for your vtmost peace & prosperitie; wee Craue leaue to Subscribe ourselues

y^t verie humble Seruants

JOSEPH HILLS:	WILL: BRAKENBURY
JOHN WAYTE	JOHN SPRAGUE
ABRA ^m : HILL	THO: CALL
JOB LANE	PETER TUFTS.
ROBERT BURDIN	

*In the name of the rest.*²

But although the Court recognized the justice of the claim of the Malden people, "the Deputyes [did] think not meete to graunt this petⁿ," as the lands at Pennacook seemed more desirable for other uses — for that of actual settlement, which the petitioners did not contemplate. Other towns asked for grants at the same place; and the Deputies, foreseeing that an early settlement might be made there, passed the following order: —

Upon Information that Penⁿiecocke is An Apt place for A Townshipp; And in consideration of the lords great blessing upon the countrie in multiplying the inhabitants & plantations here; And that Allmost All such places are Allreadie taken up Jt is Ordered by this Court that the lands at Penⁿiecook be reserved for A plantation till so many of such as have petitioned for lands there or at others shall present to settle A plantation there.

The Deputies have past this desiring the consent of o^r Honord magist^s thereto.

WILLIAM TORREY, *Cleric*.³

A few days after, the Deputies, considering the Malden petition, declared: —

This Courte Consideringe the Town of Maldon is very much straightened in regard of Lands, & having p^rsented theire desires to this Court

² *Mass. Archives*, cxii. 147. Pennacook, the Crooked Place, was the name of the land at the bend in the Merrimac, where now stands Concord, N. H.

³ *Ibid.*

for some Enlargment in Answer where vnto this Court thinkes meete to graunt to the Church & Towne of Maldon one thousand Aco^{rs} of Land, where they can find a free place neere vnto some plantation where there is a settled ministry, to be & remayn to them & their successors for ever, towards the yearely Defraying of their Church Charges the Depu^{ts} haue past this Desireinge the Consent of o^r honord magis^{ts} hereto

21 (3^d) 1662

WILLIAM TORREY *Cleric*.⁴

The "honord magis^{ts}" found this order a little too free in its requirements, and substituted the following, which was "Consented to by y^e Depu^{ts}" on the same day.

21. (3) 1662. In Answ^r to the petition of maulden the Court do graunt to y^e ministry there 1000 acc^{ts} of land in any place not legally Disposed of. to be forev^r appropriated to the vse & benefit of the ministry of the s^d place & not to be alienated or otherwise disposed off: & this on condition that they cause it to be bounded out, & put on im-p^rvem^t for the ends p^rposed within 3 : years next ensuing : voted on y^e affirmative by y^e mag^{ts}.

T. DANFORTH p^r E. R. S.⁵

This grant was laid out within the term allowed, and the Court accepted the surveyor's return at its session, May 3, 1665.

Att the request of the inhabitants of Maulden, as also in obedience vnto the grant of the honored Generall Court of the Massachusetts vnto the toune of Maulden for the benefit of the ministry of Maulden, layd out & exactly measured, according to rules of art, by me vnderwritten, one thousand acres of vpland & meadow, about two miles distant south-westerly from the southwest angle of Lancaster bounds, as also about a mile distant southwesterly from the lands formerly granted & layd out vnto Cap^t Richard Dauenport, beginning at the south end of a high, rocky, pine hill, at a litle red oake marked wth the letter M; & from thence a l^jne vpon an east southeast point, two hundred & twelue rods, vnto a pine marked M; & from the pine marked as aforesajd, a line vpon a south point, sixe hundred & forty rods; & from thence, a line vpon a west northwest point, three hundred & seventy rods; & from thence, on line vpon a north & by east point, sixe degrees easterly, six hundred & twenty rods; & these fower l^jnes, so runne, making vp the full complement of the abouesajd one thousand acres, as is more plainly described by a plot; humbly entreating of this honored Court that they

⁴ *Mass. Archives*, x. 206.

(2), 45. E. R. S. for E[dward] R[awson],

⁵ *Ibid.* Cf. *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. S[ecretary].

will be pleased to confirme their grant, & that this retorne may be recorded.

THO: NOYES, *Surveyor*.⁶

This tract as then located was in the northern part of that portion of Worcester which afterwards became the town of Holden, where a committee of the General Court found the ancient bound marks in 1742.⁷ But in the year 1701, the town having chosen Thomas Newhall, John Dexter, and John Lynde, Jr. "to go to woster & run y^e bounds of malden farm," they found land "which bare some resemblance of Malden grant." This tract, of which nine hundred acres were in the northern part of the present town of Shrewsbury and one hundred acres in that portion of Worcester which was afterwards Holden and West Boylston, was surveyed and "bounded out as belonging to Malden," and was accepted as such by the General Court. It was reserved to Malden in the grant which was made in 1717 to the proprietors of Shrewsbury.⁸ This error of location caused considerable trouble in the course of time, and resulted in several law suits and much protracted business on the part of the General Court; but Malden was finally confirmed in its title to the Shrewsbury land.

Although this grant was made "to the vse & benefit of the ministry," the town endeavored to divert it from its original purpose, but failed to obtain the consent of the Court.

[May 27, 1668] In ans^r to the petition of Jn^o Vpham, W^m Brackenbury, Jn^o Wayte, Jn^o Sprague, in behalf of y^e toune of Maulden, the Court sees no reason to grant their request, but judge that the land mentioned in the petition shall remayne for the vse of the ministry wthout alteration, vnless they shall present that to the Court w^{ch} they may judge better.⁹

Under this order the land remained for the use of the ministry until it was sold by the First, or North Parish, in 1754. It was the fruitful source of troubles and lawsuits for many years, not only with encroaching settlers and the towns in which it was located, but also between the precincts into which Malden was afterwards divided. It may be questioned whether

⁶ *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (2), 148.

⁸ *Ibid.*, xvii. (3), 592.

⁷ *General Court Records*, xvii. (3), 593.

⁹ *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (2), 377.

the scanty income which the ministry received was worth the years of litigation and anxiety which it cost the officers and voters of the simple little town.

If the people of Malden barely located their grant within the time allowed, they were still more dilatory in improving it "for the ends proposed," although the order required that it should be "put on improvem^t within 3 : years." A committee of the Court complained, in 1669, that "it is now aboue sixe yeares since, & no improovement made," and that "if it be continued & confirmed in this place it will vtterly hinder the settling a plantation," which had been ordered to be established at that place. "This farme," say they, "containes a chojce tract of land in the center of this village, & swallowes vp about one hundred acres" of the scant three hundred acres of meadow which the place affords; and they hoped that if this and other obstructions should be removed "it will not be long before this place be setled in a good way, for the honour of God & the publick good."¹⁰ The Court, however, excepted the "Maulden farme," and a smaller grant near by, from the lands which were "reserved for publicke vse;" and allotments were soon after made there to persons contemplating actual settlement.

This "new plantation" at Quansigamug, which was the first attempt to settle the town of Worcester, is described as being "vpon the roade to Sprinkfeild about 12 miles westward from Marlborough." A petition, dated May 27, 1674, contains the names of twenty-nine persons to whom lots had then been granted and laid out. Of these the following are the names of Malden or Mystic Side men, who may have been led thither by the circumstance of the Malden grant: —

Philip Atwood,	Thomas Pratt,
Lazarus Grover,	John Provender,
Simon Grover,	Thomas Skinner,
Stephen Grover,	John Starkey,
Thomas Grover,	Henry Swillaway,
Samuel Lee,	Phineas Upham,
Simon Meylin,	Daniel Whittemore,

Pelatiah Whittemore.¹¹

¹⁰ *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (2), 436.

¹¹ *Mass. Archives*, cxii. 237.

Besides these, Joel Jenkins, Tryal Newberry, John Paul, John Shaw, and Benjamin Webb were in the early part of the following year owners of grants which had been confirmed and registered. Joel Jenkins had a lot of one hundred acres; others had lots of twenty-five or fifty acres. Philip Atwood, Thomas Grover, Simon Meylin, John Provender, and Phineas Upham were actual settlers in the month of April, 1675, when the work was commenced with vigor and several houses were built.¹² That they contemplated a permanent settlement is evident, and other Malden proprietors would probably have followed them, but the enterprise was of a short duration. On the fourteenth of July following, Matoonas, the Nipmuck chief who was afterwards executed on Boston Common for his exploits, attacked the little settlement at Mendon in supposed revenge for the death of his son, who had been hanged for the murder of a man in Dedham in 1671.¹³

In the alarm which followed, induced by the insecurity which prevailed among the frontier towns, the pioneers withdrew into the security of the older towns, or took the field against the enemy. The deserted houses at Quansigamug were burned by the Indians, December 2, 1675,¹⁴ and the land was not again occupied until 1684. A meeting of a committee of the General Court and those who were interested in the plantation was held at Cambridge, March 3, 1678⁹, at which Philip Atwood, Thomas Grover, Joel Jenkins, Simon Meylin, John Paul, Thomas Skinner, John Upham, and Benjamin Webb were present as proprietors; but it does not appear that they took personal parts in the resettlement.¹⁵

In the meantime, although, perhaps, impeded a little by the local causes of strife and the troubles of the church and Mr. Wigglesworth, — impeded somewhat, perhaps, by sickness and privations, by lack of labor and tools, the building of the little town above Mystic Side went on. Forests were felled and fertile fields were opened to the sun, and a school was estab-

¹² Cf. Lincoln, *History of Worcester*, 18-20.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁵ Lincoln, *History of Worcester*, 33.

¹³ Mather, *Brief History of the War*, 5, 43.

lished. By-laws and regulations were made for the general good, as simple as the manners of the people, sometimes as ludicrous as their makers were uncouth. Yet while we smile at their simplicity, we may remember that in those rules and in those manners were hid the germs, at least, of manliness and independence which burst forth after many years into a ripening harvest; and that the prosperity of the present was born out of the rudeness of that age, and the apparent sterility of that unpromising soil.

In the midst of their labor and already heavy burdens, other troubles and heavier trials seemed about to burst upon them — did burst at last in blood and a great cost out of the little worldly treasure which they and their fellows in the Colony possessed. Rumors of fast couriers flitting from tribe to tribe, of secret meetings in remote and lonely fastnesses of nature, of combinations and threatened uprisings, were frequent. However much they may have despised the Indian, they now began to fear him, and portents were not wanting to add to the general alarm. The disquietude and fears which as mental spectres had oppressed their thoughts stalked forth as visible spectres upon the earth and in the air. Increase Mather tells the story.

Anno 1667. There were fears on the spirits of many of the *English*, concerning *Philip* and his *Indians*, and that year, Novemb. 30, about 9, or 10 *ho.* A. M. being a very clear, still Sun-shine morning, there were diverse Persons in *Maldon*, who heard in the air on the Southeast of them, a great Gun go off, and as soon as that was past, they heard the report of small Guns like musket shott, discharging very thick, as if it had been at a general Training; but that which did most of all amaze them, was the flying of the Bullets which came singing over their heads, and seemed to be very near them, after this they heard drums passing by them and going Westward. The same day, at *Scituate*, (and in other places) in *Plimouth* Colony, they heard as it were the running of troops of horses. I would not have mentioned this relation, had I not received it from serious, faithfull, and Judicious hands, even of those who were ear witnesses of these things.¹⁶

¹⁶ Mather, *Brief History of the War*, Niles, *History of the Indian and French Wars*, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxvi. 255.

"Now, Reader," adds his wonder-loving son, "prepare for the Event of these *Prodigies*, but count me not struck with a Livian Superstition in Reporting *Prodigies*, for which I have such Incontestible Assurance."¹⁷

At this juncture the military power of the Colony, which had not seen service since the Pequot war in 1637, began to receive more earnest attention. Privileges were granted to troopers, laws were recast or more urgently enforced to accustom the arms-bearing citizens to military duty, and regulations were made to perfect their organization and increase their efficiency.

In common with the other towns, as required by law, Malden had early attended to its military duties. Edward Johnson informs us at the time of the incorporation of the town, that "the Band of *Malden*, being as yet a young Town, who have not chosen their Officers, are led by Mr. *Joseph Hill*."¹⁸ Mr. Hills continued to lead this company until his removal to Newbury in 1665. It will be remembered that in 1655 the place of muster was at Ipswich and Mr. Wigglesworth took advantage of the presence of Mr. Hills at that place to settle some of the disquiet which he felt in relation to his settlement at Malden. Joseph Hills was seldom called Captain, the military title being overshadowed by the more honorable affix of Mr.¹⁹

No mention is made of the inferior officers until October 7, 1651, when "John Waite is chosen and allowed ensign by this Court for the company at Maldon."²⁰ The name of the second officer at this time has not been found; but at a County Court, April 4, 1654, "John Waite being Chosen by the Inhabitants of Mauldon, the Leiftennant of their Military Company is allowed by this Court. and John Sprague in Like man^r for their En-

¹⁷ Mather, *Magnalia*, B. 7, ch. 6, sect. 5.

¹⁸ *Wonder-working Providence*, 192.

¹⁹ The title of Mr. was applied to clergymen, college graduates, and to those who by their position merited a special distinction; and the exactness with which it was used is in strong contrast with the present use of the much abused titles of Honorable and Esquire. The somewhat whimsical punishment of

Josias Plastow in 1631 is evidence of the importance which was attached to it: "It is ordered, that Josias Plastow shall (for stealeing 4 basketts of corne from the Indians) returne them 8 basketts againe, be ffined v^l, & hereafter to be called by the name of Josias, & not Mr, as form^{ly} hee vsed to be." *Mass. Colony Records*, i. 92.

²⁰ *Middlesex Court Records*, i. 21.

signe.”²¹ Sergeant Thomas Lynde is mentioned in 1658, and William Brackenbury was clerk of the company in 1665. In the fall of the latter year, Joseph Hills having removed from the town, John Wayte and John Sprague were advanced by election to the offices of captain and lieutenant.²² Ensign Thomas Lynde was an officer of the company in 1675; and the names of Corporal John Green and Sergeant Samuel Haward appear in 1678.

The Middlesex Regiment, consisting of sixteen companies, had been under the command of Major Daniel Gookin of Cambridge, who was commissioned May 5, 1676; but in 1680 it was divided, and Malden with the neighboring towns formed the First Regiment under Major Gookin, while the western towns of the county were transferred to a new regiment under Major Peter Bulkley of Concord. In the latter year we hear of Sergeant Thomas Skinner in the Malden company, and of Sergeant Samuel Sprague in 1684. John Wayte and John Sprague were continued in their commissions from their election in 1665, through Philip's war and until 1685, when Captain Wayte was dismissed by the General Court in answer to the following petition.

To y^e Honoured General Court now sitting at Boston this 18th March instant.

The Petition of John Wayt, senior of Maldin humbly sheweth.

That whereas J have been putt into y^e place of a Captain by Commission from the honoured General Court for many years past; but being now by the holy providence of y^e All-wise God deprived of my sight, whereby I am incapacitated for any farther attending that service, my humble request to this Honoured Court is that they would be pleased to dismiss me therefrom, & your petitioner shall continue to pray for y^e guidance & blessing of God upon you in all your concerns.

J^O WAYTE

The Deputys Judge meete to graunt this petition. y^e honord magists hereto consenting.

WILLIAM TORREY *Cleric*

March: 19th 1684 $\frac{1}{2}$

Consented to by y^e magists.

21 March 8 $\frac{1}{2}$

EDWARD RAWSON *Secre^y*²³

²¹ *Middlesex Court Records*, i. 53.

²² *Middlesex Court Files*, *in loco*.

²³ *Mass. Archives*, lxx. 131.

Captain Wayte had been Speaker of the House of Deputies in the preceding year. Soon after Ensign Thomas Lynde, another old officer of the Malden company, presented the following petition.

To the Honored generall Court: now siting in Boston The petition of Thomas Lynde of malden Humbly Showeth : whereas you haue bin pleased to Commission your Suplyant to y^e ofise of An Ensigne in y^e foot Comp^y: millitary of malden An through the Jnfirmytyes of age J find my Selfe altogether in capasytated to doe you any further Servis in Said ofise J beg therefore your dismission from y^r servis: and shall pray for yo^r prosperity and Remaine your Humble Serv^t.

May 6th, 1685 :

THOMAS LYNDE.²⁴

At the General Court in June the following order was passed : —

In ans^r to the foot company of Mauldens petition, the Court doe hereby appoint Leift Jn^o Sprague to be capitaine, & grants liberty to Sarj^t Samuel Sprague to officiate as leiften^{nt}, & Joseph Wilson to officiat as ensigne vnder him, sajd cap^t, in order to their establishment & being com^missioned.²⁵

These officers appear to have been commissioned in that or the succeeding year ; but their commissions were voided by the administration of Sir Edmund Andros. After the revolution of 1689 the company was reorganized. There appears to have been some dissatisfaction with Lieutenant Samuel Sprague. With the following paper we may leave, for the present, the "Malden Band," which had now become permanently established.

To The Hon^{our}l Gen^lall Court Now assembled at Boston in The Colony off the Massachusetts Jn New-England.

These are to Certifie That at a meeting of the Millitary company Jn Maldon on the first Day of y^e Jstant July: Being Legally Warned Therevnto. The Company Then, & There agreeing To choose Their Millitary officers. —

John Sprague Sen^r was chosen Cap^t :

Joseph Wilson Sen^r was chosen Leuit^{nt} :

Phinehas Sprague Sen^r was chosen Ensigⁿ :

²⁴ *Mass. Archives*, lxx. 132.

²⁵ *Mass. Colony Records*, v. 483; also *Mass. Archives*, lxx. 136.

Whom Wee Humbly p^rsent To this Hon^d Courtt for their Acceptance —

Attest BENJAMIN WEBB *Clerk*

That all officers Comissionated in the town of maldin in may 1686 stand in Commission except they se cause to laydown, or Just Excep- tion be brought in against them.

Past by the Representatives in the affirmative.

July 6 : 1689

Attests EBENEZER PROUT *Clerk*

Consented to by y^e Governo^r and Councill

Js^A ADDINGTON *Sec^{ry}*.

Understanding the L^t Comissionated in 1686 : having layd down his place the Representatives do allow of the above nomination of L^t : & ensign : in there Respective offices and Cap^t Jn^o Sprague

July : 11th : 1689 :

Attests

EBENEZER PROUT : *Clerk*.

Consented to by the Councill

Js^A ADDINGTON *Sec^{ry}*.²⁶

Not all the available military force of the town was enrolled in the foot company ; for a portion of the men, probably those of the better class, were members of a cavalry company, which was in some degree a more aristocratic organization and pretended to some little elegance in its trappings. This company, which was composed of "The Troopers Belonging to the Towns of Malden Redding Rumley marsh and Linn," was known as the Three County Troop and preserved its existence for more than forty years. It had its origin in the following order of the General Court : —

[May 26, 1658] In ans^r to the petition of some of the inhabitants of Ljnne & Reading & Rumly Marsh, the Court judgeth it meete to graunt them liberty to rajse a troope of horse, & choose theire officers, provided they be not fferry free, nor haue five shillings yearly allowed them from the country, as other troop's haue.²⁷

By a former order of the Court, they were entitled to especial privileges "as is exprest in this order" : —

²⁶ *Mass. Archives*, cxvii. 187. Ensign Phineas Sprague died Jan. 23, 1694; and in April John Greenland was presented and confirmed by the General Court as

his successor. *General Court Records*, April 14, 1691.

²⁷ *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (1), 341.

First. Exemptⁿ from all traynings in all foote companies & cunstable watches; 2^{ly}. Freedome from rates for his p^rson & horse; 3^{ly}. Free com^monage for his horse in any of the towne com^mons where he inhabits, & in any com^mons where they are exercised during the time of their exercise; 5^{ly}. Lib^tie to chose a lieutenant & other inferior officers; 6^{ly}. His horse shall not be prest to any other service.²⁸

By a later order it was provided that,

such souldjers listed, amounting to the number of thirty, shall be accompted a troope, and have libertie of choise and nomination of cap^t, left, and cornet, and quartermaster, who, being allowed by the authoritie of the Courte, shall stand by com^mission, and all other inferior officers to be chosen by the company, and established by the cheife com^mander of the troope, and that all such troopers shall keepe a good horse, and well fitted with saddle, bridle, holsters, and pistols, or a carbjne and sword, and having listed his horse, shall not alter nor put him of without licence from the com^mander in cheife, and the sajd troope shall be exercised according to lawe.²⁹

Edward Hutchinson was chosen captain of the new troop and confirmed by the Court, May 28, 1659.³⁰ At the session of June 12, 1663, the troopers of Essex having been divided into two bodies, "In ans^r to the petition of Cap^t Edward Hutchinson, cap^t of the three county troope, the Court judgeth it meete to declare, — That the troopers of the Three County Troope residing in Ljnne are not taken of from that troope whereof they were," and "That Cap^t Hutchinsons com^mission doeth bind him to com^mand the troopers residing in Lynne, that are listed wth him as formerly."³¹ But at the next session it was ordered: —

that henceforth the troopers inhabitting in Lynne shall apperteyne vnto & joyne wth Salem troope, any former order of this Court otherwise disposing of them notwithstanding, excepting only such as shall rather choose to continue wth the Three County Troope, & shall certify their desire so to doe vnder their hands at the next meeting of Salem troope.³²

Two years later, "[May 3, 1665.] John Tuttle being chosen leiften^{nt}, & W^m Haisy cornet, to the Three County Troope, the

²⁸ *Mass. Colony Records*, iii. 128.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, iv. (1), 80.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 369.

³¹ *Ibid.*, iv. (2), 82.

³² *Ibid.*, 95.

Court allowes & approoves of their ellection, & ord's that the secretary give them their com^missions." ³³ These officers were inhabitants of Rumney Marsh; and Lieutenant Tuttle held his position until May 7, 1673, when it is recorded: "Vpon the request of Leiftennant John Tutle, left to the Three County Troope, he is dismist from y^t service, & M^r Eliakim Hutchinson is to suply y^t place." ³⁴ Hutchinson was "chosen & appointed" lieutenant in the following October; but for some reason he laid down his office at an early day. May 27, 1674, it is recorded that "Cornet W^m Hajsy is appointed to be leftennant, & Jonathan Poole to be cornet to the Three County Troope, vnder the conduct of Edward Hutchinson, their captaine." ³⁵

Captain Hutchinson ³⁶ having petitioned "that he might lay doune his captains place of the Three County Troope," it is recorded under the date of October 7, 1674, that "the Court grants his request, and doe order & appoint M^r Humphry Davy to be cap^t of the Three County Troope, & that he haue com^mission accordingly." At the same session, however, it is

³³ *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (2), 149. The commissions of these officers had been withheld more than two years. At a session of the Court, October 8, 1662, it was ordered:—

"In ans^r to the petition of Jonathan Poole & William Greene, in behalf of the Three Countys Troope, present M^r Jn^o Tutle as left, & W^m Hajsy as cornet, the Court orders, that, on certifficat to this Court or the Court of Asistants, that iff the sajd persons nominated for officers to y^e s^d troope be circumstanced as the lawe provides, that they be allowed." *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (2), 66.

³⁴ *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (2), 558. Eliakim Hutchinson was a cousin of Captain Edward Hutchinson. He married, in 1668, Sarah, daughter of Henry Shrimpton of Noddle's Island. He appears to have lived at Noddle's Island or Rumney Marsh, and his name is found with Rumney Marsh men in service in 1676.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, v. 6. Jonathan Poole was of Reading. He had an earlier connection with the troop when the Court, May 31, 1671, appointed "Jn^othan Poole qu^{ter}

m^r to y^e tripartit trajne." *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (2), 488.

³⁶ Edward Hutchinson, eldest son of William and the celebrated Antinomian, Anne (Marbury) Hutchinson, was an inhabitant of Boston. He was experienced in military and Indian affairs, and was well known among the savages, by whom he was trusted. He appears to have resigned his command of the Three County Troop from business reasons; but circumstances caused him to become more deeply engaged in military matters. He was early in the field in the following summer; and his extensive acquaintance in the Nipmuck country caused him to be sent there, with Captain Thomas Wheeler's troop, for the purpose of endeavoring to disengage that tribe from the Narragansett alliance. While seeking a body of Nipmucks who had failed to keep an appointment at a plain in Quabauge, now Brookfield, August 2, 1675, the troop fell into an ambuscade and Captain Hutchinson received a mortal wound, while eight men were killed upon the field. Mather, *Brief History of the War*, 6.

found that "Mr Humphry Davy hauing declared his non-acceptance of the office of cap^t of the Three County Troope, the Court judgeth it meete to respitt any supply for that place till the Court of Election."³⁷

It does not appear that a captain was presently appointed; for Lieutenant Hasey commanded the company, and was in active service during Philip's war with the several quotas which the troop furnished. At least eight men from Malden were out with him in 1675, with troopers from the adjacent towns; and ten men were ordered to be raised from the company by impressment, February 21, 1675%, for an expedition towards the frontier.³⁸ A few weeks later the troop was called upon for its proportion of "eighty troopers, compleatly armed," who were to "repaire to Concord," by the last of May.³⁹

It was not until June 1, 1677, that a captain appears to have been confirmed by the Court. "Jonathan Wade is appointed cap^t of the Three County Troope, & Corporall W^m Green cornet, Isaak Brooks quarter master of that troope."⁴⁰ Captain Wade continued in command during the remainder of the colonial period; and at the advent of Joseph Dudley in 1686, the company was annexed to one of the Middlesex regiments and so continued during the short administration of Andros. After the Revolution the troopers preferred the following petition, which was granted by the passage of a general order which established the militia upon the former basis: —

³⁷ *Mass. Colony Records*, v. 17.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 73.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 85. A list of "Cap^t Prentises 73 Troopers," who were engaged in the campaign of 1675%, enumerates twenty "Troopers belonging to Cap^t Hutchinson," of whom Eliakim Hutchinson, Benjamin Muzzey, Samuel Weeden, and Joseph Weeden were of Noddle's Island or Rumney Marsh, and John Guppie, Daniel Greenland, and John Barret of Mystic Side or Malden. *Mass. Archives*, lxviii. 73.

⁴⁰ *Mass. Colony Records*, v. 151. Jonathan Wade was son of Jonathan Wade of Ipswich. He married Deborah, the

youngest daughter of Governor Thomas Dudley, and lived at Mystic, or Medford, where, with his brother Nathaniel, who married Mercy, the youngest daughter of Governor Simon Bradstreet, he occupied a portion of the Cradock farm which his father had bought of Edward Collins. They were men of considerable local importance. Captain, or Major Wade, as he was sometimes called, died November 24, 1689. William Green was of Malden, and afterwards became captain of the troop. The other appears to have been that Isaac Brooks who was of Woburn, where he died September 8, 1686.

To the Honnourable Simon Bradstreet Esq^r. Governour of the Mathasewsetts Collony, etc.

The Humble petition of The Troopers or the major part Belonging to the Townes of Malden, Redding Rumley marsh and Linn. Belonging to y^e Three Countey Troop. *Humbly Sheweth*

That in the Charter Gouernment formerly there was a Grant and Privilege for a three County Troope, which by the Records will Apppeare which Continued accordingly vntill y^e Alteration of the Gouernment in the time that Esq^r Dudley Took and Assumed The Same. and then the Said troope was much Jmpaired by its being brought to a Second Troop in the Western Redgiment in the countey of middle Sex Which After wards was Continued in the Same Posture when S^r Edmond Andross was Gouernour : and Stands to this present Time, By which wee find itt very Jngerouse and Troblesome to vs Conserved, To What our former Priviledges was : And much Jmpaireing to the Said Troope.

The Premisses being Considered by your honnours your Petition^{rs} Being Willing and Ready to bee at Command for Servise As formerly, Since, and for futor, They humbly Crave, that the Said Troope might bee as formerly, And the Priviledge of Chooseing there officers and Commanders As formerly, and that they might haue the Priviledge to y^e same belonging as formerly

And Wee as in Duty bound Shall Euer pray

JSAACK HILL	} for malding	BENJAMINE MUSSEY, <i>Scin^r</i>	} for
JONATHAN SPRAGUE		WILLIAM HASSEY	
WILLIAM ARNALD	} for Redding	Rumley march	JOHN POOLE — for Linn ⁴¹
JOSEPH BROWNE			

Not only was this petition favorably met by a general order, but a special order for the reorganization of the troop was passed August 22, 1689.

Ordered that the Troop under the Command of Maj^r Jon. Wade do forthwth Compleat their Commission Officers, that it may be Setled for the Service of the Country and to that End Major Wade the present Captain do without delay call the Troop together, and Cause them to nominate such Officers as are wanting to be presented to this Convention, or Council for Confirmation ; But if the said Major Wade refuse to Call the Troop together as abovesaid, then William Green is hereby required to Call the Troop together, and Proceed to nominations as well of Captain as of other Commission Officers as are Wanting forthwith to be Presented for Confirmation.⁴²

⁴¹ *Mass. Archives*, xxxv. 9.

⁴² *General Court Records*, in *loco*.

That internal dissensions existed in the troop at this time is evident, and the undated paper which follows appears to contain a relation of the causes which led to its early dissolution.

Reasons Given To the Honnourable Gouverno^r, Counsell & Representatives by vs Of The three Countey Troope for Not Complying with y^e Choise of William Greene Capitaine.

Imp^t. By an order Issued out by the Honnourable Counsell That a Setlement of Malletia Should bee as in y^e yeare 1686 Except a vacancy by death or persons otherwayes Disinabled which order your petition's had Reguard vnto and Alsoe to our Cap^t Jonathan Wade Being Still in Place & Office — And there being a Squadron of Wobern men, the major part haueing beene but of Late taken into the Three Countey Troope Who Being of Such Principalls and Reguarding Neither yo^r honnours Order nor Reason, They went and Chose another Capitaine by Name William Greene, and Drawd vp Sundry Reasons against the Said Cap^t Wade Contrary to our knowledge. Being the Major part of the Three Countey Troope aforesaid

BENJAMINE MUSSEY *Sein^r*

JONA^{THAN} SPRAGG

JOSEPH HASSEY

JOSHUA EATON

ISAACK HILL .

JOHN POOLE

JOSEPH BROWNE

In Behalfe of the Major part of the three Countey Troope.⁴³

There appears to have been a petition preceding this paper, which is not now in its place in the Massachusetts Archives, to which the Court returned a peremptory answer, which apparently ended the controversy and struck a blow at the prosperity of the troop.

Upon Reading the Petition of Jsaac Hill, Jon^a. Sprague Benjamin Mussey Sen^r. &c. in behalf of themselves, and Others late belonging to the Three County Troops, manifesting their Unwillingness to Serve Under the Command of Capt Will Green, And upon Hearing of Both Parties: It is *Ordered* that the Said Petitioners, and Others, who are disatisfied with the Said Captain Return to Serve in the foot Company's of the Several Towns, and Places, whereto they do belong.⁴⁴

The process of disintegration now began anew, and the company soon lost its Suffolk men, as it had lost those of Essex in the time of Captain Hutchinson. The Court passed the follow-

⁴³ *Mass. Archives*, xxxv. 10.

⁴⁴ *General Court Records*, October 8 1689. Cf. *Mass. Archives*, xxxv. 48.

ing order March 18, 1689/90, and only the men of Middlesex were left to the Three County Troop:—

The train Soldiers inhabiting the Lands belonging to the Town of Boston lying to the eastward of Winnisimet Ferry, Together with Noddles Island and Hogg island, are henceforth to be a distinct Foot Company, And are hereby Ordered forthwith to Nominate meet Persons for their Commission Officers, and present them to this Court for their Allowance and Confirmation, And the three County Troops is hereby dismissed.⁴⁵

Once more the troop is mentioned, when, June 10, 1690, eighty troopers were ordered to be detached from the several regiments to rendezvous at Andover and Concord for the protection of the frontier, which was threatened by wandering parties of French and Indians. Seven men of this detachment were to be from Captain Green's command.⁴⁶

Thenceforth the Three County Troop disappears from the scene and the records are silent as to its further continuance. If it remained longer, it was but for a few years of feeble life, and its crimson banner and its men and horses mouldered together.⁴⁷ Traditions of its existence and of its participation in the gloomy strife of Philip's war may have lingered long in the homes of the three counties; but they, as well as more material things, have utterly passed away. The few disconnected records which are now brought together are all that

⁴⁵ *General Court Records, in loco.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ In a Herald-painter's book of the time of Charles II., now in the British Museum, is a tricking of a flag "don for New England," and an entry giving its description and cost. It was on crimson damask with a silver fringe and bore a bare arm and hand issuing from a cloud and holding a sword. In the tricking the words "Three County Trom" are inscribed upon a ribbon on the face of the flag. For a drawing of the tricking and relevant matter, *vide N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, xxv. 138.

A provincial flag of a similar design was carried by the Bedford men on the day of the Lexington Alarm, and is preserved in the Bedford Free Public Library. On slight grounds, this has

been claimed to be the flag of the Three County Troop; but it bears the legend, *Vince aut morire*, and the arm is mail-clad, which distinguishes it from the elder prototype. It is most likely to have been the standard of a company in that portion of the Province at a later date and not that of the troopers of Malden and the adjoining towns. Cf. *Mass. Hist. So. Proc.*, December, 1885, 166; January, 1886, 199; also Brown, *History of Bedford*, 23. In the latter it is made to appear, by a misquotation, that there were more than one three county troop in Massachusetts.

The arm and sword of the flag of the Three County Troop has been preserved as the crest of the State of Massachusetts.

remain of the band of stalwart Puritans who rode in the name of the Great and General Court, as valiant troopers and as worthy Christians, I doubt not, as their elder brethren who rode at Edgehill or Marston Moor.

In the bloody war which preceded the death of Pometacom of Pokanoket, he who has passed into history under the grandiloquent title of King Philip, the men of Malden performed their duty, whether as soldiers and troopers in the field or as tax payers at home, both in active service and the contribution of their substance. The war, for which busy preparation had been made on both sides, was opened by a desultory attack on the little settlement of Swansea in Plymouth Colony during several days in the latter part of June, 1675. When the news reached Massachusetts Bay the Council convened and resolved "to rayse one hundred foote and 50 horse that shall be speedily upon their march towards Swansey," and issued the following order: —

[June²⁴, 1675.] To the Militia of the town of Boston, Cha. Camb. Watertown, Roxbury, Dorchester, Dedham, Brantrey, Weymouth, Hingham, Maulden — You are hereby required in his Majesty's name to take notice that the Gov^r & Council have ordered 100 able souldjers forthwith impressed out of the severall Towns according to the proportions hereunder written for the aid and assistance of our confederate Plymouth in the designe afoote agst the Indians, and accordingly you are to warne af^s proportions to be ready at an hours warning from Capt Daniel Henchman who is appointed Captain and Commander of the Foote Company that each souldjer shal have his armes compleat and Snapsack ready to march and not faile to be at the randevous.⁴⁸

The proportion assigned to the several towns does not appear upon the order. Captain Daniel Henchman, of Boston and the Quansigamug plantation, commanded the footmen, as above stated, while Captain Thomas Prentice of Cambridge led the troopers. Besides the impressed men, about one hundred volunteers took the field under the old Jamaica privateer, Samuel Mosely of Dorchester. Roger Kenicott and John Pemberton of Malden were with Captain Mosely; and, soon after, their townsmen, Thomas Mudge, Simon Grover, and John Larrabee were in garrison at Wading River in the present town of Norton.

⁴⁸ *Mass. Archives*, lxvii. 207.

In August the constable of Malden was ordered to "Jmpress ten able horses well shod wth bridles & saddles well shod fitt for the Countreys service." The constable's return giving the names of the owners of the horses taken is preserved.

I haue im prest ten horses for the us of the contre a cordin to the tener of the warent.

EDMOND CHAMBERLIN

Captin John wayt	Leftinant John Sprag
Insine Thomas lind	
Samewill Sprag	Samewel lues
Benjemen whitmore	
Joel jenkins	thomas grouer
Steuen grouer	Symon grouer ⁴⁹

In September Captain John Wayte was 'ordered to lead a party of recruits, in which were probably some Malden men, to the rendezvous at the frontier.

The Council do order & Apoint Capt John Wayte to Copduct the 120 men appointed to rendevouse at Marlborough the 28th day of this instant September & to deliuer them vnto the order of maio^r john pincheon comander in Cheefe in the county of Hampshire & it is further ordered y^e in case Capt Samuell Appleton should bee com away from those parts, then the said Capt wait is ordered to take the conduct & charge of A company of 100 men under maio^r John pincheon, but in case capt Appleton doe abide there then capt wait is forthwith to returne Backe unles maio^r Pincheon see cause to detyne him upon y^e service of the Country.

24 Sept. 1675.⁵⁰

At the session of July 9 the Court laid three country rates; ⁵¹ and in consideration of "the great & dayly grouing charge of the present warr against the Indians, & the absolute necessity that there is of a further supply & recruite of armes & amuⁿition for the service of the country," seven single country rates were ordered October 13.⁵² Of this levy the proportion of Malden

⁴⁹ *Mass. Archives*, lxvii. 234.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 265.

⁵¹ *Mass. Colony Records*, v. 45.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 55. The proportion of Medford for a single rate, was £5; and that of Reading, £16 9s. 11d. If the rates were paid in kind, values were fixed

per bushel for wheat, six shillings; rye, four shillings and sixpence; pease, four shillings; indian corn, three shillings and sixpence; barley, four shillings; and for oats, two shillings. *Mass. Archives*, lxviii. 29.

A country rate was a tax on property

was £15. 10. 5. for a single rate; and this was no small burden to the farmers of that day, whose currency was mostly the products of the soil. During the summer and fall of that year soldiers of the town were in active service; several as troopers under Lieutenant William Hasey of Rumney Marsh, the commander of the Three County Troop. Men frequently appear as serving under different captains in the same year, a condition which was caused by short terms of service and the necessity of allowing planters to return to the settlements to secure their crops or to attend to the needs of their families, while others took their places in the field. Some were scouts and were rapidly transferred from command to command as their services were required.

In November a levy was made for an expedition designed to penetrate the Narragansett country, into which Philip had retired. Eight men were impressed at Malden, as follows:—

The names of y^e Souldyers Jmpress^d at maldon for the p^rsent Expedition & p vdd According to y^e warr^t are

Tho. May :	Jam ^s Chadwick
	John Chamberlain:
Jam ^s Welch	John Mudge
John Winslade	John Ross
	John prouender
Maldo ⁿ	Jn y ^e name of y ^e
30. 9. 75	JO WAYT cap ^t . ⁶³

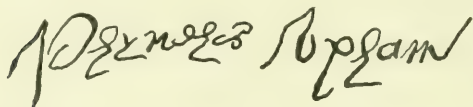
and the profits of mechanics and traders of one penny on a pound; besides which a poll-tax of one shilling and eightpence at first and afterwards of two shillings and sixpence, was levied upon all males above sixteen years of age. A single rate produced about two thousand pounds in 1663, and was usually sufficient for the expenses of a year; although at times the tax was increased by the additional levy of a fractional rate. In 1664, "It is ordered, that halfe a single rate be levied vpon the inhabitants, as an addition to the rate in course, towards the defraying the publicke charges, that haue binn extraordinary this yeare;" but in 1672, no rate was laid, the revenue arising "from

incombes due for wines, liquors, peltry, &c." being found sufficient "to answer the occasions of the country." *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (2), 135, 534.

Besides the ten rates laid in 1675, sixteen were imposed in 1676, which was equal to an assessment on the valuation of over four *per cent.* in the former, and nearly seven *per cent.* in the latter year. A rate of seventy dollars on a thousand would make the tax-payers of the city of Malden unhappy, at least. The proportion of Malden for a single rate in 1675 gives the total valuation of the town as £2525 for that year.

⁶³ *Mass. Archives*, lxviii. 70.

Edmund Chamberlain took the place of his kinsman, John; and the party reported at the rendezvous at Dedham, with the exception of James Welch, against whose name was written, "not apear'd." They were included in "A list of Cap^{tn} Samuell Mosselys Compa^{ny} taken att Dedham the 9th Day of Xber 1675;"⁵⁴ and the little army of seven companies, under Major Samuel Appleton of Ipswich, marched for the Narragansett country the next day. In the battle known as the Narragansett or Swamp Fight, which took place, Sunday, December 19, 1675, when nearly seven hundred Indians are said to have perished,⁵⁵ the company of Captain Mosely was the first to enter the fort of the enemy; and two of the nineteen men which it lost in slain and wounded were of Malden,—Edmund Chamberlain among the former, and James Chadwick among the latter. At the same time Lieutenant Phineas Upham, of Captain Isaac Johnson's company, received a wound from the effects of which he died in October, 1676.⁵⁶



⁵⁴ *Mass. Archives*, lxvii. 294.

⁵⁵ "Two and twenty Indian Captains slain all of them and brought down to Hell in one Day," says Increase Mather, *Prevalency of Prayer*, 10. The loss of the Indians is variously stated. Hubbard, on the authority of Potock, an Indian who was put to death at Boston, makes the statement mentioned in the text, and adds, "Besides three hundred that died of their Wounds the most of them; the Number of old Men, Women and Children, that perished either by Fire, or that were starved with Hunger and Cold, None of them could tell." *Present State of New-England*, 54.

This battle swept away the savage power of the Narragansetts, and they were broken forever. "Without shelter and without food," says Bancroft, "they hid themselves in a cedar swamp, with no defence against the cold but boughs of evergreen trees. They prowled the forests and pawed up the snow, to gather nuts and acorns; they dug the earth for ground-nuts; they ate remnants of horse-

flesh as a luxury; they sunk down from feebleness and want of food. Winter and famine, and disease consequent on vile diet, were the allies of the English; while the English troops after much severe suffering, found their way to fire-sides." *History of the United States*, ii. 105.

Original and contemporary narratives of the Narragansett Fight may be found in Mather, *Brief History of the War*, 20; Hubbard, *Present State of New-England*, 50-56; Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts-Bay*, i. 299-303; Church, *Entertaining Passages relating to Philip's War*, 14-17; *Continuation of the State of New-England*, 5-8; and *News from New-England*, 1-2. The two rare tracts last named are reprinted in Drake, *Old Indian Chronicle*. The best modern summaries are Palfrey, *History of New-England*, iii. 175-180; Drake, *Indians of North America* (1857), 217-220; and Arnold, *History of Rhode Island*, i. 403-406.

⁵⁶ Phineas Upham, son of Deacon John and Elizabeth (Slade) Upham, was

In the early part of January, 1675⁶, another levy of Massachusetts men was made and sent into the Narragansett country. They suffered severely from the intense cold. A writer of the time says: "They lost Eleven of their Men on their March, that were frozen to Death and brought many others sick and disheartened with the extreme Coldness of the Season."⁵⁷ In connection with this expedition, which was known as "the long march," the following papers are extant. They show an evident reluctance against campaigning in the winter season on the part of three of our ancient townsmen.

To the Constables of maulden

These require yo^u in his maj^{ty}s name forthwith to sumon require & secure John Linde Jn^o Cole & James welsh so as they may personally

probably born soon after the arrival of his parents in New England in 1636, and was brought to Malden from Weymouth, where they first settled. He married Ruth Wood, April 14, 1658, and was living here soon after. His seven children were probably born here, although the birth of but one is recorded. He was one of the grantees of Quansigamug, in 1674, and an actual settler there in the following April. The sudden breaking out of the Indian War and his presence upon the frontier brought him into active military service; and some traits of character and habits may have insured his promotion. After the defeat of Captain Hutchinson at Wickabaug Pond, he was sent, as a lieutenant, with a force under Captain John Gorham, into the Nipmuck country; but finding none of the enemy, he returned to Mendon, where, October 1, 1675, he wrote a report of the expedition, which is preserved in *Mass. Archives*, lxvii. 276.

Soon after he proceeded towards Springfield with a company of recruits, with orders to serve under Captain John Wayte. A reorganization of the forces upon the Connecticut having taken place, he was assigned to the company of Captain Jonathan Poole and was probably at Springfield or Hadley at the time of the attack upon Hatfield. Returning to the eastward after the cessation of hostilities upon the western frontier, he joined the little army which was marching into

the Narragansett country and was attached to the company of Captain Isaac Johnson of Roxbury.

Captain Johnson was killed during the first assault; and as the attacking party fell back, it is not unlikely that Lieutenant Upham was wounded before the fort was entered, or he may have rallied his men and led them in the final attack. During the night, in the face of a driving snow storm, the army marched eighteen miles with its dead and dying. Lieutenant Upham was taken to Rhode Island and, after a while, removed to Boston. His death is recorded upon the Malden records, and it is probable that he died here. Drake says he was buried here; but Hubbard says he died in Boston. He died before October 12, as on that day the General Court passed a bill for the relief of his family. As to the place of his burial, the graves of his wife (1699) and his little daughter Ruth (1676) are marked by stones in the Bell Rock Cemetery. A search made, June 17, 1891, showed that a person of good height had been buried by the side of the wife, and that a long period had elapsed since the interment, as nothing was found in the grave but a little dark mould, in which a few pins were imbedded, and a slight discoloration caused by the decay of the wood of the coffin.

⁵⁷ *Continuation of the State of New-England*, 14, in Drake, *Old Indian Chronicle*, 195.

Appeare before the Council sitting in Boston on the 11th Instant at one of the clock then & there to Answer theire neglect of Duty in not appearing at the randevous at Dedham on the 5th Inst thereby much disappointing the service of the Country y^{ou} are also in like manner to summon & require some one or more of the comittee of militia of the Toune then & there to Appeare that Impressed them to make it out that they were duly Impressed making your return at or before the time hereof not to faile at your perrill Dated in Boston the 7^h of January 1675

By order of the Council

EDW^D RAWSON SECR^{TV} 58

[*Acts of Council.*] January 11, 1675

of Woburn John lynd — returned deserted: hyres pemberton in his Stead who went.

John Cole: absconded & order for Attachment to Jsue for James: Welch cleared by the Councel⁵⁹

On the return of the expedition to the settlements another call for men was made; and a warrant was issued for the drafting of twenty men from the Middlesex regiment. On this warrant, which is dated February 5, 1676, [1675½,] is endorsed, "there is a failure of almost one halfe in apperance & no return from one towne . . . Malden: no Returne but a man Appeared."⁶⁰

In the early part of April, 1676, John Upham, Simon Grover, Stephen Grover, John Pratt, and Tryal Newberry of Malden, with others from the neighboring towns, were in the company of Captain William Turner, at Hadley, on the Connecticut River; and they participated in the unfortunate action at the Falls, May 19, which resulted in the disastrous flight of the English and the death of their gallant captain in the Greenfield meadows. Sixty years later, when the General Court granted the township of Fall Town, now Bernardston, to the survivors of those who had been present and the heirs of those who were dead, Thomas Pratt, Simon Grover, and Tryal Newberry received shares in the right of their fathers.

During the summer of 1676 Malden soldiers served under

⁵⁸ *Mass. Archives*, lxviii. 112.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, lxviii. 120. "Woburn" for "Malden" is a clerical error in the original.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 130.

various captains; and in a settlement which was made in August, the town was credited with twenty-nine assignments. The only officer from Malden who served this year was Lieutenant John Floyd,⁶¹ who was under Captain Henchman, with others of his townsmen. He was then of Malden; but he afterwards removed to Rumney Marsh and became celebrated as an officer and a wary and hardy Indian fighter in the later French and Indian wars at the eastward.

From the original journal and ledger of Captain John Hull, treasurer for the war, which are preserved in the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and from other sources, I have compiled the following list of

Malden and Mystic Side Men in Philip's War.

BACHELER, JOHN, may have been of Reading but is among the Malden men in the list of grantees of Narragansett No. 2, in 1732, when William Willis was agent for his heirs.⁶²

BARRETT, JAMES, with Capt. Hutchinson in 1675; and with Lieut. Hasey of the Three County Troop in 1675.

BARRETT, JOHN, with Maj. Willard in 1675; with Capt. Prentice in 1675½; and with Lieut. Hasey of the Three County Troop in 1676.

BARRON, ELLIS, with Capt. Sill in 1676; had lived at Groton or Lancaster before the war, but was credited to Malden in the settlement of August 24, 1676.

⁶¹ John Floyd was of Malden in 1672, having been earlier at Lynn or Rumney Marsh. In 1674, being at that time about thirty-six years of age, he was presented, with others, to the County Court, by John Wayte, constable, to take the oath of fidelity. Before 1682, he removed to Rumney Marsh, where he is supposed to have built the well-known house which stood until recently on the northerly road to the beach in Revere, a view of which is given in *Memorial History of Boston*, i. 450. He was captain of a troop in May, 1690, when he was ordered to march toward Piscataqua. Soon after a levy of four hundred men was made, a portion of which was to be

posted at Portsmouth under his command. His active service was at the eastward. His arrest in 1692, on a charge of witchcraft, is elsewhere mentioned. He died at Rumney Marsh sometime in 1701. His children sold to their brother Daniel, in 1702, the farm of ninety acres, near Black Ann's corner, in Malden, with a house on the north side of the Lynn road, west of the rocks. Negroes, Dick, Harry, Lydia, and five others were divided with his personal property.

⁶² Narragansett No. 2, now Westminster, was one of the seven townships granted to the soldiers of the Narragansett expedition.

BLANCHARD, SAMUEL, of Wilson's Point, with Capt. Cutler in 1676.

BUCKNAM, JOHN, with Capt. Henchman in 1675; and with Capt. Mosely in 1675.

BUCKNAM, Joses, with Capt. Wheeler in 1676; and, perhaps, with Capt. Henchman in 1676.

CALL, JOHN, with Capt. Cutler in 1676.

CARTER, ROBERT, with Capt. Cutler in 1676; credited to Malden in settlement of August, 1676.

CHADWICK, JAMES, was with Capt. Mosely and was wounded at the Swamp Fight, December 19, 1675. He was the James Cheak whose heirs were among the Malden grantees of Narragansett No. 2.

CHADWICK, JOHN, with Capt. Sill in 1675.

CHAMBERLAIN, EDMUND, with Capt. Mosely, and was killed at the Swamp Fight, 1675.

CHAMBERLAIN, JOHN, impressed November 30, 1675, but Edmund went in his place; was in garrison at Hadley with Capt. Turner in 1676.

COLE, JOHN, impressed, but did not appear at Dedham, January 5, 1675½.

DEXTER, JOHN, with Maj. Willard in 1676.

DUNNELL, THOMAS, in garrison at Groton in 1675.

FAULKNER, DAVID, JR., was in garrison at Dedham in July, 1676, with his father, David, Sen. They had, probably, gone from Boston, but they were credited to Dedham in the settlement of August, 1676. The younger man afterwards came to that part of Malden or Boston near Black Ann's Corner, and was the ancestor of the Faulkner family here.

FLOYD, JOHN, lieutenant under Capt. Henchman in 1667; was credited to Malden in the settlement of August, 1676. See note 61.

GREEN, HENRY, was with Lieut. Hasey of the Three County Troop in 1675; with Capt. Wheeler in 1676; was lieutenant later in life.

GREEN, JOHN, brother of Henry, was a corporal with Lieut. Hasey in 1675, and 1676; was with Maj. Willard in 1676, and

with Capt. Oakes in the same year. He was captain of a company later in life.

GREEN, SAMUEL, youngest brother of the foregoing, was with Maj. Willard in 1676.

GREEN, WILLIAM, brother of the foregoing, was a corporal with Lieut. Hasey in 1675 and 1676; was, perhaps, with Capt. Mosely in 1675; and was with Maj. Willard in 1676. Opposition to him as captain of the Three County Troop is noted elsewhere.

GREENLAND, DANIEL, was with Lieut. Hasey in 1675; with Capt. Prentice in 1675½; and with Capt. Henschman in 1676.

GREENLAND, JOHN, brother of Daniel, was with Lieut. Hasey in 1675; with Capt. Henschman in 1676.

GROVER, SIMON, was in garrison at Wading River in 1675; was with Capt. Turner at Hadley in April, 1676, and was at the Falls Fight, May 19, 1676; was with Capt. Henschman in 1676.

GROVER, STEPHEN, was at Hadley with Capt. Turner in 1676.

GUPPY, JOHN, was with Capt. Prentice in 1675½.

HAYWARD (*Haward, Howard*), SAMUEL, was with Capt. Cutler in 1676; with Capt. Oakes in 1676.

KENICOTT, ROGER, was with Capt. Mosely in 1675. He removed from Malden to Swansea in 1678.

LAMSON, JOSEPH, of Mystic Side, was with Capt. Turner on the Connecticut River in March, 1675½, then aged eighteen years.

LAROBY (*Larrabee*), WILLIAM, was with Capt. Cutler in 1676.

LEROBY (*Larrabee*), JOHN, was in garrison at Wading River in 1675.

LYNDE, JOHN, was impressed, January, 1675½; "hyres pemberton in his Stead;" was with Maj. Willard in 1676.

MARTIN, JOHN, with Capt. Cutler in 1676.

MAY, THOMAS, with Capt. Mosely in December, 1675.

MUDGE, JAMES, son of Thomas, was a teamster in the train, convoyed by the "Flower of Essex" under Capt. Lathrop, marching from Deerfield to Hadley, September 18, 1675, on which day he was killed at Bloody Brook.

MUDGE, JOHN, brother of the foregoing, was with Capt. Sill

in 1675 ; with Capt. Mosely in December, 1675 ; and was the only Malden survivor of the Swamp Fight among the grantees of Narragansett No. 2 in 1732.

MUDGE, GEORGE, brother of the foregoing, was impressed in 1675. His heirs were among the grantees of Narragansett No. 2.

MUDGE, THOMAS, brother of the foregoing, was in garrison at Wading River in 1675 ; was with Capt. Mosely in 1675 ; and with Maj. Willard in 1676. He is supposed to have died in the service or soon after the war.

MUZZEY, BENJAMIN, was with Capt. Prentice in 1675½ ; with Capt. Henchman in 1676. He lived at Rumney Marsh, near Black Ann's Corner.

NEWBERRY, TRYAL, was at Hadley with Capt. Turner in 1676 ; was at the Falls Fight, May 19, 1676.

NEWHALL, THOMAS, was with Maj. Willard in 1676. He was a lieutenant later in life.

NICHOLS, JAMES, was with Capt. Cutler in 1676.

PAINE, STEPHEN. One of this name was with Capt. Prentice in 1675 ; and the same, or another, was with Capt. Oakes in 1675 and 1676. The Mystic Side man bore this name in common with several then living in New England.

PEARCH, BERNARD. This otherwise unknown man was credited to Malden in the settlement of August 24, 1676.⁶³

PEMBERTON, JAMES, was with Capt. Brattle in 1676.

PEMBERTON, JOHN, was with Capt. Henchman in 1675 ; with Capt. Poole in 1675 ; and with Capt. Mosely in 1675 and 1676.

PRATT, JOHN, was at Hadley ; and was at the Falls Fight, May 19, 1676.

PROVENDER, JOHN, was with Capt. Mosely in December, 1675.⁶⁴

ROSS, JOHN, was with Capt. Mosely in 1675 and 1676 ; with Lieut. Sweet in 1676.

⁶³ Bernard Peache was a witness at the trial of the unfortunate Susanna Martin of Amesbury at Salem in 1692. There was a family of the name in the county of Essex.

⁶⁴ John Provender removed to Framingham, where he died in or about 1712, leaving descendants.

SARGEANT, JOHN, was at Quabauge and with Maj. Savage in 1676.

STANLEY, JOHN, was impressed in 1676.

SKINNER, ABRAHAM, was with Capt. Prentice in 1675. His son Abraham was his representative among the grantees of Narragansett No. 2 in 1732.

SMITH, PELETIAH, was in garrison at Groton in 1675.

SPRAGUE, JOHN, was with Maj. Willard in 1676.

SPRAGUE, JONATHAN, was in garrison at Groton in 1675; was with Capt. Mosely in 1675 and 1676; and with Capt. Henchman in 1676. His son John, in his father's right, was one of the grantees of Narragansett No. 2.

SPRAGUE, PHINEAS, was with Lieut. Hasey of the Three County Troop in 1675 and 1676; was with Maj. Willard in 1676; and with Capt. Wheeler in 1676.

TUFTS, JAMES, son of Peter; removed from Malden to Deerfield, and is accounted as among the first settlers there; was in Capt. Lathrop's company, and was killed at Bloody Brook, September 18, 1675.

UPHAM, JOHN, was the "fatherless and friendless" lad from Barbadoes, who was brought up by Deacon John Upham. He was at Hadley with Capt. Turner in 1676. He died at Charlestown, November 27, 1677, aged thirty years, leaving his property to his betrothed wife, Elizabeth Mousal, except a musket to Phineas, the eldest son of Lieut. Phineas Upham.

UPHAM, PHINEAS. See his life and services in note 56.

WAYTE, ALEXANDER, with Lieut. Cutler in 1676. He died at Malden in 1681.

WAYTE, *Capt.* JOHN, led a party of recruits to Marlborough in September, 1675, with orders to take command of a foot company under Maj. Pyncheon on the Connecticut, in case of the absence of Capt. Appleton.

WAYTE, JOHN, son of the foregoing, was with Lieut. Hasey of the Three County Troop in 1676.

WELCH, JAMES, was impressed in December, 1675, but did not appear.

WHEELER, THOMAS, was with Lieut. Hasey in 1675 and 1676.

WILSON, JOSEPH, was with Capt. Henchman in 1675; with Maj. Willard in 1676. He was a captain later in life.

WILSON, PAUL, elsewhere named as the lover of Priscilla Upham, was with Capt. Sill in 1675 and 1676. He had married and become an inhabitant of Charlestown.

WINSLAD (*Winslow*), JACOB, was in garrison at Groton in 1675.

WINSLAD (*Winslow*), JAMES, was credited to Malden in the settlement of August 24, 1676.

WINSLAD (*Winslow*), JOHN, was with Capt. Mosely in 1675 and 1676; was with Capt. Cutler in 1676. His son John received his right in the grant of Narragansett No. 2.

This war, which was closed by the death of Philip, at Pokanoket, August 12, 1676, was productive of much suffering in all parts of New England; but not to such an extent in Malden as in towns nearer the frontiers.⁶⁵ There are extant petitions which portray cases of individual hardships here; and fourteen families, comprising fifty-two persons, received aid in this town from the Irish Charity,⁶⁶ a contribution sent from Ireland for

⁶⁵ Original and recent authorities on the subject of Philip's War are those named in the note on the Narragansett Fight. In addition, Drake, *Origin of Indian Wars*, prefixed, as an introduction, to his second edition of the *Old Indian Chronicle*, should be consulted; and several town histories contain matter of a local nature in relation to Indian hostilities.

⁶⁶ In August, 1676, "the Good ship call'd the Katherine of Dublin" sailed from that port laden with "releife sent to the distressed persons in New England." She arrived in the harbor of Boston, Sunday, November 26. Her cargo, which was known as the Irish Charity, was a "Contribution made by divers Christians in Ireland for the releife of such as are Impoverished Distressed and in Nessesitie by the late Indian Warr." At the head of the subscribers was an elder brother of the Rev. Increase Mather of the Second, or North, Church in Boston, the Rev. Nathaniel Mather, H. C. 1647, who was then the pastor of a church in Dublin.

The Rev. John Eliot wrote, in the *Roxbury Church Records*:—

"month 9, day 25. [1676.] the xⁿ b^m in Dublin in Ireland sent a gracious gift of charity to relive such as suffered in o^r late warr, the ship arrived y^t day at night the master was at Boston on the Sabbath.

"day 27. next morning a dreadfull fire broke forth in Boston, w^{ch} consumed many dwelling houses & many rich shops & warehouses, & the north meeting house, in 2 hou^rs time, by reason of a v^y feirce wind, the history w^off I leave to o^th^rs to describe, but this is observable y^t so much p^rvisions was consumed, & so many pore aded to such as were made pore by the war, y^t (though the gift was only dispenced according as it was given to such as w^o made pore by the warr) yet the seasonableness of their charity was very much magnified, and a crowne of beauty was set upon the head of their charity thereby." *Report of the [Boston] Record Commissioners*, vi. 195.

In a spirit of true charity, the con-

the relief of those who had suffered. The following papers are characteristic of the times.

To the Hon^ded Council now sitting in Boston. the Humble petition of Hannah Stanly in behalf of her Husband Jⁿo Stanly of Maldon Humbly sheweth

Whereas your poor petitioners husband hath been lately impressed for y^e service of the country, and by reason of a lameness in his joints is utterly incapacitated to do any service for the country or any way to endure hardship and also haveing hired a farm none to manage his buisness his corn lying on spoil: for want of tending. his four children ill & weak his brother haveing been out in the service nineteen weeks already at Narraganset and at Hadly and other places and now at home not able to carry things . . . end for o^r selves and family's maintenance, and so o^r whole family exposed to want in his absence if not ruined with other reasons move yo^r petitioner to supplicate yo^r hon^s for relief by haveing my husband released from the service, and yo^r petition^r shall as in duty bound ever pray for yo^r hon^s prosperity

HANNAH STANLY.⁶⁷

tributors desired "that an equall respect bee had to all godly p^rsons agreeing in fundamentals of faith & order though differing about the subject of some ordinances, & p^rticularly that godly Antipeodobaptists bee not excluded: w^{ch} wee the rather thus p^rtercularly insert because sundry reports have come hither suggesting that godly p^rsons of that p^rswasion have been severely dealt withall in New England, & also because divers of that p^rswasion in this City have freely & very Considerably concurred in advanceing this releife." They further add: "If any of y^e Indians in New England who have adhered to the English in the present Warr bee brought to distress by their barbarous country men we desyre that they may by no means bee forgotten, but share, respect being had to their condition in this present releife: Especially those of them that are of y^e household of faith wee desyre may be singularly regarded."

The value of this "releife" and its distribution, exclusive of what may have been sent to Connecticut was as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Amount paid for freight	45 ⁰	0	0
To towns in Massachusetts Colony .	3 ⁰ 3	3	0
" " " Plymouth Colony . . .	124	10	0
	£937	13	0

The amount paid to the Malden families was £7 16s. Cf. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, ii. 245-250.

The bread thrown upon the waters was returned one hundred and seventy-one years later, when the U. S. sloop of war Jamestown sailed from Boston harbor freighted with provisions for the starving people of Ireland.

⁶⁷ *Mass. Archives*, lxi. 80. John Stanley is otherwise unknown to me. It appears that he had recently hired a farm in Malden; and it may be that he was one who had come in from the frontier with his family for security. Onesiphorus Stanley was with Mosely in the Narragansett campaign and with Captain William Turner on the Connecticut River in April, 1676. Savage says he was of Roxbury, and he may have been the brother who is mentioned in the petition.

To the Hon^ded council sitting in Boston the Humble Petishon of Mary Ross of Maldon in behalf of her Husband Humbly sheweth

Whereas your petitioners Husband hath now for a long time bin out in the countrys service against the barbarous heathen under the comand of captain Samuell Mosely at y^e Narraganset, & being antient, sick & crasey neer threescore yeares of age, none to manage his buisenese at Home, my self and family being in a suffering condition, our land lying untild at Home and some other considerashons moveth yo^r petitioner Humbly to beg that favor of yo^r Hon^{rs} that my Husband may be freed from the present service, and may return to his family again who are in great want through his absence and yo^r petitishoner shall dayly pray for yo^r Hon^{rs} & the countrys prosperity

MARY ROSS ⁶⁸

About this time Malden had not only her portion of the troubles caused by the war to bear, but a contagious disease, the nature of which I cannot discover, pervaded the town. In the year 1674 I have the record of thirteen deaths, and in 1676 of nine deaths, while during the remaining eight years of that decade I find but eighteen. Beyond the fact of an excessive mortality in the two years mentioned, I find but little to indicate the existence of this disease. Mr. Lewis on the authority of a leaf of a Bible says, " [1676.] there was a great sickness this year; " ⁶⁹ and the following extract from a letter written by the Rev. John Russell to the Rev. Increase Mather, dated at Hadley, April 18, 1677, indicates that it was carried to the frontier.

My poor family hath thro the Lord's goodnesse escaped the contagion and frequently deadly disease among us; the same I thinke that hath beene some yeers at Maldon, & as I judge brought hither by some souldiers of that town, who were first taken ill here, and then it went furthest in these & the neighbo ing families; having beene almost wholly in one end of our Town; the other end almost quite free.⁷⁰

It was not war and disease alone which afflicted the men and women of Massachusetts Bay in the closing years of the seventeenth century. In the gloom and terror of the days of 1692, when the delusion and insanity which reached its strongest development in Salem threatened to spread over New England,

⁶⁸ *Mass. Archives*, lxviii. 205. The petitioner was wife of John Ross and daughter of James Barrett.

⁶⁹ Lewis, *History of Lynn*, 265.

⁷⁰ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxxviii. 79.

Malden, in the persons of its inhabitants, did not wholly escape. Elizabeth Fosdick of Malden and Elizabeth Paine of Mystic Side were arrested and placed in Salem jail on a charge of witchcrafts said to have been practised on the bodies of those much-bewitched young reprobates, Mercy Lewis and Mary Warren of Salem Village. Peter Tufts of Mystic Side, who many times during a long life appears in the court records and files, and not always as a desirable neighbor, also complained of them.

Complaint v. Eliz^a Fosdick & Eliz^a Paine.

Salem May the 30th 1692.

Lt Nathaniell putnam and Joseph Whipple both of Salem Village made Complaint in behalfe of theire majes^{ts} against Elizabeth ffosdick of Maulden the wife of John ffosdick afores^d Carpenter & Elizabeth paine off Charlstown the wife of Stephen paine of s^d place husbandman for sundry acts of Witchcraft by them Committed Lately on the bodys of Marcy Lewis and Mary Warren of Salem Uillage or farmes to theire great hurt therefore craues Justice.

NATHANELL PUTNAM.

JOSEPH WHIPPLE.

The abouesayd Complaint was Exhibited before vs Salem May the 30th 1692.

JOHN HATHORNE }
JONATHAN CORWIN } *Assist.*

peter Tuft of Charlstown also appeared before vs Salem June 2^d 1692 and also Complained against both y^e aboues^d for acts of Witchcraft by them Committed on his negro Woman.

The mark of

PETER + TUFTS

Warrant v. Elizabeth Fosdick & Elizabeth Paine.

To the Marshall or Sheriff of the County of Middlesex or dep^t

You are in theire Majest^s names hereby required to apprehend and bring before vs at Salem forthwith or as soon as may be Elizabeth ffosdick the wife of John ffosdick of Maulden Carpenter and Elizabeth paine the wife of Stephen paine of Charlestowne husbandman, for sundry acts of Witchcraft by them Committed Lately on y^e Bodys of Marcy Lewis Mary Warren &^c of Salem Village or farmes to theire great hurt and Injury accord^g to Complaint Exhibited before vs appears, fail not, Dated Salem June the 2^d 1692:

JOHN HATHORNE }
JONATHAN CORWIN } *Assists.*

I doe Appoint Sam^l Gibson of Cambridge To Serue this warrant To Effect. June 2^d 1692.

SAM^{LL} GOOKIN *Marsh^l for Mddx.*

June 2^d 1692. J haue Apprehended the aboue named Elizebeth paine and delivered her unto the Sheriff of the County of Essex att Salem in y^e County afores in order to her examination and waite in expectation of the above s^d Elizabeth Fosdick by mee.

June 3, 92 J haue all so apprehended the body of Elizabeth ffosdick of mauldin and delivered her to the above said Sheriff of Essex,

SAM^{LL} GIBSON *y^e mar^{sh} dep.*⁷¹

A warrant was issued at the same time against Captain John Floyd, who had removed from Malden to Rumney Marsh. During the examination of Abigail Faulkner of Andover, at Salem, August 11,

Phelpses daughter complayned her afflicting her: but she denyed that she had any thing to doe with witchcraft: she s^d flalkn^r had a cloth in her hand, that when she squeezed in her hand y^e afflicted fell into grevous fits as was observed: y^e afflicted sayd Danⁿ Eames and Capt ffloyd was upon that cloth when it was upon y^e table.⁷²

By such whimsicalities were judges and jurors overwhelmed. The cases of Fosdick and Paine brought the question of the reality of diabolical possessions to the homes of Malden; and it was not strange that some one was soon found who was able to impose upon the credulity of the public, as the children and girls of Salem Village had shown the way. This ready instrument was found in the person of Mary Marshall, whose husband, Edward, had recently died. It may have been the weakness of age or sickness and grief which put the cruel fantasies into her head.

Lydia Dustin, the widow of Josiah Dustin of Reading, a woman of eighty years, had been arrested in May for "Witchcraft done or Comitted by her upon y^e Bodys" of the afflicted persons at Salem Village. Mary Marshall had lived in Reading and, apparently, had been intimate with Lydia Dustin and the others whom she afterwards accused. Her afflictions began upon the day when Dustin was taken to Salem and continued for several months. It does not appear that she accused all her

⁷¹ *Witchcraft Papers* in Clerk's Office at Salem, *in loco*.

⁷² *Ibid.*

tormentors at once; but the list of her victims, at the end, included Lydia Dustin and her daughter, Mary, the widow of Adam Colson, a former schoolmaster of Reading, Mary, the wife of Seabred Taylor, and Jane, the widow of George Lilley, also a former schoolmaster, all of Reading.⁷³ Colson, Lilley, and Taylor were brought before the magistrates at Salem, September 5, 1692. The minutes of the examination of Mary Colson are as follows: —

Mary Coullson you are here accused for afflicting m^{rs} mary marshall by witchcraft m^{rs} marshal with divers fell down at her coming into y^e court s^d Couleson helped m^{rs} marshall up by a touch of her hand: but s^d Coullson s^d she never hurt s^d marshall in her life: m^{rs} marshal was asked how long coulson had afflicted her: she s^d: at times: she had afflicted her ever since her mother Dastin had been in prison & that she did it in vindication of her mother these 3: Taylor: Lilly & Coullson came to me & s^d though m^r pearpont sang that Psalm: god will be a husband to y^e widdow: but he would be none to me they said: they told me also: if J had served their god my husband had been alive yett: but s^d Coullson was bid to look on y^e afflicted persons: and some of the afflicted was bid to look on her: and Eliz Booth: & George Boothes wife & Allice Booth: with others: was struck down with her look & afflicted: & helped up: & was well by a touch of Coullsons hand: they were asked when they were well agayn who hurt: them & s^d it was Coullson it was told Coullson: it was evident that she acted witchcraft now before them: & it was like to appear that she had a hand in w^m Hoopers Death & in Ed marshals death: but she s^d if she should confes she should be ly her selfe: ⁷⁴

At the examination of Jane Lilley several of the afflicted persons were stricken down as she came into the room, as they had been in the presence of Colson.

Mary Warin Allice Booth & Susanna Post & m^{rs} mary marshall was asked who struck them down: they answered y^t it was s^d Lilly Jt was s^d to her: Jane Lilly you are accused for afflicting m^{rs} mary Marshall by witchcraft: & now you have hurt many others: now you have opportunity to tell y^e truth: in this matter: but she answered the truth was she knew nothing of it nor was she sensible y^t she was in y^e Devills snare.⁷⁵

Lydia Dustin was indicted and brought before the Superior Court of Judicature at Charlestown, January 31, 169 $\frac{2}{3}$. The record of her indictment and trial is as follows: —

⁷³ *Suffolk Court Files*, xxxii. 2710, 2714.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 2714.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

LIDIAH DASTIN of Reding in the County of Middlesex widow being Indicted by the Iurors ffor our Sovereigne Lord and Lady the King & Queen upon their oaths upon one Indictment. That is to say.

For that shee the said Lydia Dastin of Reding in the County of Middlesex widow on or about the second day of May in the year 1692 and divers other days and times as well before as after Certaine destestable Arts called Witchrafts and sorceries wickedly mallitiously and ffeloneously hath used practised and exercised at and in the Towne of Malden in the County of Middlesex aforesaid upon an against one Mary Marshall by which wicked Arts the said Mary Marshall the day and year aforesaid & divers other dayes and times as well before as after was afflicted Tortured Tormented Consumed pined & Wasted Contrary to the peace of Our Sovereigne Lord and Lady the King and Queen their Crowne and dignity and the Lawes in that case made and provided

UPON the aforesaid Indictment the said Lidia Dastin was then and there before the Iustices of our Lord and Lady the King and Queen aforesaid arraigned and upon her Arraigement did then and there the day and year aforesaid Plead Not Guilty and put her selfe upon tryall by God and the Country.

A Iury being called Samuel Green foreman and accordingly sworne no exception being made by the prisoner the said Indictment being read, together with the Evidences and Examinations and the prisoners defence being heard The Iury went out to agree on their verdict, who returning did then and there in open Court deliver their verdict. That the said Lidia Dastin was Not Guilty of the ffelony by Witchcraft for wich she stood Indicted in and by the s^d Indictment

The Court Orderd the said
Lydia Dastin to be discharged paying her ffees⁷⁶

Phineas Sprague, who died at Malden, January 23, 1699¹, left a widow, Sarah (Hasey), and a daughter, Martha, and other children. The widow soon married Moses Tyler, and those of her children who were unmarried appear to have removed with her to a new home in Andover or Boxford. The daughter, Martha, became prominent as an accuser and witness in the witchcraft cases and with Rose Foster, Abigail Martin, and others formed a band of afflicted ones, whose work was quite as busily and persistently performed as that of the Salem circle.

⁷⁶ *Records of Superior Court of Judicature* (Charlestown, January 31, 1699²/3), i. 35. Had she been tried at the Special Court of Oyer and Terminer she would have been hung.

Among their earliest victims were Mary Barker and William Barker, both of Andover, who each confessed. The latter was a boy of fourteen years and a precious rascal. At his examination he said he hated the devil and that there "was such aload upon his stomach that he could not speak;" but he told a wonderful story and managed to implicate six persons, whose names were endorsed upon the back of the examination as accused persons by the ready magistrates. One of these was Samuel Wardwell, who was hanged at Salem, September 22, 1692; and another was Mary Parker, who suffered at the same time. Both of these persons were indicted for their "detestable arts" against Martha Sprague. Of the others who were accused by her, Abigail Faulkner and Sarah, the widow of Samuel Wardwell, were condemned but not executed; and a number were tried and discharged. The examination of Rebecca Johnson, who was accused by Sprague, is worthy of attention for a bit of folklore which it preserves.

Sept 1692 The Examination of Rebecca Johnson, widow, Taken before Ino. Hawthorn Esq^r & other their majest^{es} Iustices

She denyed what she was accused of, But she acknowledged the turning of the Sieve, in her house by her daughter, whom she desyred to try if her brother moses Haggat was alive or dead — and that if the Sieve turned he was dead and so the Sieve did turn, And my daughter said that m^r Bernards maid told her the way. The words used were, By Saint Peter & Saint Paul if Haggat be dead Let this Sieve turn round; & so it did —

Elizabeth the wife of George Booth was struck down by the said widow Johnsons looking upon her, and martha Sprague s^d she saw the s^d widow Iohnson afflict her and Rose foster saw the same and further that said Johnsons apparition told them she Intended to spoyle George Booths wifes child

The s^d widow Johnson upon her examination as was Iudged afflicted Sprague & foster into fits and by her touch recovered them againe martha Sprague and Rose foster said they saw s^d Rebeck Johnson afflict Abigail martin & alice Booth —

alice Booth said she saw s^d Johnson afflict her sister booth and that she saw her at our house partake of the sacram^t

— Rose foster, alice booth & martha Sprague said they saw the devill stand before her and also before her daught^r.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ *Suffolk Court Files*, xxxii. 2707.

Martha Sprague was sixteen years of age when she began the wanton accusations which brought suffering and death to her innocent victims. She was afterwards married to Richard Friend, a seaman, of Salem, and it may be hoped that her after life was more free from sin than her youth had been.

A Malden woman is mentioned in the following paper as one who consorted with witches; but how far she was implicated is not now known.

The Examination of Sarah Coles of Lynne Octobr — 3 — 1692

She saith y^e y^e same night Capt Osgoods wife was examined — she saw Eliz: Colston & Abrah. Coles wife come into her house personally to her apprehension and Jno. Wilkinsons wife of malden & one of her sisters & a little Girle she did not know, about 10 years old one of them had a piece of board wth nails in it thro the board at the end about 2 foot long as broad as her hand. That one of her children was sorely afflicted at y^t time, and s^d one of them did strike her in y^e head w^h s^d board — They seemed to turn side ways and so were gone, w^{ch} was about midnight — The child was afflicted till Abr Coles wife was taken up — The beginning of y^e affliction in our family was upon a fast day about a month ago Abrah Coles wife was at my house she Commended my children much for pretty children & they w^r both taken sick my boy & girle, y^e Girle s^d she saw A. Coles wife afflict her seuerall times, had pins thrust into her was bit & scratched had a blow on her nose w^{ch} caused her nose to run down wth blood y^e last fit my child had and Complained of her aunt Cole was when s^d A. Coles wife was brought to Salem One night being in bed J was sorely afflicted, & saw a ball of fire J arose to see w^t was the matter before J got a light it went away — the last thing J saw was a dog w^{ch} J went to strike wth aspade and was beat down my selfe this was about a week ago, The dog went out at a crack in y^e side of the house.⁷⁸

The witchcraft delusion or imposture was productive of no serious results in Malden, save that the inhabitants must have experienced their part of the fear and sorrow which pervaded New England. The action of the Superior Court of Judicature that superseded the Special Court of Oyer and Terminer, which owed its bloody, though brief, existence to the witchcraft cases, and the returning sense of the people, working upward from the body of the commonalty and acting upon juries and judges, happily put an end to the excitement; and a general jail de-

⁷⁸ *Suffolk Court Files*, xxxii. 2712.

lively released those who survived. This burning flame of superstition and deception returned no more to plague the people of Massachusetts Bay; and the futile efforts of Cotton Mather and others to revive its dying embers were met with ridicule and scorn. But a terrible weight rested on the consciences of the accusers and judges and jurors, which caused many a bitter cry for mercy and humble plea for forgiveness.

It is not known what part, if any, Mr. Wigglesworth took in the affair of 1692; but what he thought of it a few months before his death, when, "with a weak body, and trembling hand," he wrote his testimony, may be gathered from his letter to the Rev. Increase Mather.

Rev^d & Dear S^r— I am right well assured that both your self, your son & the rest of our Bretheren with you in Boston have a deep sence upon your spirits of the awfull symptoms of divine displeasure that we lie under at this Day, both in respect of this long and so oft renewed warr, that hath been so chargeable & destructive to us, and also now in this sore drought which hath already brought a famine upon our Catle, and is like to bring a greater upon our selves, unless God appear speedily for us: I doubt not but you are all endeavouring to find out and discover to the people the causes of Gods Controversy, and how they are to be removed, to help forward this difficult and necessary work, give me leave to impart some of my serious & solemn thoughts. I fear (amongst our many other provocations) that God hath a Controversy with us about what was done in the time of the Witchcraft. I fear that innocent blood hath been shed; & that many have had their hands defiled therewith. I believe our Godly Judges did act Conscientiously, according to what they did apprehend then to be sufficient Proof: But since that, have not the Devils impostures appeared? & that most of the Complainers & Acusers were acted by him in giving their testimonies. Be it then that it was done ignorantly. Paul, a Pharisee, persecuted the chu[r]ch of God, shed the blood of Gods saints, & yet obtained mercy, because he did it in ignorance; but how doth he bewaill it, and shame him self for it before God and men afterwards. 1. Tim: 1: 13, 16. I think and am verily perswaded God expects that we do the like, in order to our obtaining his pardon: I mean by a Publick and solemn acknowledgment of it, and humiliation for it, & the more particularly & personaly it is done by all that have been actors; the more pleasing it will be to God, and more effectual to turn away his Judgments from the Land, and to prevent his Wrath from falling upon the persons and families of such as have been most Concerned.

I know this is a *Noli Me tangere*, but what shall we do? must we pine away in our iniquities, rather than boldly declare the Counsel of God, who tells us, Isaia: 1: 15, when you make many prayers I will not hear you, your hands are full of blood? Therefore God Commands you and me & all our fellow Labourers in the Ministry, Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet. Isai. 58, 1.

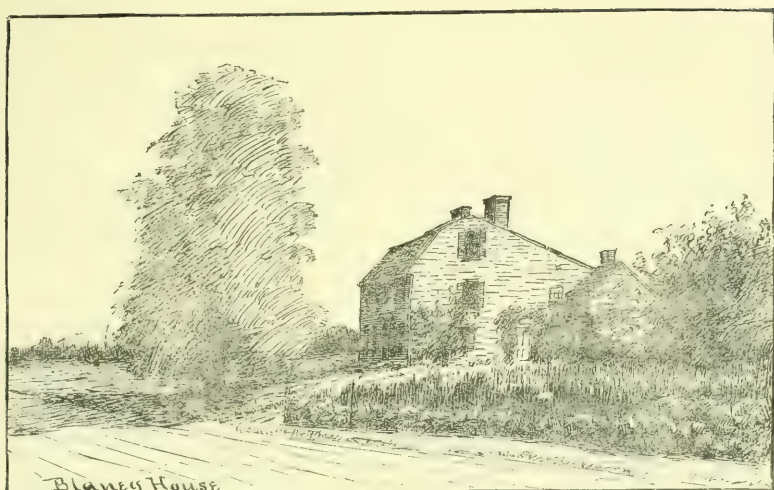
Moreover, if it be true as I have been often informed, that the families of such as were Condemned for supposed witchcraft, have been ruined by taking away and making havock of their estates, & Leaving them nothing for their releiff, I believe the whole Country lies under a Curse to this day, and will do, till some effectual course be taken by our honored Governour & Generall Court to make them some amends and reparations. If it be objected, our charges are exceding great and heavy already, and we cannot add to them. But what if this verry thing be none of the least of those evill things that have brought us under these sorrowfull circumstances; and that they cannot be removed till we have put away this evill? If the thing were agreed upon, time might be taken for the performance of it Gradually, as God shall enable us: and I am perswaded God would soon make us able, if we were but willing. Sir, I desire you would Communicate these my thoughts to the Rev^d Mr. Willard and the rest of our Bretheren in the ministry, as you shall have oportunity, and if they do Concurr in their apprehensions, that then it might be humbly spread before his Excellency; and, if he see Cause, before the Generall Assembly at their next sessions. I have, with a weak body, and trembling hand, endeavored to leave my testimony before I leave the world; and having left it with you (my Rev^d bretheren) I hope I shall leave this life with more peace, when God seeth meet to call me hence.

I remain your Faithful friend & fellow Watchman in the Lord,

MICHAEL WIGGLESWORTH.

Maldon, 5 month, 22 day, 1704.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxxviii. 645.



CHAPTER XI.

TOWN OFFICERS AND COMMON LANDS.

AS has been stated, the loss of the early records of the town deprives the antiquary of much which would illustrate the beginning and early growth of Malden. It is not until after the close of Philip's War that the records, as they now exist, assist in rehabilitating the dry bones of the past. The first entry is that of a regular annual meeting of election, wherein is found all the machinery of an early New England town as it had developed out of the germ of church organization. There are the five townsmen, or chosen men, who came to be called selectmen; the constables; and last, though not least, perhaps, in the body-politic, those whose office it was "to see to swine order,"—the hog-constables, or hog-reeves of a later day.

30. 10. 78 Att a generall meeting of y^e all y^e Inhabitants: Deacon John vppham was chosen moderato^r

voted Allexand^r Waite & Willm. Leraby: chosen Const.

John Wayte. L^t. John Sprague

Corpo^ll John Green: Coⁿ. will. Green } sele^t men.
and Ensigne Thomas Lynds.

John Paull : John Sprague jnr } s^rveio^rs.
 John Scholly. Jonathan Knoher }
 James Chadwick & John Sargent : — veiw^{rs} of fences.
 Joseph Wayte & Tho. Newhall — to see to swine ord^r.

A little more than two months later a change was made in the time of holding the annual meeting for the election of town officers, which had formerly been on the last Monday in December, it being voted :—

[2^d 2^d day 1st mo. 1678⁹] That y^e Generall Towne Meeting for y^e Choyce of y^e Publiq office's in the Towne. viz: Sel^tmen constabls s^rveio's &c. form^{ly} stated on y^e last second day in the 10th m^o: Shall Henceforth be on the second second day of y^e first month from year to year. Any form^r order or Custom to y^e contrary notwithstanding. And all & any p^rson concernd therin is to take notice therof without any p^rticular warning on penalty: as formerly: namly 18. pence. to be paid by euery p^rson y^t shall neglect to appeare at the affors^d time to be leuied by y^e constabl for the vse of y^e towne.

On the day thus fixed, the second Monday in March, the meetings were held for about twenty years, when it was changed to the first Monday in March, which remained the annual town meeting day until 1857, when by a previous vote of the town it was changed to the third Monday of the same month. The time-honored date was resumed in 1874, and was followed, in 1879, by the first Tuesday. The latter day remained during the brief continuance of the town government.

The records are now full of quaint entries that indicate a general advance in the prosperity which the sturdy yeomanry were shaping out of the wilderness. Roads were laid out or made more definite, commons were surveyed and divided, provision was made for the support of the ministry, and regulations for the preservation and advancement of morals and property were considered and fixed.

Outside of the church troubles, which have been sketched, the lives of the Malden settlers in the latter part of the seventeenth century were as those of their fellow settlers in other parts of the Colony. Though the great danger which had threatened the life of New England had passed away with the

death of Philip, and the dispersion of the Narragansetts and the tribes of the Nipmuck country, the echoes of savage warfare came at times from the more distant frontiers; and troopers or footmen were drafted out of the town to ride or march by weary stages to the relief of their more exposed brethren.

In the gradual encroachments of the jealous and hostile government of the mother country the people found enough to watch and fear; for in the threatened extinction of the Charter lay the dissolution of all their hopes; the end of their close religious liberty, if liberty that may be called which recognized no rights beyond the narrow limits of a prevailing creed; the abrogation of their political rights; and the loss of lands, which were held, as has been seen, in free and common socage for fealty only, and whose ownership depended upon the Charter for its warrant, and might die with it.

It has been related how the foremost man of Malden, Captain John Wayte, stood among those who upheld the Charter against its enemies, and how he incurred the wrath of Randolph and gained the honor of being denounced in the "Articles of High Misdemeanour." After a prolonged struggle, the Charter fell, and the Court of England triumphed over the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay. Yet the immediate triumph was not prolonged; for after the brief Presidency of Joseph Dudley and an administration of little more than two years, the king's governor, Andros, and his council were in prison, and the streets of Boston were alive with the throngs which poured in from the surrounding country to the threatened conflict.

We may not doubt that the men of Malden and Mystic Side were represented in the uprising which overthrew the authority of the Stuarts in New England. The old soldiers of Philip's War, and the troopers of Lieutenant Hasey were there; and returning, they met in town meeting, and called upon the Charter officers, who had been displaced in 1686, to resume their powers.

May 6th 1689 At a Town meeting of y^e Inhabitants of Maldon

Voted, agreed, and declared by the Freeholders & Inhabitants of the Town of Maldon, that Wee do desire & expect that our Hono^{ed} Gov-

erno^r, Deputy Governo^r and Assistants, elected, & sworn by the Free-men of this Colony in May 1686 together with y^e Deputies then sent down by the Respective Towns to the Court then holden, & which was never legally dissolved, Shall convene, resume and exercise the Government as General Court according to our Charter, on y^e ninth day of this Instant May; and in so doing we do hereby Promise and engage to aid and assist them to the utmost of our Power with our Persons and estates

Ensigne Jos. Wilson & Henry Green are chosen by y^e Town to carry this writing to y^e Council

As attest

JOHN SPRAGUE

JOHN GREEN.¹

But the days of the Charter were never to return; and the provisional government, which acted by its authority and the will of the people, soon gave place to a governor appointed by the King and a provincial establishment, that remained until the revolution which severed the dependence of the colonies upon the mother country. The days of Puritanism were past, though their traditions lingered, as they still linger in church and state. Many old errors passed away with them giving place to newer errors, which in their turn have disappeared. It may not be denied that a weaker generation had succeeded the strong men of the colonial days. The treacherous Dudleys, the easy and simple Sewalls, and the intriguing Mathers were sorry representatives of the just Winthrops, the austere Endicotts, and the pious Cottons of the early time. It was an age of transition, moreover, — a time when men in their weakness reached forward, gropingly, for better things than they had known, and with many a let and hindrance grasped them with imperfect knowledge at the end. And so the weary years rolled on, while out of their doubts came, slowly, earnest conviction, and out of their weaknesses came tardy strength; and from those twin elements was born the independence of a new nation.

¹ *Mass. Archives*, cvii. 17. This document is not to be found in the town records. A leaf is missing or the clerk neglected to do his duty. There is a striking resemblance in spirit between this vote and the Instructions of May

27, 1776. "The utmost of our Power with our Persons and estates" becomes in the latter "the last Drop of their Blood & the last farthing of their Treasure."

All this is a part of the general history of Massachusetts Bay — of New England, in the making of which the farmers of Malden played their parts; and although no great leader or hero may have come out of them, they were as the rest of the commonalty — men of nerve and muscle, in spite of their many imperfections, ready to fight and die, if need be, in the common cause. Out of the records which they left may be spun threads for a fabric in which may be discerned some outlines of their quaint and circumscribed lives — some glimpses, perhaps, of a striving for, and an advancement towards, the better things of the future, which they could not forecast. There may be little of continuity or unity in the story; the colors may be faded and the fabric rudely patched; idle curiosity may find little to interest or excite: but the loving patience of one who feels a sympathy with the endeavors and struggles of mankind may not be unrewarded.

As a political body, the town was, as has been seen, under the immediate oversight of five townsmen, or selectmen, godly Christians and upright men, chosen at first, and for many years, by the freemen of the town, who were also members of good standing in the church. They were overseers of the poor and assessors by virtue of their office at a time when overseers of the poor and assessors were otherwise unknown. They met sometimes at the house of one of their number, oftener at the ordinary, or public house, where they partook of some little refreshment at the expense of the town,² reckoned with the constables, who were the tax-gatherers, and passed such minor orders as were urgently needed or were not of sufficient importance to bring before the body of the freemen, who usually met, when warned, at the meeting house. One of the earliest meetings of the selectmen of which we have knowledge was held at the house of Lieutenant John Sprague and had reference to the duties of an office of much importance. The record is as follows: —

² The "Expences at Isak Hills," February 18, 169½, amounted to the sum of three shillings and sixpence. Eight days later the bill for the expense of another meeting was four shillings and twopence; and eleven days later still a debt of three shillings and fourpence was incurred.

[11. 3^{mo} 80.] Att a meeting of y^e Select men. at L^t Spr.

Appointed to y^e seuerall Tithing men the p^ticular familie they are to take the care & Charge of

Allso gaue them the Summs belonging to each p^rson in their precincts of there p^ticular rate to y^e minstry namly of y^e whole year due from m^r Blakmans ending to m^r cheurs begining: And if any pay all their said rate in mony, then to be abated one third part therof: else one q^ter part in mony & y^e rest in corne

And allso each p^rsons part in mony to this p^rsnt years rate, begin^g last febr. which rate is all mony desyring s^d Tithingm to Informe each p^rson in their precincts of their p^rporcons & to sturr y^{em} vpp to their duties & to take their accounts. & what remains vnpaid to order them forthwith to pay in to Deacon [John] Sprague.

These officers had been chosen by the town at the annual meeting in the preceding month and were seven in number:—

Ensign Thomas Lynde,	Corp ^l John Green,
Joel Jenkins,	James Green,
Serg ^t . Thomas Skinner,	James Nichols,
John Sargeant.	

The tithingmen, so called from being originally set over divisions of ten families, in addition to their primitive duty of watching over the moral welfare of their special charges, preserved order in the meeting house and enforced the general observance of the Lord's Day.³ A regulation made by the selectmen in 1684 would seem to have interfered somewhat with the duties of the regularly constituted tithingmen.

27. 8. 84. At a meeting of the select men for the regulating of Disorder in the meeting house one the Lords Day by boys and youth playing it is agreed and ordered by the Selectmen that all house holders or masters of families in this Towne shall take there turns sucsessiuey euery Lords day both below and in y^e galires ensine [Thomas] Lind to begin below and Sargent Samuell Sprague in the gallire

in reference to the law little Children and youths it is agreed and ordered by the Select men that ensine [Thomas] Lind and henery green on the north side of the riuier and deacon John Sprague and deacon John Green on the south side of the riuier.⁴

³ The office and duties of the tithingmen are discussed by Herbert B. Adams in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, first series, iv.

⁴ An old colonial law, which was several times reaffirmed, required the selectmen to see "that all children & youth, vnder family government, be

At the annual meeting, March 8, 1696 $\frac{1}{7}$, the selectmen were authorized to appoint the tithingmen; and they accordingly met at the house of John Greenland and chose,

Samuel Green, Sr.,	Edward Sprague,
Jonathan Sprague,	Simon Grover,
Obadiah Jenkins,	Joseph Lamson,
Samuel Wayte,	Nathaniel Nichols.

This would indicate that about eighty families were then living in the town, if the original significance of the office were still observed; but the next year only four were chosen, and in 1699 John Lynde and Jacob Winslad^b divided the duties and honors which were

formerly shared by eight. The number

Jacob winslad

was limited to two for more than a century, until 1806, when three were chosen. In 1810 several refused to serve and none were

taught to reade perfectly the English tongue, haue knowledge in the capitall lawes, & be taught some othodoxe chattechisme, & that they be brought vp to some honest employment, profitable to themselues & the Com^monwealth." *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (2), 395.

^b This uncommon name appears in the records under the various forms of Winslad, Winslead, and Winslow, and has suffered some strange perversions at the hands of modern copyists. Although the only gravestone bearing the name at Sandy Bank makes it Winslead, the standard seems to have been the spelling of the text, if a standard there may be for a name which is both Winslad and Winslow in a single paper. To illustrate the curious changes which have occurred in some family names this case is valuable.

John Winslow married Sarah Moulton, daughter of Thomas and Jane Moulton of Malden or Mystic Side, May 5, 1652; and their children when born were recorded under the names of Winslade and Winsled. Their son John died January 10, 1683 $\frac{1}{4}$, aged twenty-eight years, and his gravestone is that of John Winslead; but Jacob Winslow

was soon after granted letters of administration upon the estate of his brother John Winslow "of Mauldon deceased." In the following April guardians were appointed for Jonathan and Thomas Winslead, and Jacob Winslead is mentioned as administrator of the estate of John Winslead "late of Maldon." *Midd. Court Records*, iv. 93, 100.

Over the date of April 13, 1690, Thomas Winslow, in consideration of "being bound out against the ffrrench, and not knowing how it may fall out, and whether I shall return again or no," made a deed of gift to his brother, Jacob Winslow, mentioning also his sister, Sarah Knower, his brother Joseph, and his mother, to each of whom he gave a cow. *Midd. Co Deeds*, xi. 23; also the original in *Midd. Probate Files*, *in loco*. He died within a year and his estate was appraised, April 6, 1691, as that of Thomas Winslade of Malden, deceased. Administration was granted to Jacob Winslow, who gave a bond which he signed as Jacob Winslad, although both he and his deceased brother bore the name of Winslow in the body of the paper. Nine years later Jacob Winslad of Malden, blacksmith, gave a bond as administrator of

elected for that year; but the next year Captain Unite Cox and John Townsend accepted the office and thereafter, until 1837, from two to six tithingmen were chosen annually. From the latter date the office ceased to be continuous; and in 1843 Henry H. Hyde, Thomas J. Whittridge, and Isaac Cowdrey bore the honors if they did not perform the duties of the last tithingmen in Malden. They had gradually lost their early importance; and in time they filled the measure of their existence by pulling the ears of uneasy boys or rapping the heads of unwary sleepers, when the weather was close or the preacher dull. Latterly, they served to answer the unrepealed statute, which required their election, rather than any definite purpose.

The first constable of the town was Richard Adams, who has been mentioned as holding that office in 1651. Those who were chosen at the first recorded meeting, in 1678, refused to serve; and at the next meeting the town chose "Sargt Tho. Skinr.," and it was voted: —

y^t y^e select men agree with him & to be paid by y^e whole Towne voted. — y^t the select men levie y^e fines According to law of Allexand^r waite & willm Leraby that were chosen Constab^{ls} & refused to serue: vnless they clear themselues by law.⁶

An unwillingness to accept this office was not uncommon. Thomas Waite was chosen, March 2, 170½, but hired Samuel Bucknam to take his place; and it was recorded at the next meeting that "this town has expepted of y^e s^d Sam^{ll} bucknam." At the meeting of March 1, 171¾,

Samuel Green^{ju}: at y^e farms js chose constable. Petar Tufts js chose constable: and y^e said Tufts has hired Thomas burdit jun^r To sarue jn

the estate of his brother, Jonathan Winslad of Malden. *Midd. Probate Files, in loco*. A deed was executed, July 1, 1701, purporting to be by Jacob Winslad, blacksmith, of Malden, and his wife Elizabeth, to Thomas Mitchell, of land on the west side of Moulton's Island; but although the husband had signed his name as Winslad in the preceding December and the writer of the deed had used the same form, the grantors signed as Jacob and Elizabeth Winslow.

This change of the name may be attributed to the peculiar pronunciation of the original word, Winslad, in which the final letter became silent and a sound was given to *a* as in *far*.

⁶ Thomas Skinner was again chosen the next year and his compensation fixed.

"[March 8, 167¾] voted Sgt. Skinr Constable for this yeare ensueing And the Towne to pay him three Pounds."

his stead — And y^e said Thomas burdit js excepted as a constable by a vote jn y^e Roome and stead of y^e s^d peetar Tufts for y^e yeer ensuing : ⁷

Sometimes a fine was incurred and paid in lieu of service, as in March, 173 $\frac{1}{4}$, when “Samuell Tufts being chosen constable at this meeting paid five pounds & so answered y^e Law in that affair, and y^e Town voted again and chose Isacc Green constable.” Ensign Joseph Lynde paid a like fine a year or two later.⁸

During the colonial period, one constable appears to have answered the requirements of the town; and although two were chosen in 1678, Thomas Skinner served alone in 1679 and 1680. At the annual meeting in 168 $\frac{1}{4}$, it was voted to choose two, one from each side of Pemberton's Brook; and Joses Bucknam was chosen from the south, and Henry Green, from the north side. This vote was reaffirmed, March 1, 170 $\frac{2}{3}$, when it was

voted that Jt shall be A standing order for the furtur that ther shall be Two Constables Yeerly chose jn this Town. one constable on y^e north side of y^e Riuer : and one constable on y^e south side of y^e Riuer.

The constable was potential. He could “speede away all hues & crys, effect & signe them, where no magistrate is neere at hand, ag^t theeves, robbers, murderers, manslajers, peace-breakers, & other capitoll offendors.” He could “app^rhend wthout warrant such as be overtaken wth drincke, swearing, Saboath breaking, lying, vagrant persons, [and] night walkers.” He was obliged “to take notice of com^mon coasters, vnprofitable fowlers, & other idle p^rsons, & tobacco takers;” to secure “any inhabitant or strainger after tenne of the clocke at night, behaving themselves deboist, or that giveth not a reasonable ground to y^e connstable or watchman, or shallbe in drincke;” to give warning “vnto any inhabitants of theire toune, wther men or

⁷ Each end of the town was well served in this instance; for both Tufts and Burditt were inhabitants of the south-eastern portion, near the Boston line, while Green lived “at y^e farms” at the northern extremity. The more central parts of the town may have been very orderly or have taken care of themselves.

⁸ The twenty-fourth article of “The office & power of a counstable [May 19, 1658,]” is:—

“Not to refuse the office of a constable, being orderly chosen thereto, on pœnalty of five pounds, & if in Boston, tenn pounds pœnalty.” *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (1), 326.

weomen, that live from their husbands or wives, to appeare at the next Court of y^t county to ans^r for their so doing.”⁹ That he might be known, the Colony law provided “y^t ev^y constable shall have a staffe, wth some remarkable distinction, p^rvided by y^e towne, w^{ch} may be as a signe or badge of his office, & this staffe to take along wth him, when he shall go fourth to discharge any p^t of his office, w^{ch} staffe shalbe black, & about five foote, or five & a halfe foote long, tipped at y^e upper end, about five or sixe inches, with brasse.” If any person “wilfully, obstinately, or contemptuously” refused assistance to any constable “in y^e execution of his office,” he was liable to a fine of “fortye shillings to y^e use of y^e country, upon y^e iust complaint of y^e constable.”¹⁰

Besides his duties in taking a general cognizance of offences and offenders, the constable was the executioner of the law. The whipping post and the stocks were under his charge; and he was “to whip or punish any to bee punished where there is not another officer appointed to do it wthin his owne towne, unlesse hee can get another to do it.”¹¹ He was also a server of writs, collector of taxes, and coroner; and his time was well taken if he were faithful in fulfilling all the duties prescribed in the twenty-six articles which the General Court caused to be printed for his guidance.¹²

A town clerk and a treasurer are not mentioned in the record of the meeting held in 1678; nor was a clerk chosen by the

⁹ *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (1), 324-327.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, ii. 151.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, i. 339. The whipping post and stocks had their places under an ancient Balm of Gilead tree which stood before Hill's Tavern. Those thrifty trees which now stand south of the City Hall are seedlings of the same stock. Mary Degresha, otherwise Moll Grush, is said to have been the last sufferer by the lash. The soft-hearted officer who inflicted the punishment is reported to have said:—“Hold still, Molly, and I won't hurt you.” The stocks, of heavy oak, after a long service, were preserved in the attic of

the First Parish meeting house; but, being removed about 1857, they have now disappeared.

¹² *The office & power of a counstable, collected out of the severall lawes of this collony.* “ [May 19, 1658,] Itt is ordered by this Court & y^e authority thereof, that the office & power of a connstable, expressed in these twenty sixe articles, be forthwith printed, that so each constable may vnderstand his duty.” *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (1), 324-327. An essay on the genesis and growth of the office of Constables by Herbert B. Adams is in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, xxxvi. 174-187, 255-276, and in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, first series, viii.

voters until the annual meeting, March 9, 1684½, when Samuel Sprague¹³ appears as "clark of the writs." This must be considered as a nomination rather than as an election; for the County Court held the power of appointment, and at its session, October 6, 1685, "Samuel Sprague of Maldon is allowed Clarke of the writts for that Towne."¹⁴

The office of Clerk of the Writs was an old one, dating from 1641, when the General Court ordered "that in every towne one shalbee appointed to grant summons & attachments in all civill actions These are chosen for a yeare, & till new be chosen in their roames."¹⁵ The appointments were made, at first, by the General Court, afterwards, by the County Courts, acting upon the nomination of the towns, as in the instance just cited. The duties of the office were gradually abridged, and finally merged in those of the town clerk, a change which began to be apparent in 1686, when the Court appointed Lieutenant Samuel Sprague of Malden among other "Clerks in the several Townes of this County to take account of all Births and Deaths in their respective Towns and to act in said office according to the order of the President & Council."¹⁶ Samuel Sprague apparently held the office several years, although no other appointment is mentioned. His name appears several times in the records, even after he had been superseded, as "Clark Samuel Sprague" to distinguish him from others of the same name.

At length, for the first time, the town proceeded to the election of a town clerk; and at the annual meeting, March 6, 169⅔, John Greenland was chosen "Clark of the Town." As has been stated,

John Wayte, being a selectman,

John Greenland Town clerk

was the first in Malden to perform the common duties of the town clerk and he appears to have continued in office by the choice of his associates nearly thirty-five years, until he was incapacitated by blindness in 1684.

¹³ John Sprague in the town records, which may be an error; or, perhaps, John was chosen by the town but not confirmed by the Court.

¹⁴ *Midd. Court Records*, iv. 189.

¹⁵ *Mass. Colony Records*, i. 345, 346.

¹⁶ *Midd. Court Records*. — *General Sessions, Anno. 1686.*

Even after the clerk began to be elected by the town meetings, he was chosen from the selectmen until 1699, when the selectmen, of whom the clerk, John Greenland, was one, for some unrecorded reason, refused to serve and another board and another clerk, John Sprague, who was not a selectman, were chosen. At the same time, the new town clerk was chosen "scool-master." His fitness for the former office it is to be hoped was superior to that for the latter, which was not of a high order, if we may judge from the records which he has left. However, he appears to have been more appreciated in the latter office, for he taught several years later, while the old town clerk was restored at the next election.

The duties of a treasurer appear to have been performed by the selectmen in common, although one among them may have been, by consent of the others, the special custodian of the funds. No record appears in relation to the office until March 9, 1695 $\frac{1}{6}$, when Edward Sprague was chosen town treasurer. His services were considered in a grant of common land in 1697; but at the next annual meeting he was chosen constable and Phineas Upham, treasurer. A commissioner of assessments, Benjamin Webb, was chosen in March, 1693 $\frac{3}{4}$, who was succeeded by Samuel Green, Sen., in March, 1694 $\frac{1}{4}$, and by John Greenland, in June, 1695.¹⁷ Edward Sprague was chosen to the same place by the meeting which made him treasurer. Nothing more is heard of the former office; and circumstances indicate that the two were practically one and that the former commissioners of assessments performed the functions of treasurer. If the responsibilities of the treasurer in those days of small things were comparatively light, his emoluments were not excessive. Phineas Upham received ten shillings, by a vote of the town, for his services in 1700. At first, the selectmen made settlements with the treasurer, as they had with the constables in former years, but later, a committee — the financial committee of more recent times, was annually chosen by the town for that purpose.

¹⁷ "[August, 1687] Left! Samuell Sprague was chosen commissioner to joyne with the Townes men to make the country rate." Joseph Wilson was commissioner in 1688. After this I have seen no notice of a similar office until that mentioned in the text.

It has been noticed that the selectmen at first performed the duties of assessors; but, July 20, 1694, John Sargeant, Sen., Phineas Upham, and Jonathan Sprague, who were not selectmen, were chosen at a general town meeting. At the annual meeting in March, 1696 $\frac{6}{7}$, three assessors were chosen, of whom one was not a selectman. No assessors were chosen in 1700; but at a meeting of the selectmen in April the whole board of five members was sworn to perform that duty. In 1702 $\frac{2}{3}$ the selectmen were assessors with a joint daily compensation of six shillings and "John Greenland [was] Chose Commissioner To Join with y^e Assessers."¹⁸ The next year the selectmen were again designated as assessors and so continued until March, 1709 $\frac{9}{10}$,¹⁹ when Phineas Upham, Thomas Newhall, Sen., and Samuel Sprague, who were not of that board, were chosen. At the next annual meeting the selectmen were again made assessors, "And to haue wages but for three men;" but a change was made the next year, when John Greenland and Phineas Upham, Jr. were chosen in company with the selectman, Samuel Sprague. In 1713 the selectmen again performed the duties; and at the meeting in March, 1713 $\frac{3}{4}$, "The Selectmen are chosen to be assessors and To sarue for Three mens wages." This system continued, subject, perhaps, to some changes in the rate of compensation, until March 14, 1780, when five assessors were chosen and special instructions given them by a committee. This change, which was apparently made for the purpose of correcting some real or fancied abuses in the valuation, was not of long duration. A return was made to the old order in 1784, and the selectmen continued to be the assessors for many years.

Among the minor officers chosen at the town meetings were several whose duties referred to the care of cattle and other domestic animals, as the hog-constables, who were chosen in the earlier years and whose duties were afterwards performed by

¹⁸ He was already a selectman and town clerk.

¹⁹ During some of these years three of the board were specially designated to the office. A valuation of the town was ordered and a special committee was chosen for that purpose, January 26, 1707 $\frac{7}{8}$, when it was, "noted deacon

John Greenland Commissinor and John Green and Let Henry Green and Samuell Sprague iun Chosen Trustees to take and make a ualuation of all the Ratabell Estates of this town Both Real and personal acording to the acte of the Generall Cort."

the common drivers and the field drivers or haywards. The hog-constables were elected in 1678 and during a few years later. In 169 $\frac{3}{4}$ Joseph Lamson and John Pemberton were chosen "To looke after the yoking and ringing of swine." In 169 $\frac{3}{4}$ Joseph Floyd and Jonathan Sprague were chosen common drivers and Nathaniel Upham and Obadiah Jenkins, "field drivers or howards;" and the next year the common drivers disappeared, but Lazarus Grover and James Nichols were "howards." March 4, 170 $\frac{3}{9}$, "willium Teele [was] chosen to se to the swine that thay [be] yoked and Ringed that thay may not do damige in the medowes." At the annual meeting in March, 171 $\frac{3}{4}$, William Teele, John Lynde, and Ebenezer Sargeant were appointed "to se y^t y^e swine be yoked and Ringed according to law;" and the next year Benjamin Hill and John Sprague were chosen "To se to y^e due obsaruation of y^e laws Relating to swine." The swine officers were called "hawerds" in 1717. Swine were permitted to go at large, at certain seasons, properly yoked and ringed, according to law, by the annual vote of the town until April 5, 1802, when it was voted "Not to liberate the Swine." At the same meeting it was voted "Not to let the Cattle Go at large." The latter had been allowed to feed on the highways and were prevented from straying, in the early part of the last century, by frequent gates across the roads. Young cattle and sheep were, earlier, turned into the town commons, sometimes in charge of a common shepherd. It was voted, May 8, 1704, "y^t there shall [be] a Shepard chose to keep y^e town flock of sheep for this yeer;" and Richard Sprague, a youth of eighteen, having been chosen, his father, Jonathan Sprague, engaged that the duty should be "cearfully and faithfully don." Orders relating to rams are frequent upon the records. In the case of estrays, it was ordered, March 8, 170 $\frac{3}{4}$: "y^e finder shall forthwith set up a papar on capt Wilsons Shop: and also a papar on jacob winsleds Shop both fairly written."²⁰ Cattle were known by owners'-marks,

²⁰ Joseph Wilson's blacksmith shop, which stood near his house at the present corner of Main and Salem Streets, was a favorite place for posting

notices. Jacob Winslad, also a blacksmith, had his shop in the south-eastern part of the town.

which were often recorded upon the town-book. An entry made March 12, 1704 $\frac{1}{2}$, is as follows:— "Nath^l Waite y^e markes of his creatures. The top of y^e neere eare cut of. A slit jn y^e top of y^e far ear. And a half peney cut out of y^e underside of y^e same." Upon the same page are entered the marks of John Sargeant, Phineas Upham, Samuel Sweetser, Samuel Sprague, Jr., Samuel Sprague, 3rd, and John Lynde, and others are recorded elsewhere. As cattle and other domestic animals became confined to the premises of their owners and ceased to go at large the importance of the haywards, or hog-reeves, decreased, and their duties descended to the field drivers, an office which still exists and to which it was formerly, for many years, the facetious custom to elect newly-married men.

John Sargeant, Sen., was elected "Clark of y^e market" at the annual meeting in 169 $\frac{3}{4}$ and several years after. In 170 $\frac{1}{2}$ John Sargeant, his son, was chosen "sealer of waits & clerk of y^e market," and he appears to have been annually re-elected until 171 $\frac{2}{3}$, when he was succeeded by his son, Jonathan Sargeant. This officer apparently took cognizance of the prices of produce and other commodities, which were frequently subject to fixed rates, and considered and settled questions arising from their exchange. No election was recorded in 171 $\frac{3}{4}$, nor until March, 173 $\frac{3}{4}$, when Jonathan Sargeant was again chosen. Three years later Moses Hill was chosen "sealer of waits and measures," an office which still exists, and no more is heard of the "clark of markets." The office probably fell into desuetude with the cessation of the necessity of making payments of taxes and other debts in kind and the more general use of money in business transactions.

At a meeting held, December 31, 1739, it was

vot. that James Green and Giles Goddard are chose to see that the violators of a late act made for the better preservation of deer within the province be presecuted and punished: sworn.

At the annual meeting in the ensuing March, Samuel Green, 3rd, and John Sprague, Jr. were chosen for the same purpose; and in 1740 $\frac{1}{2}$ James Green and Timothy Upham were appointed

“to put the new law in execution refering to the better preservation of the deer within this province.” Others were chosen yearly until March 5, 174 $\frac{3}{4}$, when the office assumed a name and Ensign John Dexter and Nathaniel Jenkins were chosen “Deer reves.” No other elections are recorded until 174 $\frac{7}{8}$, when Isaac Hill was chosen. He was succeeded the next year by Israel Cook, and the office became a permanent one for nearly fifty years. The deer-reeve was called “Informer of Deer” in 1778, but received his original name in 1782; and so continued until 1792, when the office ceased. The last deer-reeve was Samuel Green; but the last deer had disappeared from the Malden woods nineteen years before.

There was another office that the freemen of Malden filled at the annual town meeting which has long ceased to be elective, or even a town matter. It was that of bellman, sexton, and grave-digger. The latter function of this triple office concerns more nearly the burying place at Sandy Bank. They had no need of bellman or sexton who came under the official hands of the grave-digger. The others concerned the living men of the town and were of importance to them.

Who rang out the call from the little frame on Bell Rock under the summer sun and in the cold storms of winter for more than forty years, I know not. No record has preserved the early bellman's name; and Thomas Dunnell has the honor of being the first recorded choice of the town for that office.

[1690.] Thomas Dunnell is made choyse of by the Towne to ring the bell and sweep the Meeting house the 1 of March 90 for which he is to have one pound fifteen shillings in pay by the yeare.

A few days later the selectmen settled with Philip Atwood for the like service, which had probably been performed in the preceding year; and for some reason they made an agreement with Samuel Lewis, in the following August, for the same compensation that had been voted to Dunnell. However, Dunnell distanced his competitors, if competitions there were; for in March, 169 $\frac{2}{3}$, it was agreed to transfer the bell from the rock to the meeting house and it was

voted Thômas dunnell Is chose to Ring y^e bell and sweep and look after y^e meting hous for this year: and the Town doth agree to give him Thirty five shillings by a Reate: y^e said dunnell Is also to dig the graues.

Thereafter, for twenty-seven years, he was as regularly elected as the selectmen or the constables, with varying fortune as to the amount of his compensation, which increased from thirty shillings in 1696 to three pounds in 1717. In 1710 a love of office, or its emoluments, appears to have taken possession of him; for while he was chosen "Belman" with the provision that "he js also to sweep y^e meting hous," it is added to the record that "he also desiers to dig y^e graues." It is to be hoped that the privilege was accorded to him that year as it was in 1713, when to the record of his election is added "he is to dig y^e graues." His duties were again specified in 1714, when it is recorded: —

[March 1, 171 $\frac{3}{4}$.] Thomas dunell js chose To Ring y^e bell and to clens and look aftar y^e meting hous for y^e yeer ensuing and js to haue for his saruic 02-10-00 for y^e yeer ensuing.

Thomas Dunnell was re-elected, March 7, 171 $\frac{9}{20}$, and appears no more.²¹ I suspect that he performed his duties until the next winter, and that Sandy Bank took to itself all that it could claim of the bellman and grave-digger; for Ambrose Hines was chosen, December 2, 1720, bellman until March. At the next annual meeting, he was chosen for the year and allowed three pounds for his services. His term was not a long one. At the meeting in March, 172 $\frac{1}{2}$, the selectmen were instructed to find a bellman; and a year later, Jeremiah Howard, who had, perhaps, been employed by the selectmen was chosen by the town. There is no record of an election for several years after 1724, until March 2, 172 $\frac{9}{30}$, when Thomas Degresha was chosen and the compensation raised to four pounds. The next year occurs the first mention of a sexton under that name, it being "*Voted* — that y^e selectmen provide a sexton for y^e year Ensueing."

²¹ Thomas Dunnell lived north of Forest Street on the old road to Reading. The cellar of his house remained in the land now occupied by the Wyoming Cemetery in Melrose until filled by Charles Pratt many years ago.

Thomas Degresha was still the sexton in 1733; but Thomas Manser was elected by the town in March, 173 $\frac{3}{4}$, and continued until March 5, 1738 $\frac{9}{10}$, when Degresha again appeared and the following vote was recorded: —

vot That Thomas Degresha Shall be belman to ring the bel for town meetings and that the s^d bellman shall have eight shillings for digging a grave for any person above ten years old in the winter season and six in the sumer and six shillings a grave att any time of the year for those persons that are under ten years of age.

By a later vote he was allowed forty shillings for ringing the bell for town meetings. Manser may have continued to "clens" the meeting house, which was now under the charge of the parish, although the town continued to choose sextons for more than seventy years. Every voter of the town, whether of the north or of the south, had a voice in the election of the town sexton; and their choice was usually adopted by the voters of the North Parish or by their committee. Meanwhile, the voters of the South Precinct, in their separate capacity, had chosen Joseph Burditt and were paying him forty shillings "for Sweeping and taking Care" of their meeting house on Sargeant's Hill.²² Thomas Manser was again chosen by the town in March, 1739 $\frac{40}{100}$; and, although he was numbered among the paupers in 1763, a bellman and sexton he continued to be until 1775. His compensation varied from year to year as it was paid in debased currency or lawful money. In 1755 he received twenty-five shillings from the town and twelve pounds, old tenor, from the parish; but the latter was made thirty-two shillings, lawful money, the next year. At the annual meeting, March 5, 1770, it was voted "To give three Pistarenes per grave for grown Persons, & two for children the Year round." Manser was re-chosen by the town and parish in March, 1775, receiving from the latter the sum of thirty-two shillings; and his name appears no more. He probably soon went the way of his predecessor, Thomas Dunnell. Whatever was the cause of his retirement from his long term of service, it was not long after his re-election; for as early as June 21 of that year it was

²² *South Precinct Records*, Dec. 19, 1738; March 7, 173 $\frac{9}{10}$.

Voted, That Mr Martin be forbidden, for the present to ring the bell on any account what ever, except that it may be rung for an alarm, and tolled for funerals.²³

At the next annual meeting it was "*Voted* That [the] Selectmen be Impowered to agree with a Saxton for the Insuing year on such terms as they shall think Proper;" and a vote giving their committee the same authority was passed by the North Parish soon after. John Martin, an Englishman and an old soldier of the French wars, appears to have been the person selected; and he was chosen by the town in 1778 and 1780, and by the parish in 1779 and 1780.

*John martin
Saxton*

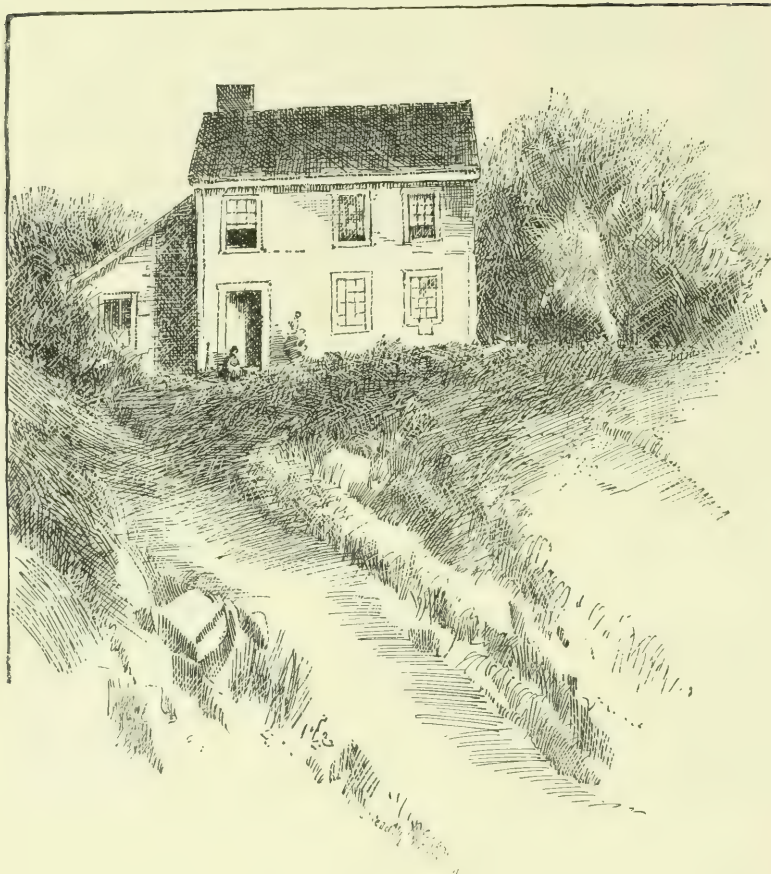
The parish voted him five hundred dollars in the currency of the day for his services in those two years. He continued to be the town and parish sexton, receiving for his labors in 1786 the sum of thirty-six shillings from the town. The purchase of a pair of shoes for his use by the town in 1788 marks him as a pauper; and he died, May 28, 1793, being recorded as "states-poor." No other sexton was mentioned meanwhile except Jacob Pratt, who was chosen by the town in March, 1792. The life of the new sexton is very well summarized in the following extract:—

Jacob, second son of Thomas [*and Sarah*] Pratt (*born February 15, 1754,*) never had any trade. He worked some on his small place & went out to work some by the day. He was sexton for many years, until the new meeting house was built, viz. the brick meeting house which is the Universalist's meeting house. It was built in 1802, at which time Charles Hill became sexton. . . . The latter part of his days he followed fishing with John Jenkins, much of the time. The landing from which they started is about a quarter of a mile from Black Ann's Corner.²⁴

²³ This was four days after the Battle of Bunker Hill, when the country was in a state of intense excitement; and the vote was passed not only to prevent an unnecessary alarm, but to emphasize one when it should become necessary. Such an alarm was doubt-

less given on Sunday, August 6, 1775, when a party of the British landed at Penny Ferry and sent the provincials flying up the road.

²⁴ MS. of the late John Pratt. The town record says Jacob Pratt was born February 19, 1754. He lived in a house



With him the old succession of bellmen and sextons came to an end. They were an humble race, generally with a tendency to indigence. Neither Lewis nor Dunnell was a freeholder, and Degresha, Manser, and Martin became paupers.

near Reedy Pond, which, changed in appearance, and removed a little from its former position, is still standing, in 1898, on the northerly side of Forest Street, and is owned by O. W. Ennis. It was probably built during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and was sold to John Pratt in 1777 by Anna Howard, "Seemster." This house, a view of which is given, in its original

condition was an interesting example of arrested development. It was a common practice to build a portion of the house, the chimney and front door being at one end. As the family increased, other rooms would be built around the chimney and the house would be extended to twice, or more, of its original capacity. This house, as will be seen in the sketch, never passed the first period.

With the completion of the new meeting house a young man was inducted into the office of sexton, who for the greater part of a lifetime enjoyed as well as fulfilled its duties. Charles Hill was a son of Charles Hill, the landlord of Hill's Tavern, and was a man of much natural shrewdness and wit. He became prominent in the parish, being its clerk, as well as sexton, for many years. He was active as well in town affairs, holding several offices, and serving on important committees. Above all, he was the well-known constable of Malden, and as such he was a terror to the evil-doers of two generations. His voice, no less than his cane, was potential in the quelling of disorder. He was the last sexton chosen by the town or by its authority; and his term of service exceeded even that of his veteran predecessor, Thomas Manser. As sexton of the First Parish he was active and careful, not ceasing from the performance of his duties until about 1844; and for many years he enjoyed the monopoly of grave digging and burying in the town. His son, Charles Hill, Jr., succeeded him, and continued the office in the name for twelve years longer.

The old-time sextons have passed away, nor have they left a legitimate successor; for the janitors and undertakers of to-day have neither the importance nor the individuality which formerly attached to the office. They have passed into literature as a gossiping, easy race of men, who were not unphilosophical nor unwise in their degree. Nor does the reputation which they have acquired appear to have been undeserved. All the passing events of the town came under their ken; and they knew its people as they knew its traditions, from the first to the last. They were as familiar with the parson and the doctor as with their equals. If their emoluments were light, their position had many advantages, which were not to be measured by the standards of lawful money or old tenor; and by the force of their surroundings they assumed a dignity which was far above that which was warranted by their station or the humble duties of their office.

John Lynde and Joseph Wayte, "Overseers of the ministers wood," were among the town officers chosen in 1686; and jury-

men were frequently chosen by the town at the early annual meetings. A "Sealar of lethar" was chosen in March, 17⁰⁹/₁₀, and afterwards. The first to hold that office was James Moulton, who was followed by his neighbors, Joseph Lamson and James Upham. These were inhabitants of the southeastern part of the town, where the business of tanning hides appears to have been begun at an early day and continued until near, if not after, the period of the Revolution.²⁵

Highway surveyors and viewers of fences were among the early and later officers of the town. Surveyors of hemp and flax, and measurers of "Timber, boards Clabords & Shingles," and other special officers were chosen at times, and committees

²⁵ A tan-yard was established at the South Spring and was in active operation until about 1815. The ancient house, still standing west of the Everett Spring house, was for the most of the time the property and the residence of the proprietors. It has been seen that the easterly five acres of lot eleven were sold by Thomas Moulton to Richard Dexter in 1646. Here Dexter built a house which, by equal proportions of gift and sale, he transferred to James Mellens, who had married his daughter, Elizabeth. At the same time he conveyed one acre "on the South Side the high way over agt the said house." *Midd. Co. Deeds*, iii. 285. John Brintnall, who married Deborah, a granddaughter of James Mellens, became by inheritance and purchase the owner of this part of the "Millinses" land, having previously established a tan-yard on the southerly one acre on which he was seated in 1713. Here he had a tan house, a bark mill, and the necessary tan and water pits. Thomas Campbell of Marblehead, a cordwainer, purchased the property of Brintnall in 1721 and sold the tan-yard to Benjamin Blaney of Lynn in 1724. Blaney, although a cordwainer, began the business of a tanner, and soon after bought the house and land on the other side of the road. He became captain of the Malden company and a justice, and was a prominent and useful citizen. His violent death in 173²/₄ will be noticed elsewhere. His

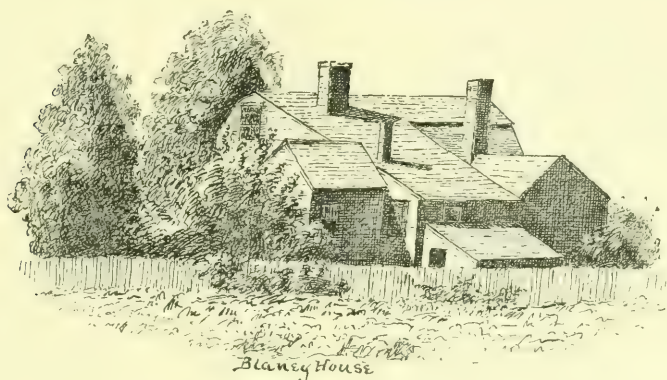
son, Benjamin, the Revolutionary captain, continued the business of his father until late in life, when in 1815 he sold both the house and tan-yard to Jabez Sargent of Boston, who, the next year, transferred his purchase to Nathan Nichols. Nichols in his turn sold it in 1817 to Miss Joanna Tileston Oliver, a niece of Mrs. Sarah (Sigourney) Waters, the wife of Captain Daniel Waters, who lived on the adjoining land. Here "Aunt Joey," as she was familiarly called by the townspeople, lived until her death, October 19, 1865.

The old house, with its two noble horse-chestnut trees, which were brought from the garden of Gardiner Greene in Boston, probably in 1835 when Pemberton's Hill was taken down, is one of the landmarks of Everett. Although in its present form it is apparently of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, it probably contains in its construction the earlier house of Richard Dexter.

"Blaner's tan-yard," a triangular piece of ground on the south side of Chelsea Street, could easily be recognized until 1894, when the building of a large tenement house caused all the evidences of the old-time industry to disappear. It was sometimes known as "Joey Oliver's Close," a rare survival of an old English term. Blaney added to this part of his original purchase a parcel of common land on its easterly side, which included the Spring Gutter within its bounds.

were often appointed for various purposes. School committees and overseers of the poor, as independent officers, did not exist in the colonial and provincial periods. They were of a later day and will be noticed in their places.

The country rates have been mentioned in a former chapter, and there were those which at various times, with some irregularity, were laid for highways, for schools, and for the poor. Besides these and the ministerial tax, there was another for town charges, which the voters sometimes allowed with promptness, and at others refused to authorize. With these various claims



upon them, the men of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries bore a burden of taxation which was no light load in those days of small things; and the public rooms of Hill's and Newhall's taverns echoed on town meeting days, no doubt, with many an honest growl from discontented and impecunious taxpayers. Sometimes the load was lightened, as in 1686, when it was "Voted at a publick Town meeting that the mony that was given towards the redemption of M^r Gold he being dead in captivity shold return vnto the Towne for the Townes Vse and not vnto his Widdow." The next year the "Town's Meadow at Woster [was] let to M^r Dauson of Boston for this year 87-20 shill silver."

At a meeting, May 18, 1694, a rate of twenty-five pounds was ordered for town charges. The town rates committed to the constables for collection in July of the same year amounted to

£34 7s. 8d. which included other items besides that of town charges. Of this amount John Mudge was to collect £20 14s. 4d. and Samuel Green, £13 13s. 4d. May 8, 1696, thirty-four or thirty-five pounds were voted for "nesesary" charges, and ten pounds to pay an amount due Charlestown. The next year about twenty-four pounds were considered sufficient to meet the town charges; and a few days later the selectmen met at Isaac Hill's tavern, and made a town and country rate amounting to £27 3s. 9d. This was probably only a portion of the amount to be raised, as it was the custom to make two or more rates each year—a wise provision where much was paid in kind and but little in money. The three shillings and ninepence may have been swallowed up by a "bill for charges at Isak Hills," an item which is by no means infrequent in the records. This refreshment of the inner man must not be confounded with the modern junketing; for to a man who had ridden from the north end or Scadan through the woods on a cold day much might be forgiven in that early time, when little harm was thought to be in "something warm."

It was somewhat easier to lay rates than to collect them. In a settlement with the treasurer, Phineas Upham, in March, 1700, it appeared that four shillings and tenpence were still due, which, adds the record, "js jn y^e wido Marshall and wido greens hands and Cant be had." A "Town Reate" was made April 9, 1700, which, covering other items besides town charges, amounted to £52 3s. 11d., and was committed to constables John Green and Jacob Winslad, to be returned by the last day of July. In October of the same year it was "*noted* y^t ther shall be between eleuen and twelue pounds Raised to defray Town charges;" and a second rate of £20 11s. was laid soon after. Twenty-two pounds were raised, May 16, 1701, of which three pounds were "for ammonition for y^e towns stock." By a vote of the town, May 19, 1712, "Collectors [were] to haue 20 shillings for their Saruis for y^e Town."

The amounts raised for town charges varied from year to year, being twenty pounds in 1706, and forty pounds in 1716.

Some allowance must be made for the difference in values, which resulted from the issue of paper currency.²⁶

In the spring of 1729, perhaps by the influence of those of Mystic Side who had recently been annexed from Charlestown and were not in good humor over the meeting house question, the town twice refused to raise money for general expenses. Perhaps it was those of the northern section who at the same time refused to pay Jonathan Sargeant, a south end man, for his services as representative in 1728. However, a more accommodating spirit pervaded the meeting in August of the same year, when seventy pounds, money, were raised for expenses, and a temporary compromise was made in relation to the location of the new meeting house. An addition to the town charges was made for more "ammunition" in March, 173¾, when a committee was instructed to buy forty-three and a quarter pounds of powder at a cost of twelve pounds, money. The value of money had so decreased that one hundred and fifty pounds were raised for town charges in October, 1736, and the same sum in 1741. School and other charges appear now to have been included in the amounts raised for general expenses.

The following table shows the sums raised for town charges at intervals of five years until the Revolution. Appropriations for special purposes were also made from time to time.²⁷

²⁶ Bills of credit were worth, in 1710, at the rate of eight shillings for an ounce of silver; in 1716, ten shillings; and in 1725 they had fallen to seventeen shillings. In 1749 the evil had reached its highest point and the currency had fallen to sixty shillings.

The blessings of a paper currency were experienced by the people of Massachusetts to the utmost. The reign of paper extended over a period of sixty years. From the first issue in 1690 until the close of this fateful period, emission after emission was put forth until the outstanding bills of the Province exceeded two million pounds; and every fresh expedient worked additional loss and financial suffering. The people were entangled in a mesh of "Old Tenor, Middle Tenor, and New Tenor," which

choked enterprise and impeded, if it did not destroy, every branch of legitimate trade. Nor were the loss and deprivation borne by widows and orphans and salaried men exceeded by the troubles of mercantile business. The resumption of specie payments by the Province in 1750 was the beginning of a period of prosperity which continued until the opening of the Revolution. Cf. Felt, *Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency*; and Derby, *History of Paper Money in the Province of Massachusetts*.

²⁷ March 25, 1742, the selectmen made a rate "of forty pounds old tenor to answer the payments that may be demanded upon the town for Black birds Crows Squirrels and wharf rats together with other charges of the town."

July 26, 1742,	£150 00 00, old tenor.
May 14, 1747,	200 00 00, „ „
May 13, 1752,	66 13 4, lawful money.
May 16, 1757,	80 00 00, „ „
May 17, 1762,	150 00 00, „ „
May 18, 1767,	120 00 00, „ „
May 18, 1772,	150 00 00, „ „
May 19, 1777,	130 00 00, „ „

When the several allotments of land were made on Mystic Side the large tract covered by the hills, which stretch easterly from Wayte's Mount to the old Boston line, and the larger part of the present town of Melrose remained common land covered with wood; and in a large part of its extent, being extremely rugged and rocky, it was of little worth save for the timber which it bore or as affording a scanty pasturage, for which purpose the better portions appear to have been used. Within the limits of this territory were a few natural fields and some remote meadows, which had been taken either by unrecorded allotments or otherwise, and two or three houses had been built thereon. Thomas Dickerman had settled towards the Boston line, where Dickerman's Hill in the easterly portion of Salem Street still preserves his memory; and the town confirmed his heirs in the possession of the house which he built with land around it. The Greens had cleared their farm and built in the northerly portion upon the westerly side of the road to Reading; and the town voted,

[May 18, 1694] that Samuel Green shall Injoy his hous and y^e land It stands on and so much land about It as y^e commite shall se cause to lay to It: and jt js Jntend for him and his assigns foreuer.

The commons were the occasion of many votes and orders relating to the felling of trees and pasturage; and the encroachments of the Charlestown neighbors were frequent. In 1681 Stephen Barrett, Joseph Lamson, and Thomas Barlow, of whom the former and latter, at least, were Mystic Side men, were warned against taking wood from "our common;" and a vote was passed in March, 168 $\frac{3}{4}$:—

That no fyrwood shall be feld or cutt vppon the common this yeare ensueing but what is or shalbe lying on the ground on penalty of fiue shillings p^r tree. Excepting on the south syde of the rocks from Joseph Wayts house to Lemⁿ Jenkins & from thence on the South^rly side the swamp to the Town lyne.²⁸

Similar votes were passed from time to time; and in 1684, was entered

Thomas newhalls complaint to the Townes men against Jose Bucknam for selling seventeen green trees for fire wood vpon the common oute of the bounds set contrary to the towne order :

Such offences were common. It was

[March 9, 1686/7] *voted* at a publike Towne meeting that nathaniell potter [Parker?] for carrying and cutting timber of the common contrary to a Towne order paid three pound and ten shillings in siluer J say receued by mee John Sprague senior in the behalfe and for the vse of the towne 8. 1. 86.

In November, 1689, it was voted that no young trees under a foot over should be felled for firewood under a penalty of five shillings for each tree. This order was to remain in force until March 22; and it was farther voted "That Charlsetowne men one this side of the riuer shall be forwarned for cutting and carting any wood of the Common that belongs to Maulden."

The Mystic Side men continued their offences and frequent orders and warnings were issued in consequence, until, in 1691,

the inhabitance of maldon voted at a publik Towne meeting that the in habitanice of charlsTown one mistak side are not to cut nor carry of any wood or timber of maulden commen after warning giuen to them to forbear :

Allso voted at the same time as followeth John green Jn^r Joses Bucknam Se^r Thomas newhall Jsak Hill Jacob parker thay were chosen as a committy to prosecute in a course of law any that shall offend by cutting and carring wood of malden common.

Previous to the passing of this vote, the "townsmen" had been empowered to sue Richard Stowers, the innkeeper of Mystic Side, for his offences; and this energetic action seems

²⁸ This exception covered that portion of the common which lay below the Scadan hills, between the present Lebanon Street and the Boston line.

to have stopped the encroachments. The rights of commonage began to be abused; and a vote was passed,

[March 14, 169½] that no malden man shall take any sheep out of any other towne to keepe upon malden common directly or indirectly he shall forfeit: 1: shilling in siluer for euery sheepe so taken and kept upon the common to the use of the Towne.

At the next annual meeting, it was

[March 6, 169¾] *voted*. That all y^e inhabitenc one y^e south sid of y^e River that puts ther sheep one y^e common they shall be put under the care of one shepard.

A committee was chosen, July 12, 1693, to run the line between the lands of the proprietors and the common, and its action is recorded as follows: —²⁹

nouember
y^e 6: 1693.

deken Green Henery
Green Joses Bucknam

Jsaac Hill and John Greenland being y^e maigor part of y^e comite chosen to Run y^e line between the common and proprietors land: Run y^e line between Joseph floyds land and y^e common neer y^e spring and marsh a white oke tree with leter C a litle within Joseph floyds wall neer y^e marsh:

The same day Run y^e bounds Round Joseph floyds hous and barn one y^e east cornr: of his garding bounded by a stake. from thence upon a line to a stake set a litell below y^e dore of his hous. from thenc upon a straight line y^e foreside of his barn to a hape of stons by a Rock one y^e South cornr. y^e backside bounded by Seuerall Rocks or great stons y^e Rang upon a line one y^e side of y^e hill

The same day john floyd was warned to Remove his fenc from of the cuntrey Rhod And all y^e land aboue the Rhod Is Juged to be common y^t Js against John floyds land: Lemuell Jinkens warned to Remove y^e hous y^t was dikermans from of y^e common: and Ezekell Jinkens warned to Remove his fenc from of y^e common.³⁰ The same day In y^e pres-

²⁹ The lands whose bounds were questioned, November 6–March 7, were in Scadan and near Black Ann's Corner. The farm of Joseph Floyd, which had formerly been that of John Doolittle, with a new house in 1667, was bounded by the Boston line and was apparently upon the southerly side of the Salem Road. That of Captain John Floyd was mostly south of the road; but the house stood upon one acre of land on the northerly side, which was bounded north

and west by the common, and east "upon vacant Land commonly called the Rockes." This location may still be identified. The town soon after voted, "That Capt John floyd hath Liberty granted him to erect an end to his dweling hous one y^e common."

³⁰ The town had confirmed the Dickerman land, as before stated. John Dickerman sold Lemuel Jenkins, November 21, 1690, a piece of meadow land and upland, with a dwelling house,

ents of Seuerall witnesses — Jonathan Sprague Sam^l Sprague Joseph floyd and James Chadwick Henery Green: John Green Isaac Hill.

nouember *phines Upham and John Greenland as a comitte chose by y^e 20: 1693. y^e Town puld up a peece of fenc y^t stood one y^e common neere dickermans hous: and also Run y^e line between y^e common and Jonathan Spragues land and did drive a stake at y^e corner betwen y^e lot formerly caled Mathew Smiths lot: and Jonathan Spragues land: and y^e common.³¹ And marked y^e stake next y^e common with letter C. and likewise did driue a stake neer Hawards barn between John Sargants Jun^r his land and y^e common: and marked y^e stake next y^e common and next the highway with leter C.

The same day y^e select-men warned Samuel Green Jun^r To Remoue his fenc of y^e common y^t stands neer His hous: and all y^e land aboue y^e Rhod y^t is against y^e said Greens land Js lookt at to be comon land.

December The same Committe: Run y^e line between y^e common and y^e 5: 1693 Lemuell Jinkins land It was agreed between both parties y^t y^e land Without y^e said Jinkens fenc before his hous Js and doth Remain common: and we markt a maple tree That stands neere y^e said Jinkens hous by y^e fenc with letter C.

ffrom thenc westwardly to three small battenwood trees y^t does Raing one a line all markt next y^e common with letter C: from thenc to a heap of stons at y^e corner. so that ther Js a convenient passag way for cattell between Jinkenses land and y^e Rocks.

on y^e sam day y^e line was Run Round y^e land y^t was Sargant hawards and erected seuerall heaps of stons upon y^e line and markt seuerall trees with letter C next y^e common.

[March 7, 1693^{3/4}.] deken Green Henery Green Iohn Green Isaac Hill Phines upham And John Greenland: who are y^e maigor part of y^e commite formarly Chosen To Run y^e Line between proprietary Land and y^e common Run y^e Line from a heape of stons erected for a mark at y^e head of Lemuell Jinkens land next y^e common: ouer a thurt by y^e head of Leutnant Samuel Spragues land upone a straight line about Twelve foot below a greate singl Rock to a heap of stons erected one y^e other sid of y^e said Spragues land next y^e common from thenc as y^e fenc now stands to y^e said Spragues hous and markt a walnut tree In y^e fenc next y^e common with Leter C.

in Malden — 4¹/₂ acres, E., James Chadwick; w., Ezekiel Jenkins and John Bunker; N., the town commons; S., John Dickerman; “onely excepting and reserving the Dwelling House aforesaid for the free use and Improvement of anna Dickerman widow and Relict of

Thomas Dickerman deceased during the Term of her life.” *Midd. Co. Deeds*, xxxviii. 47.

³¹ The lot of Matthew Smith was the most westerly lot in the fifth range of the allotment of 1638, and was numbered ninety-two.

[March 26, 1694.] The former Comitie met and Run y^e bounds Round Reedy pond y^e bounds Are first a great buttenwood tree before Joseph Lines dore.³² and so bounded Round with seuerall trees marked with letter C next common.

And erected seuerall heapes of stons

The same day Run y^e line about Joseph waits plain: and markt seuerell trees with letter C next y^e common.

y^e same day Run y^e line Round Swains pond meddow and marked seuerall trees with letter C next y^e common:

y^e same day y^e bounds was Run about wilkesons land and marked seuerall trees next y^e common with letter C.³³

The same day y^e bounds was Run about Squiers meddo and marked seuerall trees next y^e common with letter C:

This action was preliminary to a final division of the commons, which at first was intended to be "only y^e deuiding of y^e wood And timber;" but came at last to include both "bottom and top y^t is land And wood." This allotment was the occasion of many town meetings and meetings of committees, as will be seen by the extracts which follow.

[April 23, 1694.] *voted*: by y^e maigor part of y^e proprioters present That the Town common shall be deuided That all those Inhabitants

³² The house of Joseph Lynde was that which was built by his father, Thomas Lynde, above Mount Prospect or Wayte's Mount. It passed from the Lynde family to the Pratts, and is described as being bounded on the "Townway that leads from Reading Road to Dexter's Rocks." It was demolished, about 1828, by John Pratt, who built in its place the house now standing at the entrance of Forest Dale Cemetery.

Reedy Pond was near the Lynde house, on the southerly side of the road, and until 1894 its place was marked by a hollow and a small brook that drained a swamp or meadow on the easterly side of Mount Vernon Street. It was "sometimes in the occupation of Thomas Green," before his death, February 13, 167½. Joseph Hills, father of Widow Rebecca Green who had died a few months before, deeded it in 1674 to Thomas Newhall, who had married his granddaughter,

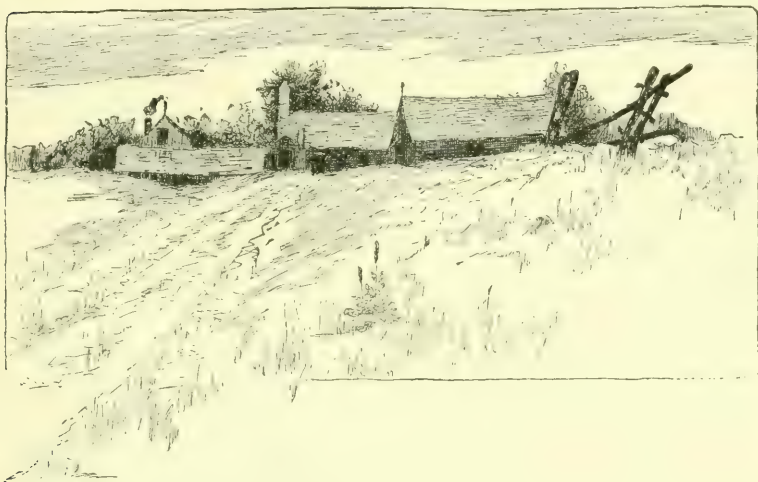
Rebecca, daughter of Trumpeter Thomas Green. It was then described as two acres of meadow called Reedy Pond, bounded by the rocks and the land of Thomas Lynde. *Midd. Co. Deeds*, viii. 543. The land around, except upon the north, was common land, a portion of which was allotted to Thomas Newhall in the general division. As Reedy Pond Pasture it remained in the possession of his descendants about a hundred years. A view in this chapter shows the farm buildings of John Pratt, as they remained in 1883.

³³ Isaac Wilkinson's land was towards Long Pond, near the Boston line. Squire's Meadow, which was a portion of the estate of William Boardman in 1705 [*Suffolk Co. Deeds*, xxiv. 142], was still farther north in the vicinity of the Boardman house, which is still standing, an interesting relic of the seventeenth century, in Saugus, near the Melrose line. See the view in this chapter.

that haue a hous and Land of freehold Jn this Town shall haue their due proportion In y^e common

voted : That Joseph Hasey hes common priueledges granted him to the house and land that was william bucknams⁸⁴

voted : That consarning y^e deuiding of y^e common : It Is ment only y^e deuiding of y^e wood And timber



[November 20, 1694.] *Voted* That y^e town doe leue It To a comite of 3 men that are Resedent jn sum other town or towns for To prescribe a Rule how to deuide y^e town common

voted : That y^e common shall be deuided : bottom and top y^t is land And wood

voted : That maigor Johnson Cap^t John Smith Cap^t John brown are Chosen to be y^e men abouesaid

voted : That no Green wood nor Timbar shall be feld one y^e common eney time between this and next tuesday night after y^e date heerof vpon penelty of five shillings fine for each tree

[November 26, 1694.] Wharas we Subscribers are Requested or Impowed : by y^e jnhabitants of maldon To prescribe a way for y^e deuiding of their common both Land and wood : — we considering the seuerall methods and way of Their Raising of Town Charges for time past :

⁸⁴ William Bucknam, son of William Bucknam, who married Hannah, daughter of Captain John Wayte, died September 17, 1693, leaving land described as "lands which my father left me," to his widow with reversion to his brothers

and sisters. The widow married Lieutenant Joseph Hasey of Rumney Marsh, who soon after purchased the right of the Bucknams to the reversion. *Midd. Co. Deeds*, x. 294

first we doe adjug their be a commite chose of Jndeferant men To set out so much land for perpatuall common as they shall see meete
 2^{ly}: that there be a true Invoice taken of every true propriotors estate And twenty pounds aded for the heads of euey freeholder acording To town vote whather male or fafale

3^{ly}: then for y^e Rest of y^e common draw lots for equall proportions Acording to the Inuoice beginning your lots at y^e uper end of your common next Reding: at y^e southwest corner and so Run dowards in two deuisions or more if you see cause

Maj^{or} WILLIAM JOHNSON

Capt JOHN SMITH

Capt JOHN BROWN.⁸⁵

A committee was appointed, December 17, to prepare a list of the inhabitants; and at a meeting held by adjournment, December 25, Deacon John Green, John Greenland, Tryal Newberry, Phineas Upham, Thomas Newhall, Lieutenant Joseph Wilson,⁸⁶ and Henry Green were chosen to proceed in dividing the common "according to the direction of y^e formar committe namely those gentillmen That ware chosen out of this town: jn order to y^e drawing of lots to proportion Two thousand acres."

At a meeting of y^e commitie at Thomas newhals y^e 31 of desember 1694 Then and Their agreead how and whare to begin to deuide y^e common To begin first: at The Southwest corner of nathaniell eueneses land next to Charlestown Line: And Run lots Eighty pool in length next To Charlestown line: and so take y^e breadth of y^e common:

And when lots but: and fall short jn leangth: against propriotors land or ponds y^e said lots shall be meade up jn breadth.

And where lots doe bound by properioters lands and not hauing a nuf to make up Their mesure: jf y^e owner of said lot be their present he shall haue his liberty whether to haue y^e Remaining part of his lot made up jn y^e next Rainge butting against his own or to Remoue to y^e other side of The said properiotters land and haue jt Theire.

And euey properioter haue one lot jn one Thousand acres acording to his proportion And Then euey properioter haue one lot more jn another Thousand acres begining whare The leaue of Rainging The same way as aforesaid

⁸⁵ Major Johnson was of Woburn. Captain Smith was an innholder in Reading, and Captain Brown was of the same place. The latter married, June 24, 1697, Rebecca (Crawford), widow of Samuel Sprague of Malden.

⁸⁶ Lieutenant Wilson is called Captain in the record of this appointment and in several other places in the town records. This is sufficiently proved to be an error.

Also agreed upon by y^e commitie y^t for y^e deuiding of y^e common euery properieters name shall be writ distintly : and y^t y^e lots be well shuffed together : And one man chose by y^e town : To draw y^m out of a bag : and y^e first man y^t js drawn shall haue y^e first lot jn y^e common begining as aforesaid And so sucksesiuey as y^e are all drawn To the proportion of 1000 acres and then to proseed jn y^e same way and method for anothar 1000 acres

It js also agreed upon by y^e commitie That there shall be 2 pols jn breadth between euery Raing of lots for high wais :⁸⁷ and that euery mans lot shall Run Eighty two pool jn leangth for y^t end

At a town meeting, held a few days later, it was voted that "this comitee hes pouer to jmproue An artis to lay out y^e lots : " and at a later meeting provision was made for the payment of the "artis" and his assistants.

January y^e 28 : 1694/5 A generall town meting Leutnant Sprague moderator : *uoted* Henery Green js chosen to carry one end of y^e chain jn order to laying out of y^e lots jn y^e common for 2000 acres

Jonathan Sprague Jsaac Hill Thomas newhall Thomas Okes doe jngage To assist y^e suruayer jn carrying y^e chaine jn order to finish y^e deuiding of The first Thousand acres

John Greenland Clark Samuell Sprague John dexter Samuell Green jun^r: Lazrus Grouer and John upham doe jngage to carry y^e chaine jn order to deuid y^e second thousand acres

uoted That euery man that carrieth y^e chaine shall haue alowed him Two and twenty penc p^r day untill 2000 acres js layd out :

uoted That m^r fisk y^e suruayer shall haue fue shilings p^r day for euery day he worketh jn deuiding the common.

At the annual meeting, March 11, it was voted "That Long pond medow lye to the ministry ;" and at an adjourned meeting, a few days later, it was agreed "That the commune lying A Boue the uper Range of Lotes shall be for the use of the ministry."³⁸ This meeting was still farther adjourned, until March

⁸⁷ Some of these range-ways still remain, having developed into town highways, as will be noticed hereafter. Others may remain as rights of way which are still enjoyed, although their origin has been forgotten ; while others have lapsed altogether and become a part of the adjoining lands.

³⁸ Long Pond Meadow lies near the pond of that name, near the old Boston

line. In 1704 liberty was given to flow it, probably for mill purposes, for the term of three years.

The land at the head of the town was in the present village of Greenwood and was, with other lands, set off to Reading in 1729. Being "ministry land," it came into the possession of the First Parish. A portion was sold in 1784 ; but the remainder was retained by the

20, when arrangements were made for the division of the remainder of the common; and it would appear that John Sargeant, Jr., who had been chosen at a previous meeting for that purpose, proceeded "To draw y^m out of a bag" in accordance with the recommendation of the committee. The record is as follows:—

noted—'That all the woode land on both sides the Riuer be loted in two diuisions

noted—That thay will drawe for lots At this time

noted—That all the Common that wase intended for shepe paster one the Este side the Riuer shall bee all loted.

At a meeting, April 8, 1695, a highway was ordered to be laid out on the west side of the Three Mile Brook Meadows and others in the commons above Scadan and beyond Wayte's Mount. A committee was chosen, consisting of Lieutenant Joseph Wilson, Isaac Hill, Lemuel Jenkins, and Nathaniel Upham, which made an early report.

[May 8, 1695.] Wee subscribers have done acording to the town vote at our understanding in staking of highwayes in the sheep paster and the three hundred accres namly two poles wide with stakes blazed one the inside and pillars of stones at the bottom of them

1. as one the neck side from the Spragues Land up through the neck unto John Greenlands lote in Charlestown bounds

2ly. A Roade from Joseph Linds house through the sheep paster to dexters Rockes then through the lots to the second diuision and from the foote of Dexters Rokes northeste up Squiers hill through to the seckend diuision

3ly. A Roade from Joseph floyds through the sheepe paster and three hundred accres to Swaines ponde into the seckend diuision.

4ly. A Roade from Ezekell Jankens a longe in the sheep paster and crosing the Roade that comes up from Joseph floydes . and pasing on

parish many years. A portion of the expense of a tower built upon the meeting house, in 1824, was met by money "obtained from the sales of Wood taken from the Parish lot."

Lieutenant Henry Green and Lieutenant Thomas Newhall were appointed, March 4, 1708%, "To Rune the Lines

Betwext Reden and our common and the properiators of our Town and S^d common;" and Thomas Upham and Thomas Green were chosen at the same meeting "to Se that no Boody cuts aney wood of The Towns Land next Reding."

towards the ☉ then winding to the left through lots in to the seckend diuision³⁹

5ly. A Roade from Leftent Spragues land up through to the Road that comes from Joseph floyds.

6ly. A Roade from haywards land and branching out to dexters Rockes likewise branching up to Swaines pond brooke and through the lots to the Roade that comes from Joseph floyds :

JOSEPH WILLSON LAMUELL JANKENS

NATHANELL UPHAM ISACC HILL⁴⁰

The allotment was finally completed ; and the record begins as follows : —

Recorded May y^e 30 : 1695 : An a Greement of the Town of malden Jn deuiding of The common The first deuision begining at the upar end next to nathaniell eueness land by Charlstown line : Jn mannar As followeth : y^e lots Runing 82 pool jn length.

This division, which contained nine hundred and thirty-one acres and fifty-one poles, was laid out in seven ranges and seventy-four lots. It comprised the northern portion of the town between the bounds of Boston and Charlestown. The Evans farm of sixty acres, on the westerly side of the road,⁴¹

³⁹ The Round World is probably indicated here. *Vide* note 66, chap. iii. If the clerk did not make an error, the turning of the road to the left is puzzling.

⁴⁰ The course of these ancient roads may be recognized with more or less distinctness. The first mentioned is that portion of the later Stoneham Road, now Washington Street, which lies north of the bridge over the Boston and Maine Railroad. The second is not less certain. The site of the house of Joseph Lynde, near Reedy Pond, has been shown. This report was a confirmation of the old way running eastward to the "Roade from haywards land." Dexter's Rocks were the great ledges which lie in the woods southwest of Swain's Pond, the ancient road to which may be found north of Lebanon Street, near its junction with Forest Street in Melrose.

The sixth road may also be recognized with some certainty as that portion of Lebanon Street which is south

of the Melrose line. Hayward's land was in the Round World, which is now traversed by Cherry Street. Now, as then, the way branches "out to dexters Rockes" and "up to Swaines pond brooke," the latter branch being a portion of the present Swain's Pond Road.

Several old ways may be found in the Scadan woods, among which we may look for the other roads of 1695. One running easterly from the Swain's Pond Road, a short distance above Lebanon Street, after being nearly lost in the undergrowth, leads into the old Salem Road in the vicinity of the land formerly owned by Ezekiel Jenkins. Three of these old ways diverge from the easterly end of Swain's Pond. Two of them, which are still used to some extent, although not recognized as town ways, lead towards the old road which formerly ran from the Salem Road to the iron works at Hammersmith on the Abousett, or Saugus, River.

⁴¹ Joseph Hills sold Henry Evans of Malden, January 8, 1667, a sixty-acre

and the woodland, which had been reserved for the ministry, on the easterly side, alone parted it from the Reading line at Smith's Pond. This tract of common was broken by the Green farm, by a piece of land north of Ell Pond which belonged to the estate of Thomas Coytmore as early as 1653,⁴² by ten acres of meadow "aboue the old cow pen in Mauldon" which Joseph Hills had sold to Henry Evans in 1660, and, perhaps, by smaller lots of appropriated land.

The second division of the two thousand acres, containing nine hundred and forty-two acres and twenty-eight poles, was laid out in six ranges and seventy-five lots. Beginning "by elle ponde," it stretched over the highlands towards the Boston line, covering the country east of the Reading Road and north of Swain's Pond. Some of the ways reserved for passage between the ranges in this division became highways in time and still exist. It will be noticed that there were seventy-five lots in this division. The odd and last lot, containing seven acres, had been previously granted by a vote of the town to Sergeant Thomas Skinner, then an old man, who having, according to an old custom, made a deed of gift of his estate for future maintenance to his son Abraham, had no part in the general allotment.⁴³ These

lot in Malden bounded as follows: N, "a great pond parting Mauldon and Redding bounds;" E., the highway leading through the Malden common to Reading; S., Malden common; W., the dividing line between Charlestown and Malden common. In this deed were also conveyed a house frame, which was lying on the ground, and the ten-acre lot of meadow, mentioned in the text, which was bounded on all sides by the common. *Midd. Co. Deeds*, ii. 131. This land, which is in the present village of Greenwood in Wakefield, remained in the possession of the Evans family until within the present century; and the cellars of their respective habitations may still be traced, or have recently disappeared. Cf. Eaton, *History of Reading*, 69 *et seq.*

When the northern part of Malden was annexed to Reading, in 1727, the line between the fourth and fifth ranges of the first division was made the south-

ern limit of Reading. This line was confirmed in 174 $\frac{4}{5}$ and with perhaps a slight change west of Main Street, still remains.

⁴² *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (1), 176.

⁴³ "[March 15, 169 $\frac{4}{5}$,] noted That Sargent Skinner shall haue seven akers of land in the common for his life time next to Joseph flids lote after the 2000 ackes is lade out and after his death to Return to the towne"

"[March: 28: 1695.] noted That Sargent Skinners seven accars of common wood land formerly granted him for his life time is now given to him and his wife and then to Return to his children."

The house and land which Thomas Skinner and his wife Lydia gave their son Abraham in February 169 $\frac{3}{4}$, *Midd. Co. Deeds*, x, 534, had been the estate of her former husband, Thomas Call. The house stood near the southeasterly corner of Cross and Walnut Streets.

two divisions comprised the territory known as the two thousand acres and contained, together, eighteen hundred and seventy-three acres and seventy-nine poles, as measured by Mr. Fisk the "artis."

The third division is described as "The third diuision for the Remander of the wood Land one the este sid the mill brook called the three hundred ackrs Begining at sargent Skinners Lote and are to rune 40 poles in length." Its seventy-four lots embraced three hundred and eleven acres and fifty-eight poles of the woodland between Swain's Pond and Scadan.

"The fourth deuision of lots: which js The first deuision one y^e west side of The mill brook begining one that peece of common next to y^e old dam: Runing forty pools Jn length," and the fifth division, which is described as "The second deuision one y^e west side," comprised the woodlands around and above Tyot and the south-easterly portion of the Middlesex Fells.⁴⁴ Each division was laid out in seventy-four lots and, together, they contained four hundred and twenty-six acres and nine poles.

The sixth division — the "Lotes in the laste diuision which was called the sheep paster," contained five hundred and eighty-one acres and fifty-four poles of rugged land lying among the hills east of Wayte's Mount and in Scadan, and apparently on the western and southern borders of the three hundred acres. It came as far west as Sprague's Ledge or the present Mount Vernon Street, and perhaps included the former. Reedy Pond, lying "before Joseph Lines dore" on Forest Street near the northerly end of Mount Vernon Street, was certainly within its limits. The following vote, preceding the division, throws some light upon its western borders.

Vide chap. xii. note 11. Abraham Skinner died soon after, leaving a widow, Hannah, to whom his father deeded the lot numbered seventy-five in the second division, in consideration of maintenance "with meat drink and clothes for my life." May 27, 1698. *Midd. Co. Deeds*, xii. 749. Thomas Skinner died March 2, 1704, and his widow

lived until December 17, 1723, when she died at the age of about eighty-seven years.

⁴⁴ Tyot was a local name which was formerly applied to the territory between Oak Grove and the cascades near the Fells Station. It was in use as late as 1850, and may still be used by some old residents.

[March 20: 1694 $\frac{4}{5}$]. In ansewar to the Request of thomas Newhall *uoted*—That Thomas Newhall shall haue his preporition of that part of the Common that was intended for a Shipec paster: next to his one land; he bindeing himselfe his Eares and Exetuers to finde the town with a suficent traineing place both for horse and fote.⁴⁵

Under this vote it appears that Thomas Newhall, who then owned the land north of the Salem Road from the present westerly line of Sprague Street to the hills at Faulkner, received lot sixteen in the division of "the sheep paster," to which he added by subsequent purchase of the adjoining lands. From these acquisitions his son, Lieutenant Samuel Newhall, came into possession of the easterly side of "the Captains Mount," and the hill since called Sprague's Ledge, including the land on its north-easterly side, then known as the Reedy Pond pasture.

The seven proprietors who failed to receive their shares in the sixty-seven lots of the great sheep pasture, found their proportions in the seventy-six acres and sixty-eight poles of a tract called "The sheep: parstor one The west side of ye mill brook."

The lands thus allotted amounted to thirty-two hundred and sixty-eight acres and one hundred and eight poles, according to the footings of the several divisions. If the usual overrun of old surveys and the allowance for waste land be considered, it will be found that a territory of more than thirty-five hundred acres, or nearly one-half of the town, as it was then constituted, became for the first time proprietary land.

The seventy-four proprietors and freeholders who shared in the allotment were as follows:—

Atwood, Philip	Fosdick, John
Bucknam, Judith, widow of Joscs	Green, Henry
Bunker, John	Capt. John
Burditt [<i>Burden</i>], Thomas	John
Calley, Robert	Samuel, Jr.
Chadwick, James	Samuel, Sen.
Dexter, John, and the estate of John	Thomas, estate of, deceased
Dexter, deceased	Capt. William
Evans, Nathaniel	Greenland, John
Floyd, Capt. John	Grover, Lazarus
Joseph	Simon

⁴⁵ Newhall's training place was on the plain which Mountain Avenue now crosses, east of Main Street.

Hasey, Joseph	Pratt, Richard, estate of, deceased
Hill, Abraham	Sargeant, John, Jr.
Isaac	John, Sen.
Hills, Ebenezer	Sayes, Dorcas ⁴⁸
Gershom	Shute, Richard
Howard [<i>Haward</i>], Jonathan	Skinner, Abraham, estate of, deceased
Samuel, estate of, deceased	Sprague, Edward
Jenkins, Ezekiel	John
Lemuel	Jonathan
Obadiah	Phineas, estate of, deceased
Knower, Jonathan	Phineas
Lamson, Joseph	Samuel
Lane, Job	"Clark" Samuel
Lynde, Elizabeth	Lieut. Samuel
John	Swillaway, Henry
Joseph	Tufts, Peter
Marshall, Widow, and the estate of Ed- ward Marshall, deceased ⁴⁶	Upham, John
Mudge, John	Nathaniel
Newberry, Tryal	Phineas
Newhall, Thomas	Wayte, Joseph, estate of, deceased
Nichols, James, Jr., and the estate of	Capt. John, estate of, deceased
James Nichols, deceased	Whittemore, Benjamin
Nathaniel	Wigglesworth, Rev. Michael
Oakes, Thomas	Wilkinson, Isaac
Paige, Col. Nicholas ⁴⁷	John
Parker, Jacob, estate of, deceased	Wilson, Lieut. Joseph
Pemberton, John, house of, deceased	Winslad [<i>Winslow</i>], Jacob

⁴⁵ Edward Marshall of Reading married Mary Swain in 1665. He removed to Malden and was admitted as a freeman in 1690. He died before the summer of 1692, when his widow committed those freaks in connection with the witchcraft cases which are elsewhere related.

⁴⁷ Colonel Paige, as has been related, was a resident of Rumney Marsh and not of Malden; but he possessed real estate in the town to an amount which gave him a freehold and entitled him to a share in the allotments.

⁴⁸ Dorcas Sayes was, perhaps, the sister of Christopher Sayes, who, having a wife, Hannah, was possessed of twenty-eight acres of land in Charlestown, near the Dexter and Mellens lands on Mystic Side, which he mortgaged to Elias Row of Charlestown, in 1678, and never redeemed. *Midd. Co. Deeds*, vi. 424; *Midd. Court Files*, April, 1680. In 1684 he lived in the house which belonged to the estate of James Mellens. *Midd. Court Records*, iv. 93. His widow, Hannah, in 1704, was the owner of a house

and six acres of land on the west side of the road from Black Ann's Corner to Sagamore Hill. This piece of land, which was a triangle, appears to have been that six acres of woodland which was the property of Francis Norton in 1638. How it was conveyed or transmitted does not appear. Widow Sayes was living in 1710, being then in the list of those who did not pay "publique charges In malden;" and she died soon after.

Dorcas Sayes, spinster, sold to Jonathan Barrett, January, 15, 171 $\frac{2}{3}$, her lot in the fifth range of the first division, which was bounded east by Boston line, and was that which was allotted to her in 1695, *Midd. Co. Deeds*, xx. 653. July 5, 1715, calling herself a single woman, she deeded to James Millnor the house and land which had been the property of Hannah, "in Consideration of the Love good will and affection which she hath and beareth unto the said James Millnor as also for his Love and Kindness to her in providing and supporting of her in a long time of Lameness and also in

Besides that which was specially granted to Thomas Skinner, six lots of six acres each were "laid out on y^e land at y^e end of y^e 300 acres — The first lot beginning next Obadiah Jenkins' lott:" which was the last lot in the third division. The grantees were John Chamberlin, Thomas Grover, Samuel Lewis, Thomas Dunnell, Benjamin Webb, and William Teele.⁴⁹ Soon after [June 3, 1695] it was "*noted* That John dexter shall haue the hill that lieth betwene his land and the Spragues land in satisfaction for the want he had in his formor lotes."⁵⁰

Charlestown still claimed the right to timber and wood from the woodlands above the Spragues' land on the west side of the Three Mile Brook, which had been reserved for the Charlestown men on Mystic Side in the agreement of 1649. The title to the lot of five acres at Sandy Bank, which Malden had conveyed to Henry Swillaway in 1674 and which Charlestown claimed as a portion of her common landing place there, was also in question. At a meeting held September 23, 1695, Henry Green, Joseph Hasey, Joseph Lamson, Phineas Upham, and Jonathan Sprague were chosen to attend the town's interest "consarning the wood one the weste side of the mill Brook: and Swillaways land at Sandybanke: against Charlstown men thare laying claime to

her sickness." This land was bounded: E., the country road; S., Thomas Waite; W., Simon Grover; N., it runs to a point. *Midd. Co. Deeds*, xxxv. 198. The land of Thomas Waite is now owned by the proprietors of Woodlawn Cemetery.

There is no record of the death of Dorcas Sayes. Hannah, the wife of James Millinor, who may have been her niece and the daughter of Christopher and Hannah Sayes, died in February 17³⁹/₄₀. James Millinor removed soon after to Mansfield, where he was a resident in 1744, when he married Ruth Pierce of Malden. Previous to his removal he sold the Sayes house and land to Hugh Floyd. *Midd. Co. Deeds*, xliii. 708. Eighty years ago, the house, which is still standing near the Revere line a short distance northeast of Woodlawn Cemetery, was occupied by a negro known as old Samson.

⁴⁹ This grant appears to have been

made under peculiar circumstances. The grantees were not among the proprietors and freeholders and were not entitled to a share in the division. If they were not paupers, they were apparently such as needed assistance. Dunnell was the town sexton and Lewis had acted in the same capacity. Three of the six, at least, Grover, Dunnell, and Teele, were not taxpayers in 1710, although living in the town. Teele sold his six acres in 1706 to Philip Atwood of Bradford. *Midd. Co. Deeds*, xiv. 147.

⁵⁰ This was, apparently, that rocky hill on which now stands the house of the Kernwood Club on Alpine Street. The land of John Dexter is described in chap. iii. note 33. That of the Spragues, extending from the rocks at Tyot (Oak Grove) to the Malden River, comprised nearly one-half of the territory now covered by Ward IV and that portion of Ward III which is east of Cedar Street.

it." At a later meeting they were given full power to settle or to protect the town in law. The Charlestown people pushed their claims and the matter was finally settled by arbitration. In a deed, dated December 30, 1695, John Cutler, acting as agent for Charlestown, conveyed to the committee all the rights of that town in the Swillaway land and "to all the wood and



timber standing or being on ye Lands in maldon to the Westward of Spot pond Brooke."⁵¹ Although this deed was dated in December, 1695, it was not recorded until May 20, 1699. Some delay apparently occurred in its delivery after its provisions were settled. The following entries are found in the town records: —

[January 6, 1695½.] *noted* That Chap^t John Green and Deaken John Greenland are Chosen and in poured to treet and demand of charlstown men what land is due : to us from them.

March 9, 1695½.] *noted* That Cap^t John Green and Lett Joseph willson and Thomas newhall are fully impoured to agree with Charlstown men in all diferances Betwene Charlestown and molden.

The rights which had been reserved in the common landing place at Sandy Bank continued to be enjoyed by the inhabitants of Charlestown on Mystic Side, although it appears that the Malden people were inclined, at times, to encroach upon the privileges of their "Charlestown neighbors." An order which was made by the selectmen of Charlestown in 1710 was intended

⁵¹ *Midd. Co. Deeds*, xii. 329.

to correct that evil; but I find no evidence that it was recognized by Malden, or that it was ever enforced.

At A Meeting of the Selectmen of Charlstowne June the 26th 1710. Whereas Complaint is made to us by Severall, of the Inhabitants of our town that thos parts of the upper and Lower Sandy banks which belongeth to Charlstowne is generally so Cumbred with Wood &c. Laid thereon by the Inhabitants of Maldon and others not Inhabitants of Charlstowne that our Inhabitants Can not find room to Lay any Wood, Timber &c. for transportation for Remiding of which and that the Town may [have] some benifit of their parts of the said banks or Landing places. The Selectmen have order^d and impowred M^r Henry Green and M^r Th^o Gary both Inhabitants of Charlstowne. To demand and Receive of Every person that Shall Lay any Cord on either part of Said bank that belongeth to Charlstowne Excepting the Inhabitants of Charlstowne the sum of three pence p^r Cord for every Cord shall be Laid on our parts of the bank as aforesaid and if it Lye above one month three pence p^r month and the persons appointed to put this order into Execution are ordered to acquaint the Selectmen of Maldon of this order that they (if they se Cause) may acquaint their Inhabitants herof.

p^r ord^r of the Selectmen

NATH^l. DOWS *Town Clerk*.⁵²

Landing and loading at Sandy Bank continued to be practised by the Mystic Side men as they brought timber and wood from their distant commons in the Middlesex Fells, west of the Malden line; and it was productive of strife until the union of "Charls: Town on the North Side of Mistick River" with Malden, in 1726, merged the conflicting rights and transferred contention to a wider field.

Some parcels of common land remained after the division, but nothing of considerable extent. It was

uotted [May 27, 1697.] That Edward Sprague shall haue : that peece of common y^e lieth nere wilkensons to him and his haies foreuer : and y^e town doth giue jt him jn consideration of what does fall short of his proportion jn one of his lots latly layd out to him one y^e west side of y^e mill Riuer : And for that saruic : he hes don for y^e town jn y^e yeer 1696 : and jn y^e yeer 1697 : as a town tresurar : y^e abouesaid peece of common containeth by estimation three accres more or les bounded one y^e southestardly cornnar by a spring of watar : northwestardly by long pond meddo so caled northestardly by wilkensons land southardly by m^r lains lot :

⁵² *Charlestown Records*, vi. 78.

Corporal John Green, Phineas Upham, and Joseph Floyd were chosen, April 17, 1699, to run "y^e bounds and renew y^e marks between proprioters land: and y^e small peece of common land: adjoining to L pond: which was left for convenience for wattering."

Seven or eight acres were reserved in the small plain on the southerly side of Wayte's Mount and Sprague's Ledge, in reference to which the following entry appears in the records: —

[iune: 3: 1695.] *noted* The propositions propounded to Edward Sprague Consarninge A peece of Land for A training felde he hath untell wensday night next after the date heareof to Consider of and then to give an ansear

The Remaining part of the Common one the weste side next to John prats lote allso the peece of Common that is be hinde Thomas newhalles land shall be deuided betwten sixe men namely Joseph Sargent John uinton Thomas upham Joseph Balldin Jsacc Green and James Huffy jf the Said Sprague Exepts then the said Green and Houey is to haue that peece by the said newhals land if not then Green and houey must agree or draw which shall go: ouer to Charlestown side for his Equall parte with them thare and fore accres one the beste side of this last mencined land to be at the townes disposing

noted That Thomas newhall and Ebenezer Hills are Chosen to make choise of foure accres out of the peece of common be hinde Thomas newhales land for the use of the towne jf there be ocasion

The propositions to Edward Sprague were evidently not accepted; and the "sixe men," who do not appear among the proprietors and freeholders, being young men or new comers, may have received lots "one the weste side," but the training field lot was not divided. Ten years later James Hovey's case was considered and it was voted,

March y^e 12: 170 $\frac{1}{2}$ That peece of land behind Tho newhals land That lieth between y^e towns 4 accres And John waits part of y^e mount: Js Giuen to James Houey Jt beeing by estamation between 3 and 4 accres.

The remaining four acres probably continued to be used as a "training place both for horse and fote," for which purpose it was admirably adapted. It was still common land in May, 1720, when a committee was appointed to renew its bounds;

and it was voted to sell it soon after. It became a part of the adjoining Newhall land.

Other parcels remained, and in time were absorbed by the highways, sold, or quietly taken in by the neighboring proprietors. Such were the landing place at Sandy Bank, a strip of land by the highway near Hill's tavern, the way to the North Spring, and other rights of way. The annexation of Mystic Side brought others — the landing places at Wormwood Point and Moulton's Island, the watering place at the South Spring, and other small lots which have disappeared as common lands. Land on the northerly side of the First Parish meeting house was mentioned as common land within the present century; and other land on its southerly side was given for public uses or acquired in some unrecorded manner in the early half of the last century. It was in reference to the latter lot that the following vote was passed: —

[March 1, 174 $\frac{1}{2}$.] *vot.* that the town will build a new pound and that it shall stand at the southwest corner of the towns land that is adgoyning to the land wher on the meeting hous now standeth.⁵³

⁵³ The original location of the pound was on the west side of the present Main Street and apparently south of the bridge by which the Medford Road crossed Three Mile Brook. Its site may be very nearly represented by that of the present engine house, opposite Irving Street. It is incidentally mentioned in March, 1704 $\frac{1}{2}$, as being near the house of Isaac Hill, which stood on the site of the City Hall. The first mention of a pound in the town records is under the date of September 2, 1701, when it was

"*voted* That y^e select men shall se y^t y^e pound be Repaired speedily. Isaac Hill js voted pound keeper."

The old pound had become dilapidated in 1740 and it was voted not to rebuild but to repair it; but at the annual meeting, March 1, 174 $\frac{1}{2}$, the vote recorded in the text was passed. At an adjourned meeting the new pound was voted to be thirty feet square and "built with sels and cap peces and that it shall be six foot and a half high." The work appears to have been performed with the tardiness which was common with our

fathers in such matters; and at the meeting in March, 174 $\frac{2}{3}$, it was "*vot* that the old pound shall be improved to repair the personage fence." The new pound was placed on the southerly side of the meeting house, as indicated by the vote; and near it a school house was built about twenty years later.

In 1771 it was voted to raise fourteen pounds in lawful money "to build a Stone Pound," which appears to have been placed in the same location. That the school house was contiguous is ascertained by a vote, which was passed in 1778 at a meeting that had been adjourned to the tavern of Charles Hill near by.

"*voted* that the Surveyors put the Stones by the pound in a wall Between the said pound and the School house."

The rebuilding of the meeting house in 1802 necessitated the removal of the pound; and it was voted to use the stones of which it was composed about the new house. The record adds, "this Voted was protested against by Missrs Tho^s. Hills & John Waitt." The next

Some common rights of pasturage in the sheep pasture and the Scadan hills may have survived the division; for it was voted, May 28, 1703,

That Joseph floyd hath Liberty to hang two Gates upon y^e town highway between y^e Country Rhoad : and y^e Rocks : on y^e east side of his House : And y^e Gats to stand : so Long as y^e town-cattle may haue free passag from aboue y^e Rocks down to y^e s^d country Rhode : between y^e s^d Jo floyds hous and his brothar daniels hous.

year it was voted "To Build a wooden pound," which was to be "as near the old spott [as] may be convenient;" and it was placed near the northerly corner of the Reading and Medford Roads on a spot now covered by Central Square. It was so placed that the brook flowed in upon its westerly side, making a convenient watering place for impounded cattle. It was removed in 1833, when the town for thirty dollars bought of William Barrett a piece of land, two rods square, lying west of the brick school house on the hill. *Midd. Co. Deeds*, cccxxiii. 366. Here it remained, a "wooden pound," which the boys of "the old brick" will well remember,

until the burning of the school house in 1848. The four square rods of the old pound became a part of the adjoining lands and the site is now covered by the easterly portion of the Cox block. A new pound, which has now disappeared, was built on the north side of Salem Street on land which is now the westerly corner of Bowers Avenue, which was bought of John B. Faulkner, in 1849, for fifty dollars.

Charles Hill was chosen pound keeper in March, 1804, succeeding his father, Charles, the innholder, who died the next month. He held the office for many years in connection with those of constable and sexton.

CHAPTER XII.

POVERTY AND SLAVERY.

THE people of Malden, while struggling with their poverty of worldly goods, were forced to recognize a lower depth to which some, more unfortunate than others, descended, to give assistance to whom became no less a matter of charity than of Christian duty. Truth compels me to admit that charity and Christian duty were sometimes overcast by considerations of a worldly economy or a calculating expediency, which shows that our foregoers were possessors of a portion, at least, of the ordinary weaknesses of humanity.

I am not aware that the record of the poor and unfortunate has received much attention from the local historian, who is usually more at home in eulogizing the men of the past and their deeds or magnifying the little greatness of some man of the present, whose success in the minor things of life has given him a local reputation, which the perspective of time will soon reduce to its proper proportions. If we pause for a while to consider the poor of the past, we may violate some fancied rule of historical propriety; but if we are wise, we may take to ourselves a lesson of humility, which may not be amiss. Lazarus at the gate is not always a pleasing object; but he is very obtrusive in the life around us, and his condition is a sharp and, perhaps, needful contrast to the many follies which we cherish.

Doubtless poverty came to Mystic Side with the earliest, or sickness and adverse circumstances may have soon invited its presence. Pity or importunity may have induced neighborly hands to lighten its woes; but neighborly hands were tied by their own necessities, for the conditions of life were hard, and the poor soon became a public charge.

The first pauper case, which can with certainty be connected with Malden, is that of Richard Smith, a brother-in-law of

Thomas Dickerman, who as the apparent cause of his misfortune "did hyre" a house of one John Ripton, a Scotchman — "Ripton y^t liues at the house where y^e Scotchmen once were in Boston Bounds" — beyond the Written Trees or Black Ann's Corner,¹ and entered into a "bargaine" with Benjamin Muzzey, who was then, or soon after, a tenant on the Keayne farm at Rumney Marsh. In this case the General Court passed the following order.

[1658, 19 October.] In ans^r to the petition of Richard Smith humbly desiring this Courts favo^r so to order it that he may not be exposed to misery, wth his wife, being denjed to haue his bargaine wth Benja. Muzzey, & by that meanes is harborlesse, &c, the Court judgeth it meete to referre the petitioners for releife to next Court in Midlesex.²

The County Court, hearing the matter, did "order that the select men of mauldon take care for the disposall & P^rvision for Richard Smith & his wife, vntill the next Court of this Coun^y;" and at the session in April, "not finding just reason to impose him as an Inhabitant, on any towne wth in this County," referred the case back to the General Court, "for further settlem^t: . . . as also for the sattisfactⁿ of Mauldon for w^t they already have expended for his p^rsent supply."³ The General Court finally disposed of the matter by the following order: —

[1659, 28 May.] The Court on hearing the case comend to this Court by the County Court of Cambridge for the settlement of Richard Smith & his wife, on a full hearing of the case, *order*, that Maulden beare the chardg of Richard Smith & his wife for the tyme past, and that the said Smith and his wife belong to Boston.⁴

George Felt, or Felch, who was destined after some prosperity and many trials to trouble the people of Malden not a little,

¹ *Midd. Court Files*, viii. 2. John Ripton and the Scotchmen, whoever they may have been, have escaped the notice of local historians and I am unable to give aught concerning them. They may have been workmen at the neighboring iron works with their countrymen, Archibald Anderson and MacCallum More Downing, who lived near by; or they may have been some of the Scotch prisoners whom Cromwell took at Dun-

bar in 1650 and sent to New England. Ripton was living in 1665. "The Scotch house" is mentioned in 1671, and by a correction in the line was found to be about four rods within the bounds of Lynn. It is noticed again in 1678. *Boston Town Records*, ii. 92, 114.

² *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (1), 355.

³ *Midd. Court Records*, i. 168, 178.

⁴ *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (1), 375.

appears as an inhabitant of Charlestown in 1633. In the first division of lands at Mystic Side he received the five-acre lot numbered seventeen; and in the later great allotment he had his proportion of land in five acres in Scadan, on the northern edge of the Great Swamp, and twenty acres "above y^e Ponds." These lands appear in the Book of Possessions in 1638, with other lands which he had purchased from the allotments at Mystic Side and elsewhere within the bounds of Charlestown.

At this time he lived in his house on the Charlestown side; but he soon crossed the river and built upon land which he had acquired near the South Spring, where, as has been seen, his house is mentioned in 1640. He brought with him his wife Elizabeth, a daughter of Widow Prudence Wilkinson, who also became a settler upon her five-acre allotment not far away. With them came their children, George, Elizabeth, and Mary. The wife had been admitted to the Charlestown church, January 19, 1639⁴⁰, and these children were baptized in her right a week later, as was also her younger child, Moses, December 10, 1641.⁵ The husband was therefore not a church member at that time; and as he does not appear to have ever attained the condition of a freeman, it is not probable that he ever joined the Malden church, whose records for that early period are not extant.

About this time Felt became a landholder at Wescustogo, or Broad Cove, now North Yarmouth, in Casco Bay, purchasing of the Welshman, John Phillips, three hundred acres within the Gorges patent. Phillips had probably squatted upon the land or gained an Indian title, which Felt strengthened in 1643 by a repurchase of Richard Vines, the agent of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. He or Phillips, before him, had built a stone trading-house or garrison thereon.⁶ Although his arrival there is said to have marked "the birth day of North Yarmouth,"⁷ I see no reason for assuming that he became an immediate settler. I rather suppose that he was a trader along the eastern coast, as were Thomas Mitchell, the Moultons, and perhaps other Mystic Side

⁵ *Charlestown Church Records, in loco.*

⁷ *Old Times in North Yarmouth,*

⁶ *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register,* 442.

and Malden men then and in later years. His storehouse, in a convenient location, was the headquarters of himself and his men during the season of traffic, and a safe place of deposit for his goods. From it he extended his enterprises along the coast and, perhaps, into the country for short distances; and around it the savages gathered, trading their skins and fish for his powder, his beads, his blankets, and strong waters. I receive this opinion of Felt rather than that which makes of him a quiet settler in those stormy days.

While he was engaged at the eastward, his wife and young family remained at Mystic Side. In 1648 he is styled "Georg Felch, Inhabitant in Charltown, on mistike syde;"⁸ and after the incorporation of the new town he continued an inhabitant of Mystic Side, but not of Malden, his house lot "butting on the High way leading from the said house towards the Spring and on the line which runeth between charlstowne and Maulden."⁹ This was that land which was afterwards the home of the Revolutionary captain, Daniel Waters, and is now occupied by the Everett Crystal Spring Water Company, at the westerly corner of Ferry and Chelsea Streets in Everett.

Elizabeth Felt does not appear among the women who petitioned, in 1651, in favor of Mr. Matthews; but she was presented for not attending public worship, in 1653,¹⁰ which may

⁸ *Charlestown Archives*, xxxiv. 121.

⁹ *Midd. Co. Deeds*, iii. 154. The easterly five acres of lot number eleven were assigned to Ezekiel Richardson in the first allotment and were acquired by Felt in some unrecorded way. It was upon this lot that he had built in 1640, as is elsewhere stated. He had sold his original five-acre lot to Gaudy James, perhaps as early as 1638, the record of 1649 in *Charlestown Archives*, xxxiv. 121, being, apparently, a confirmation of an earlier transaction. The lot, with the house that he had built, was a part of his possessions in Charlestown and Malden, which he sold to John Phillips in 1664; but I cannot explain how its five acres had grown to nine while its bounds and abutters evidently ran upon the old lines. From Phillips

it passed to Joseph Stower, in 1668, and was occupied by Samuel Stower in 1721. In 1771, with an approach to its original extent, it was sold as six acres, with the house and barn, to Daniel Waters, by Nathan Sargeant, acting as administrator of the estate of Mary, his late wife. The house, which appears to have been the early structure of Felt, enlarged and improved by later owners, was demolished about the year 1850.

¹⁰ At the same Court, Flora Lahorne was presented for Sabbath breaking.

"Maulden Rowland Layhernes wyfe of Charlstowne [Mystic Side] for making Disturbance in the tyme of the publick ordinances on the Lords Daye att Maulden Meeting howse witnes Thomas heit Edw^d Carington Charletowne Rowland Lahernes wyfe for washing or rensing

indicate that her interest in spiritual matters was not intense. It has been said that Felt removed to Casco about 1660, but as his house at Mystic Side was "clabored" by William Bucknam in 1662 and in the same year he was accused of defaming the character of Bridget, the wife of his neighbor Richard Dexter, "saying she was a liar,"¹¹ the inference that he remained at Mystic Side is not strained. He certainly appears as one of the inhabitants of Charlestown in November, 1664, although he had signed a declaration as an inhabitant at Casco in the previous year.¹² In a deed made to John Phillips of Boston, November 1, 1664, conveying his lands "in the bounds of the Townships of Charlestown and Maldon," to the amount of ninety-four acres, he is called "of Casco in N. E. mason."¹³ Two years later he was at Casco Bay serving upon a jury in a murder case. There he remained, adding to his possessions a further purchase of two thousand acres of John Phillips, and continuing, perhaps, the trading enterprises which had first taken him to Broad Cove, until the Indian war of 1675-6, when, with other settlers of the main land, he took refuge upon some of the neighboring islands.

During the troubles which followed, the eastern coast was swept of its inhabitants and the improvements which the thrifty settlers had made were destroyed. In September, 1676, George Felt, the eldest son of our subject, was slain with others at Peak's Island. He was the head of a family and a man of enterprise and courage, and his death was greatly lamented.¹⁴

After the Indian troubles had closed in 1678, Felt is supposed to have returned to his possessions at Broad Cove, where he remained but a short time, parting with a portion of his land to Walter Gendall in 1680, and losing the Phillips purchase of two thousand acres, which appears to have possessed only an Indian

cloathes vppon the Sabb Daye witnes
John Gobe william Ayers."

Upon trial "shee freely acknowledged
and confessed her sin and fault in the
Court, and her husband Rowland Lay-
horne consented to aloe the 4 witnesses
4 p^r diem." *Midd. Court Files*, iii.;
Midd. Court Records, i. 51.

¹¹ *Midd. Court Files*, xi. 10.

¹² Cf. *Charlestown Records*, iii. Nov. 5,
1664; *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*,
v. 264. There is a possibility that it was
the son, and not the father, who signed
the declaration.

¹³ *Midd. Co. Deeds*, iii. 154.

¹⁴ Hubbard, *Indian Wars*, ii. 45;
Williamson, *History of Maine*, i. 540.

title that was set aside by the courts at a later period. The little right which he retained under the Gorges title at Casco Bay he finally conveyed to his son and grandson, Moses and George, in 1684.

Although in his settlement in Massachusetts Bay he had never been of Malden he came here, where his son-in-law, James Nichols, who had married Mary Felt, was an inhabitant. If he received any compensation from Gendall, it soon disappeared; for an entry in the Malden records, which may have been made in 1681, or a few years later, shows that the town paid "To Goodm. Cully [Scollay] for Howsroome for George ffelt & his wife o. 10. o." A little later the town

paide to Robert Calle [Calley] by constable Jacob parker ten shillings for ould felts dwelling in his house for the yeare 85.

In 1686 the case was of more moment, and the town appears to have refused to support the Felts, perhaps, because they had been inhabitants of Charlestown and had not come to Malden until they were in a condition to become public charges. Under this condition, the matter, in some way now unknown, was brought to the attention of the County Court; and at a town meeting, October 1, 1686, it was

voted. that the Selectmen are to take care of ould felt till the county courte

voted that the select men are impoured to mannag the case at the county courte next at cambridg consarning ould felt in the behalfe of the Towne and the towne to Beare the charges :

Soon after, the Council of the Colony

[November 9, 1686.] *Ordered:* That George Felt and his Wife (poor persons at Malden in the County of Middlesex) be maintained by an assessment to be made in the said County of Middlesex next County Court ¹⁵

The records of the County Court and the Court files for the period to which the order was referred are not extant. Felt and his wife remained in Malden; and the next notice of them is found in 1688, when it is recorded in the town book that

¹⁵ *Council Records, in loco.*

The Select men haue receved of reading constable foure pound ten shillings and three pence for the vse of gorge felt and his wife the seventh of aprill: 1688:

About the same time a petition was made, which presents the condition of the petitioner as one of great extremity, but nothing came from the application. Indeed, I am forced to believe that while his case was one to excite sympathy, it was not one which was entitled to a legal consideration. The purchase of an invalid title was a misfortune for which the law then, as now, afforded no remedy.

To His Excellency Sr Edmund Andros Kn^t. &c.

The Humble Petition of George Felt Sen^r. of Maulden

Sheweth: That it is my grief that I am compelled to trouble yo^r Excellency at this time But having about eighteen yeares since purchased of one In^o Phillips of Boston Gen^t late Deceased a farme or Plaintation at a place called the Great Cove (in Caskoe Bay) containing about two thousand acres of upland and marsh as by a firm Deed under s^d Phillips hand and seale &c. for which I then paid him Sixty pounds money, and improved s^d Farme or Plaintation severall year's before I bought it so that the whole time of my occupying of it was about one and twenty years But some time after the late Indian warr it was withheld from me by some of the inhabitants of s^d Town of Caskoe Bay and being by s^r warr much impoverished I could not recover it out of their hands. I also am now forced to suffer for want of convenient care taken of me in my present distresse being about Eighty Seaven year's old and very crasy and weak

Therefore yo^r Petitio^r recomendeth his case to yo^r. Excellencies prudent consideration humbly beceaching and earnestly begging that if it seem meet and convenient yo^r Excellency would be pleased to favo^r yo^r petitio^r that he may have a confirmation of his s^d land und^r such moderate quit rent &c. as well as an ord^r to y^e Townsmen of Maulden aboves^d for something at present to releave yo^r petition^r in this his extream poverty &c. The which shall farther oblige yo^r petitio^r as in duty bound daily to pray for y^r Excellency &c.¹⁶

After the failure of this petition, James Nichols, the son-in-law, apparently had the burden of the maintenance of the Felts thrown upon him; and in 1691 he asked the General Court for relief in a petition which is not now in its place in the archives. Its answer is, however, preserved.

¹⁶ *Mass. Archives*, cxxviii. 282. This petition is undated and unsigned.

[May 29, 1691.] Upon Hearing the Petition of James Nichols Senr: of Malden *Ordered* that George Felt, and his Wife be Accounted Inhabitants of the Town of Malden, and Accordingly the Select Men of the Town to take the care of them.¹⁷

This order, which settled the Felts upon Malden and made them "town's poor," was promptly obeyed.

maldon June 8th 1691, *voted* at a publick Towne meeting that there be raised 4 or 5 pounds for the present supply of gorge felt and his wife to be paide in provision in or as mony :

The next provision made for the unfortunate Felts by the town combined an admirable forethought with the performance of present and, probably, pressing duties.

[March 14 1691½] *voted* at a publick towne meeting that the towne doe alow goodman nicols aleuen pound in or of mony for this present yeare ensuing for the maintanance of his father and mother felt if ether of them dy with in the year after funirall charges what is left to return to the select men or there order

I think that "ould felt" outlived the year and that no part of the "aleuen pound" returned to the selectmen. It is probable that he died sometime in May, 1693, being then about ninety-two years of age. It is very certain that his name does not again appear and the following agreement from the town records shows that he was no longer a burden upon the town.

An agreement made the 26 of June 1693 between the selectmen of This town and James nickels senr for y^e keeping of old goodwif felt : his motherinlaw : y^e said nickels doth Jngage himself to keep her one yeere : begining the second : second : day of may last past for fue and forty shilings : to be paid him by y^e selectmen within y^e said yeer : also he is to haue her cow : and likewise the forty shilings y^e Justises ordered that her granchildren should pay for her use :

Goodwife Felt did not long survive to enjoy the "keeping" which this contract secured to her, although the time of her death is not known. It is to be hoped that the cow remained as a heritage and a consolation to her son-in-law.

The names of other "town's poor" of the later colonial time, if any there were, have not come down to the present day ; and one Mary Floyd is distinguished as having been, after the Felts,

¹⁷ *General Court Records*, vi. 190.

the first who is known to have become a town charge in the provincial period.

[March 16, 169½,] Recned with Joseph Lamson consarning his charges with mary fload: The town indepted to Joseph lamson two pound in or as mony.

A contribution for the relief of the poor, which probably was not altogether cheerfully paid, was made by the town in 1693, when the selectmen, being presented at the County Court

to answer for theire neglect of the payment of forty-three shillings and four pence to y^e County Treasurer being theire arrears of y^e County Rate in y^e year 1688: Are ordered to pay the Same toward y^e releife of y^e poor in Maldon.¹⁸

The next to claim the protection of the town was Hannah Howard, whose case is intimately connected with that of the watch house.

[October 9, 1694.] The Select men of maldon appearing in Court to answer to theire p^sentment by y Grand jury of Inquest for said County, for not Releiving Hannah Haward and for want of a Watch house, and Informing the Court that they have a watch house partly built and that they haue not been Informed of any such want that y^e said Howard is in: And y^t there is an Estate left by her husband in her hands, The Court order that they proceed to Erect their watch house, and that They Releive y^e woman according as the Law directs.

[December 11, 1694.] The Return of Maldon Select men as to theire being prouided wth a wach house and as to theire provision of Sufficient apparrell for Hannah Howard for w^{ch} they stand p^sented is accepted and allowed and is on file.¹⁹

John Bucknam was the only son of William Bucknam, the progenitor of that family in New England, by his first wife, who was a daughter of Prudence Wilkinson, "widdow & inhabitant on mistick Side." After his mother's early death, his father married Sarah Knower and there was apparently no room in the growing family for the "firstborne," who was taken by his grandmother Wilkinson. By the will of the latter, he received five acres of land "without the fence on Mistick Side."²⁰ A

¹⁸ *Midd. Court Records — General Sessions*, Oct. 6, 1693.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, *in loco*.

²⁰ *Midd. Probate Files*. This will was dated, 11, 9, 1647, and proved in July, 1655.

portion of the will of his father, which was written in 1667, presents a quaint bit of family history and appears like a somewhat labored attempt to stifle parental conscience.

Least J shold be supposed by Any, to be vnnatural or iniurious vnto my Son John as being my firstborne ; J hereby declare the true grounds and iust Reasons of the Seuerall gifts and Legacies, disposed vnto my wife and Children as hereafter Stated, And why no more, is Setled, or otherwise Stated, on my Son John though my firstborne. First because the Estate, whereby J purchased All my lands (And for that Allso by the improuement therof through the blessing of God on my Labours, J haue built my housing and brought vp my Children hithervnto, And haue in my measure been helpfull in Church, Town And Cuntry Affayres) Came vnto mee by my wife Sara, that now is, And from her Kinred, who in a Special Manner, intended it, for the benefit of her Children. 2^dly. by means of much weaknes of his mother my first wife, And Expences for him in his infancie, J was much run in debt, to sundry persons: the which were Allso payed out of this woomans portion. 3^dly this my Son John was After by his Grandmother taken from mee before he came to Abilitie, to doe Any thing for mee, And on her desire bound As Apprentice to her till he shold be 21 years old, So that J had no Seruice or help of his; to the raising of my Estate. 4thly he Allso with my Consent, Enioyeth A portion, from his Grandmother, in stead of the portion due to mee, in the right of his Mother, to About twentie pounds value.²¹

Prudence Wilkinson's five-acre lot of "About twentie pounds value" was a poor substitute for his birthright in the possessions of his father; but the lands of William Bucknam descended by will to the widow Sarah and her children, and John Bucknam was left with that alone. He was out with Henchman and Mosely in Philip's War. Soon after he lost the use of speech and apparently became of unsound mind. About this time he probably became dependent upon the town or the bounty of his brothers and sisters. In 1694 he was unable to join in a deed of the estate of his deceased brother William, "by reason of present distraction."²² Two years later his faculties were wonderfully restored. Sewall says of him at this time: —

Oct^r 30. [1696.] Mr. Wigglesworth tells me that one John Bucknam of Malden, above 50 years old, has been perfectly dumb near 18

²¹ *Midd. Probate Files.*

²² *Midd. Co. Deeds*, x. 294.

years, and now within about 3 weeks has his understanding and speech restored. He is much affected with the Goodness of God to him herein.²³

It was probably to recover any right which he may have had in the estate of his brother that the following vote was passed.

[July 29, 1698] Ebenezar Hils and Joseph floyd are uoted and chosen to be y^e men to agree with Samuell Bucknam or aney other consarning John bucknam :

Likewise y^e said Ebenezar hils and joseph floyd are fully jmpoured to sue for and Recouer aney Estate : jn behalf of y^e town y^t may be suposed to be y^e said John bucknams : and y^e town will be at y^e charges ther of :

A suit was brought; and in September, 1699, Jonathan Sprague, Joseph Lamson, and Edward Sprague were chosen

. to stand sute or sutes jn law with john Linde and jude his wife jn y^e case now jn hand : depending between the selectmen and y^e said john Linde and his wife : or to make a finall agreement in all contreuarcies in refranc to john bucknam for time past.²⁴

It appears, however, that "a finall agreement in all contreuarcies" was not made; for at the next annual meeting, Jonathan Sprague, Joseph Floyd, and Joseph Lamson were appointed "to prosecut y^e apeall : jn y^e case depending betwen Sam^l bucknam and y^e town. and y^e town will defray y^e charg:" Two months later the selectmen made the following agreement: —

At a meeting of y^e selectmen at J G : sumtime jn y^e month of may jn y^e yeer 1700 : Then agreead with Samuell bucknam Jn behalf of y^e town : for y^e said Samuel bucknam to keep entertain and maintain his unckle john bucknam from y^e first of march last past : To y^e last of march next aftar this date : and for his so doing the select men of this town shall alow him out of y^e town-Tresuary : 2-15-0 jn money.

Samuel Bucknam's care was not of long continuance. At a meeting of the town, May 28, 1703, it was

voted That y^e select men are apointed to agree with Cap^t william Green Consarning y^e trouble he was at Consarning John bucknams beeing sick at his hous last winter :

²³ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xlv. 436.

²⁴ John Lynde married, between February and September, 1699, Judith

(Worth) Bucknam, widow of Joses Bucknam who died Aug. 24, 1694, and became a party to the suit in behalf of his wife.

In the meantime Samuel Bucknam had got into trouble through the misdeeds of his "negro peeter" and Sarah Howard,²⁵ who became a town charge; and Joseph Floyd and Nathaniel Upham were chosen to attend to the town's interest in the matter at the Cambridge Court. The case was continued to the Charlestown Court and finally the town recovered two pounds and twelve shillings of Samuel Bucknam. Nearly one-half of this amount disappeared in expenses; but twenty-six shillings and sixpence remained, which the selectmen very properly expended in purchasing clothing for the unfortunate John Bucknam. He died June 14, 1705.

There may have been other poor besides those which have been mentioned. Whether they were few or many in comparison, their condition appealed to the sympathy of their fellows and was not unrecognized. On the town record is the following entry:—

On a Thanks-giving day: was $\text{£ } 4^{\text{s}} 3^{\text{d}} 8$ money Gathered by a free contrebutioun And Committed into y^e hands of y^e Town Tresurer Edward Sprague or his Sucksesor: and to be disposed of by order from y^e select men for y^e use of The poore of This town: date y^e 12 of february 1696 $\frac{1}{2}$.

At a town meeting held January 6, 1698 $\frac{3}{4}$, the following vote was passed:—

If Bethiah Wilkenson doe com or be sent from Salam to this town The select men of this town atend y^e law jn sending her back again.

This vote was annulled, April 17, 1699, and the wants of its subject were probably supplied by her brother, in reference to whom the following entry was made many years after:—

²⁵ The character of Sarah Howard was not good. The following paper relating to her contains the first notice of a house provided in Malden for a small-pox patient.

"To Jacob Wilson Town Tresurer you are desired to pay unto Joseph Green Two shillings and sixpenc money out of y^e Town Stock jn your hand for his presing a hous for to entertain Sarah

howard when she had y^e foull deseas: malden date y^e 10: of feb 17th 21, by order of y^e Selectmen

JOHN GREENLAND *Town clerk* to william Sprague constabl you ar desired to pay the contents of this to iosep green and in so much you will oblidg your frend:

JACOB WILSON *town treasurer.*"
Green Family Papers.

[June 2, 1727] A vote was called for to see if y^e Town would consider m^r Isac wilkenson anything for his keeping his sister bethiah, and it past in y^e negative.

Six years later the selectmen were obliged to minister to her necessities; and the following quaint entry appears: —

An acount of sundery nesecaries provided for Bethiah wilkison by The select men of malden aprill The 9th day 1733

to one pair of tow sheats £1-10^s-0 to one pair of Shoos £00-12^s-0 to one Apron and handarcheif £00-9^s 6 To a Pettycoat and making £00-15^s-00 To two caps and making £00-6-0 To two cotten and lining shifts £1-10-3 The aforesaid cloathing purchased by the five pounds money which insign Joseph lynds paid for the yous of the town of malden when chosen constable excepting 2 shilings and 9 penc worth of said things entered by order of the select men.

The long procession of the poor had now begun. The next to claim the care of the town was Hannah Fensum, a daughter of Thomas Dickerman of Scadan. The town, while the commons were being divided, had refused to acknowledge her husband as an inhabitant, by the following vote: —

[March 20, 1694½.] *voted* whether the town would receve Isack fensum as inhabitant of this town and the vote passed in the negitife.

She had lived before her marriage in the family of Thomas Shepard at Wilson's Point, within the limits of Charlestown; and in a suit between Malden and Reading she had been settled by the Court upon the latter town.²⁶ The next year Malden was willing to take her and passed the following vote: —

[April 14, 1702.] *voted* That y^e select-men are apointed to Treet with y^e select-men of Reding And make an exchaing Abigaill Lille for hannah fensum jf y^e can.

As nothing more is heard of Abigail Lillie in Malden, it is probable that the exchange was effected. Hannah Fensum was drowned in Mystic River, July 18, 1706.

William Teele was in Malden as early as 1685. In the division of commons, among those who apparently had no claim to

²⁶ *Midd. Court Records — General Sessions*, March 18, 1709½. Eaton, *History of Reading*, 41, calling her Hannah Fensum, says she was warned out of that town in 1700; and, she refusing to go,

a warrant was issued for her forcible removal. Her husband appears to have survived her, and married Sarah Saunders of Reading, October 14, 1713.

recognition, save for charity or some kindred reason, he received six acres in the "Lots laid out on y^e land at y^e end of y^e 300 accres," which he sold to Philip Atwood of Bradford in 1706.²⁷ He seems to have been one who needed occasional assistance rather than absolute support, although he may have finally succumbed and become entirely dependent upon the town. At a meeting, April 1, 1702, it was "*vot* y^t y^e money y^t william Teel was to pay to y^e minestar jn y^e yeer 1699 shall be forgiuen him: and the town must loos jt: " In August, 1713, a small piece of the town's land "on y^e northwardly side neer y^e end of john wilsons land aboue y^e clay-pits"—at the southerly corner of the Burying Ground Lane and the Great Road—was granted to him and his wife for their use during their lives. Here, being himself a carpenter, he built a small house, where he lived until his death, enjoying the privilege of closing the road and pasturing between the gates. Other favors were granted him. At the annual meeting in March, 1713 $\frac{1}{4}$, his rate of ten shillings was "forgiuen him; " and it was voted:—

Also y^e s^d Teel has libarty to fenc jn a litle cornar of land joining part to m^r parsons land and part by Samuel Greens land neer to Sandy bank: so much land as shall be set out to him by: [*blank.*]

William Teele died before May 21, 1719; and his widow was continued in his privileges of gates and pasturage.²⁸ She was living as late as January 16, 1735 $\frac{1}{6}$, when it was

voted that the town will do somthing towards the repairing the widow teals hous: and that the select men shall repare said hous as they shall see necessary.

At last she, too, went down the grassy length of the Sandy Bank highway to the grave yard, and others enjoyed the benefits of the house which William Teele had built. It was voted, March 3, 1745 $\frac{1}{6}$:—

²⁷ *Midd. Co. Deeds*, xiv. 147.

²⁸ William Teele and Mary, his wife, had five children, the last of whom, Rachel, was born August 1, 1703. Although he remained in Malden and died as stated in the text, the careful Wyman, *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown*, 934-935, removes him to Charlestown,

gives him a second wife and seven more children, and continues him in life until after 1723. The second William, who really enjoyed these blessings, was probably the son, and William Teele, the ferryman, mentioned by Wyman, the grandson of the indigent carpenter of Malden.

That Edward Hollowell shall have liberty to live in the house that was the teels and pasture a cow at the burying place and that for one year.

The Hallowells appear to have been poor from the first. "Goodwife Holloway" is mentioned, in 1710, as one apparently with a family but contributing nothing to the treasury of the town. Edward Hallowell, who may have been her son, was here, December 25, 1730, when he married Huldah Farrington of Lynn; and the town was anxious before many years to be rid of him. In the record of a meeting, held December 7, 1738, the following entry appears : —

vol. that the town doth alow to Edward Hollwell 10 pounds money out of the towns stock provided he removes with his family from this town to the town of Killinsly to support them in there removal.

If he went to Connecticut, he returned in season to enter upon the occupancy of the Teele house, the possession of which he retained during the remainder of his life, enjoying the privileges which his predecessors had received.²⁹ After he had lived in the house a year, it was confirmed to him at the annual meeting, when the following entries were made : —

[March 2, 1746/7.] *vol* that the town dos quit their right to the house that Edward Hollowell now lives in on the towns land at the corner of John Willsons pasture to said Hollowell and his Wife and that said Hollowell And his Wife shall have liberty to improve said house on said land duering their natural life and that then the town shall have liberty to purchas the house of the heirs of the said Hollowell if standing on said land but if the town refuse to by said house then said heirs shall have liberty to remove said house from of said land.

vol That Thomas Manser and Edward Hollowel Shall have liberty to keep a cow a pece upon the towns land at Sandy bank this year and that they shall have liberty to hang a gate a cross the road near said Hollowells house.

Thomas Manser occupied the important position of sexton and grave-digger and was a neighbor of the Hallowells. It will be seen, by and by, that he, also, became one of the "town's poor." Edward Hollowell was a soldier at Fort Edward

²⁹ Mary Hollomon, perhaps the sister of Edward Hallowell, was warned out of town in May, 1749.

in 1756, and died soon after, perhaps in service; for his wife, "Huldeth," was a widow in the following May. She was living, July 6, 1786, when the death of Hannah Bodge, daughter of the "widow Hollowell," is recorded; and she died before September 2, 1795, when the selectmen, for twelve pounds, lawful money, sold to Samuel Wheeler one-eighth of an acre of land which is described as

a certain Lot of Land lying in Malden aforesaid lately occupied by the widow Hollowell late a pauper of Malden deceased bounded as follows (viz) Eastwardly on the great road Southerly on land of James Kettell dec^d & northerly on a lane leading to the poor house.³⁰

³⁰ *Midd. Co. Deeds*, cxxvi. 174. This piece of land, the history of which has been followed from its grant by the town to William Teele to its sale and transfer by the same grantor to Samuel Wheeler, now forms the southerly corner of Main and Madison Streets. It was a part of the lands of John Lewis, and was, perhaps, left in its peculiar shape and condition by the undefined line of the way from Lewis's Bridge to the meeting house, which appears to have gradually grown into use across the intervening land. In 1661 Ralph Shepard, who had come into possession of that portion of the Lewis land since known as the Bell Rock pasture, entered a claim to its ownership, in which it was described as a triangle containing about sixty rods, "bounded easterly by a Highway leading to y^e meeting house, nor westerly by a Highway leading to Sandy bank, & southerly by some lands of Thomas Lindes of mauldon aforesaid, Sometime y^e lands of Jn^o Lewis deceased, & [he] desires his claime may be Recorded according to y^e law for possession pag. 65." *Midd. Co. Deeds*, ii. 384.

This claim does not appear to have been recognized, as the adjoining land was described in 1696, when it was conveyed by John and Joseph Lynde, sons of Thomas Lynde, to Lieutenant Joseph Wilson, as bounded north and west "by the highway leading to Sandy Bank and a high way from Lewis bridge leading . . . to the meeting house going through the said Land." *Ibid.*, xii. 569. Nor did

Shepard mention his claim in 1666, when he sold his house and land in the Bell Rock pasture to the Rev. Benjamin Bunker. *Ibid.*, iii. 235. Until its appropriation to the uses of the Teeles, the land appears to have lain as one of those isolated pieces of common lying open at the corners of roads or by watering places which remained after the division of 1695. It is not improbable, however, that the Lyndes, who also held their lands under the Lewis title, had a claim upon it, as the description of the land conveyed to Wilson may indicate. This opinion is strengthened by the fact that when John Kettell, as the administrator of the estate of his father, James Kettell, who had held the Lynde land through his wife Elizabeth Wilson, a granddaughter of Lieutenant Joseph Wilson, sold, in 1797, four acres to Bernard Green, it was bounded as follows: N., by the road to the burying-ground; E., by the road to Malden Bridge; and S., by land of Bernard Green. *Ibid.*, cxxvi. 52. Wheeler's land was not mentioned, although he had purchased it two years before. Two months later, Bernard Green sold Wheeler forty-six rods, bounded N. and N. W., by the road to the burying ground; E., by the great road; S., by land of Bernard Green. *Ibid.*, cxxvi. 175. This, if any adverse claim existed, put the latter in full possession of the sixty rods which had been claimed by Ralph Shepard.

No house is mentioned in the deed given by the town; but it is said that Wheeler enlarged the Hallowell house,

In the margin of "A list of y^e families y^t bares publike charges In malden," which is given in full in another place, appear the names of seven who are separated from their fellows. Two of them, at least, were small landholders, but they were apparently in a condition which prevented them from becoming taxpayers. Besides William Teele and "Goodwife Holloway," who have been already mentioned, they were "Tho dunell, Tho Grouer Tho degre, wido Sayes, and Zachriah Hill."

Claimants of other races now appear in the persons of Jack Welcome and his wife, Black Ann. Tradition says that he was a negro, or at least a mulatto, while she was an Indian. It was voted, March 2, 1718 $\frac{8}{9}$,

That y^e Town will Giue unto Jack welcom a small pece of Land about a quarter of an acre nere to boston line on y^e upar side of the Greate Rhoad.

Here they lived with a family springing up about them until the death of the husband and father, November 8, 1744. He had previously deeded to his wife — "For and in Consideration of the Love and affection which I have towards my wife Ann," the improvement of the land "as also my dwelling house standing on said Land." After her death it was to become the property of their son William on condition that he paid ten pounds in bills of credit, old tenor, to his sister Thankful. In 1755 a mulatto child was laid at the door of this house, which was given to Joseph Barrett, with fifty-two pounds and ten shillings, old tenor, he agreeing to clear the town

which he sold to Elias Currell in 1797, conveying therewith about fifty rods of land with the bounds already given. *Ibid.*, cxxxiv. 35. Currell sold the same to Edward Newhall in 1799, who in turn sold it to Benjamin Burditt, baker, in 1810. *Ibid.*, cxxxiv. 34; xcxi. 74. Burditt mortgaged the property, then described as containing about one-half of an acre with a dwelling house and other buildings, to Field and Bradshaw, merchants, of Boston, in 1817, and released his right of redemption the next year. *Ibid.*, ccxix. 187; ccxiv. 510. The latter parties sold it in 1819 to Timothy

Bailey of Roxbury. *Ibid.*, ccxxviii. 523. Mr. Bailey came to Malden and established the business of tinplate working in the buildings attached to the house, which he occupied. The business was very successful and was continued by Mr. Bailey until his death, in 1852, and for several years after by his sons. Mr. Bailey was a well-known and influential citizen and was prominent in local financial affairs. The old house, which was removed a few years after his death, now stands on Madison Street a short distance southwest of its original location.

from any charge that may arise upon the account of said child so long as it may be made a slave to me my heirs or to them that I or my heirs shall assign said child too.

[May 16, 1757,] *Voted*, That the town dos alow to An Wellcom ten pounds old tenor to be laid out in repairing her Shattered habitation and that on the account of her nursing a child eight weeks that was laid at the dore of her house.

[June 6, 1757,] *Voted*, that the selectmen shall take care that said money be laid out for that purpose.

Ann Welcome died November 4, 1764; and Black Ann's Corner still bears her name, marking the site of her little cabin under the side of the hill on the northerly side of the road.

After the death of his mother, William Welcome, who was called Black Will, succeeded to the ownership of the house. That he was a shoemaker is shown by an order entered in 1766, on which he received three shillings, fivepence, and two farthings for making a pair of shoes for Agnes Nichols, a pauper. He died, unmarried, in 1793, being called upon the record "a negro — town's poor." He may have become an inmate of "the house for the poor;" as the selectmen, having been authorized by a vote of the town, sold John Waite, Jr., July 5, 1792, for fifteen pounds and twelve shillings, lawful money,

a certain peice of Land lying in Malden aforesaid (containing about a quarter of an Acre more or less with a small Building thereon standing) on the upper side of the great Road leading from Malden to Lynn near to Chelsea line, and has for a number of Years past been improved by William Welcome and was given by the Town aforesaid to Jack Welcome in the Year 1718 $\frac{6}{9}$ and was afterwards conveyed by the said Jack by a Deed of Gift to the said William Welcome.³¹

The number of the poor increased during the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century; and their individual cases are not as prominent on the records as those of their earlier kindred. In 1727 Jacob Wilson agreed for thirty pounds to keep the town from any future charge for his wife's sister, Hannah Ross.³² Cases of a similar kind were not infrequent. Joseph Ramsdell married Rachel, a daughter of William and

³¹ *Midd. Co. Deeds*, cvii. 504.

Wilson, married Susanna Ross, May 20,

³² Jacob, son of Lieutenant Joseph 1696.

Mary Teele, and after having four children, they disappear from the records.³³ That they both died during the year 1745 seems probable. The following entries appear in relation to their two youngest children: —

[January 14, 1745½,] *Voted*, That Edward Wayte shall have John Ramsdell who is about five years old till he comes of age and said Wayte shall have thirty pounds old tenor with him in case said Waitt will be obliged to learn said child to read wright and cypher and also to learn him the Shoemakers trade.

[May 14, 1747,] *Voted* That the Select men shall have liberty to put out the youngest child of Joseph Ramsdell deceast til it comes of age if they think it shall be for the benefit of the town.

Lynn august the 31st 1748 Then received of Stephen Paine one of the ouer seeres of the poor forty pounds old tenor in full for taking and bringing up of Joseph Ramsdels child as my own J say received by me

RUTH	
her + mark	Wife of
PITMON	John Pitmon. ³⁴

The indenture by which John Ramsdell was bound to Edward Waite is a good specimen of a class of papers which were formerly common but are seldom, if ever, executed in Massachusetts at the present day. The following copy is from the duplicate signed by Edward Waite, which is preserved among the *Green Family Papers*.³⁵

³³ Rachel, daughter of William and Mary Teele, born August 1, 1703, married to Joseph Ramsdell, of Malden, April 29, 1730. Children — Joseph, July 1, 1730; Mary, December 29, 1736; John, April 5, 1741; and Nathan, March 18 174½.

³⁴ It is elsewhere stated that overseers of the poor did not exist as a separate board in the colonial and provincial periods. Their duties were performed by the selectmen, who sometimes received the name, as in the case in the text and in the indenture by which John Ramsdell was bound to Edward Waite. The name itself first appears, May 14, 1744, when it was "*vol* That the select men shall be over seers of the poor this year." In 1780 five men were chosen

as selectmen and overseers of the poor, and again in 1805. Although not always stated in the record, this appears to have been the custom until the annual meeting in 1822, when the first distinct board of overseers was chosen. It was composed of Henry Gardner, Esq., Captain Isaac Stiles, and Major Nathan Upham. At the next meeting, an appropriation of fifteen hundred dollars was made for the poor.

³⁵ This collection, comprising papers of much interest concerning public and family affairs during two centuries, was formed by the late James Diman Green, and is now preserved in the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

This Indenture witnesseth, That Joseph Lynde Tho^s Wait John Dexter Stephen Pain and Joseph Wilson Select-men, Overseers of the Poor of the Town of Maldon in the County of Middlesex in New-England by and with the Consent of two of his Majesties Justices of the Peace for said County have plac'd and by these presents do place and bind out John Ramsdell a poor Child belonging to Maldon afores^d unto Edward Wait of Maldon in the County of Middlesex yeoman, and to his Wife and Heirs, and with them after the manner of an Apprentice to dwell and Serve, from the Day of the Date of these Presents until the fifth Day of April, which will be in the Year of our Lord one Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty two at which time the said Apprentice if living will arrive at the Age of twenty one Years, during all which said Time or Term the said Apprentice his said Master and Mistress well and faithfully shall Serve, their Secrets he shall keep close, their Commandments lawful and honest every where he shall gladly obey, he shall do no Damage to his s^d Master &c nor Suffer it to be done by others without letting or giving Seasonable notice thereof to his s^d Master &c he shall not waste the Goods of his said Master &c nor lend them unlawfully to any: At Cards Dice or any other unlawful Game or Games he shall not play: Fornication he shall not commit: Matrimony he shall not contract: Taverns, Ale Houses or places of Gaming he shall not haunt or frequent: From the Service of his s^d Master &c by Day nor Night he shall not absent himself; but in all things and at all times he shall carry and behave himself towards his s^d Master &c and all theirs, as a good and faithful Apprentice ought to do to his utmost Ability during all the Time or term afores^d.—And the Said Master doth hereby covenant and agree for himself his Wife and Heirs to teach or cause the s^d Apprentice to be taught the Art and Mystery of a Cordwainer and also to read write and cypher. and also shall and will well and truly find allow unto, and provide for the s^d Apprentice Sufficient and wholesome meat and Drink, with Washing, Lodging and apparel, and other Necessaries meet and convenient for Such an Apprentice during all the time or term afores^d: And at the End and Expiration thereof shall dismiss the s^d Apprentice with two good Suits of Apparel for all parts of his Body one for Lords-Days, the other for working Days, Suitable to his Quality—In Testimony whereof the s^d Parties have to these Indentures interchangeably Set their Hands and Seals the thirtieth Day of April, in the twenty first year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second King of Great Britain &c. Annoq: Domini one Thousand Seven Hundred and forty eight

Signed Sealed and Delivered
in presence of,

JOHN SHUTE
JOHN WILLSON

EDWARD WAIT



Edward Waite was a prominent citizen and a selectman for fourteen years. He had no son; and if the future life of his apprentice be considered, it appears that he faithfully performed his obligations and that John Ramsdell profited by his precepts and example. The latter married soon after he attained his freedom, had children, and became a landowner and a respected and useful citizen. As a Christian he was a shining light in the church. His character was beyond reproach, and his influence was always exercised for good. He was chosen one of the deacons of the First Church in 1776 and continued in that office for nearly fifty years, until his death in 1825, when Dr. Ephraim Buck was chosen to fill his place.⁸⁶ His care for the gravestone of Michael Wigglesworth has been noticed. It was a happy thought, perhaps his own, which gave him for an epitaph two couplets of the Malden singer's rhymes, which may be read upon the stone at Sandy Bank.

Welcome, sweet rest, by me so long desir'd,
Who have with sins & griefs so long been tir'd,
Welcome, O Christ, who hast my soul redeem'd;
Whose favour I have more than life esteem'd.

Abigail Pratt appears as a pauper in 1755; and the next year Dr. Simon Tufts of Medford⁸⁷ was allowed two pounds, thirteen shillings, and fourpence for "what he has don for Martha Mansur in the time of her sickness." In 1762 the town refused to pay Dr. Isaac Rand of Charlestown for doctoring Amos Stower in his last sickness, and Dr. Tufts for attendance on Germain Tibodo, one of the unfortunate French neutrals who had been sent to Malden by the provincial authorities. The next year the selectmen of Medford acknowledged Widow Abigail Waite,⁸⁸ who was then boarding in Malden, to be one of their poor; but to offset this advantage, the town was indebted in another direction, as appears by the following order.

The following a true account of bill granted to Docter Porter.

To Cap^t Ebenezer Harnden town treasurer or his Succesor in said office you are to pay unto Doctor Porter five pounds eight shillings

⁸⁶ *First Church Records*, April 13, 1825.

⁸⁷ Dr. Simon Tufts, H. C. 1744, was a great-grandson of Peter Tufts of Malden.

⁸⁸ Widow of Peter Waite, son of Joseph of Malden, who died in Medford, December 8, 1721.

three pence and three farthings out of the town stock in your hands which is in full for visits and medicines for the poor of the town (viz) to mr Cowens family to the widow Jemima Burditt to Thomas Manser to mr^s Simms to Jeremiah Tabodo and to the widow Mary Whitmore.

Dated in Maldon the 22 day of June 1763 By order of the select men.

5-8-3-3

JOHN SHUTE *town Clerk.*

The Cowen family lived at the north end. Israel Cook, who kept the only store there, received the following order in 1769: — ³⁹

Granted to Jsrael Cook an order on the town treasurer of £0-7-8^d-3^d for sundery things out of his shop to Cowen ⁴⁰ in the time of his sickness. Dated in malden the 7th of march 1769.

By order of the select men :

JOHN SHUTE *town Clerk.*

Others who are mentioned soon after, as receiving aid from the town, are Widow Elizabeth Berry, Mary Paine, Thomas Degresha, who boarded with the Widow Pratt, Abigail Howard, Widow Zibiah Sherman, Agnes Nichols, ⁴¹ and Daniel Floyd.

³⁹ Israel Cook, of Boston, married, January 11, 1741⁵, Hannah (Waite), widow of Phineas Upham. He inhabited the house of his predecessor, which stood at the present corner of Green and Howard Streets in Melrose. Here he "kept the first store in this town [Melrose], and was granted a license to sell rum, by the General Court, as early as 1759; and that article was continued to be sold here up to, and beyond, the time of the Revolution, if we judge from the story of the two Lynn minute men, — Hadley and Wellman, — who, filled with the spirit of patriotism, were on their way to Lexington, stopped here and became filled with another kind of spirit; then went on their way and were both killed. In this house was used the first stove in our town, and as a whole the old house had an interesting history, but it is now a thing of the past." Goss, *Historical Address*, July 4, 1876, 16. This writer incorrectly says that the house stood on "a part of lot No. 37 of the division of 1695," which Phineas Upham, the father, bought of

Joseph Wilson in 1703. The four acres sold by Joseph Wilson were a part of lot 37 in the third range of the second division, which was near the Boston line. It was probably upon this lot that Phineas Upham built the house which was still standing near Upham Street in Melrose in 1898, and of which a description and a view are given in Upham, *Descendants of John Upham*, 79.

⁴⁰ James Cowen had been an inhabitant of Malden since his marriage with Jean Crawford, of Lynn, February 22, 1733 $\frac{1}{2}$. Patrick he was called in the record of Intentions of Marriage at Lynn and in the record of marriage at Malden; but as James he appears in all other instances. He had a large family of children. His wife died in or after 1751; and he married, March 17, 1763, Ruhamah Parker, of Reading. By reason of sickness or some other misfortune, he soon after became dependent upon the town. He died, December 2, 1769.

⁴¹ Agnes Leveston, or Livingston, married John Nichols, son of Deacon

In February, 1767, the selectmen entered "an order on the Treasurer to m^{rs} Reb^a Emerson for two pounds twelve shillings seven pence & one farthing for Supplyes of Cloathing for the Poor."

In 1767 John Mudge, who had been a worthy citizen and a deacon of the South Church, appears in the following order as one who had become dependent upon the town.

an order on the Treasurer to m^r James Kittle for one pound ten Shillings & ten pence for Supplies of Rum & Sugar for Deaⁿ Mudge Eight month (viz) from march 10th to Oct^o 27th 1766. Dated in mal-den Feb^r 18th 1767

By order of the Select men

EZRA GREEN *Town Clerk*

He had been living with Joseph Pratt, who was paid for his board in March, 1767, and died before October 1, of that year.⁴²

Nathaniel Nichols, December 11, 1740. He was a soldier in the Louisburg expedition in 1745, and died in the service in that year. She died in April, 1793, — one of the "towns-poor." Widow Zibiah Sherman, who is mentioned in the text, died December 28, 1772. I think she was the daughter of Robert Levenston and perhaps a niece of Agnes Nichols.

⁴² Mudge, *Mudge Memorials*, 196, says, with great apparent exactness, that he died, November 26, 1762, aged seventy-one years, one month, and eleven days, making him to have died on the same day as did his son John at Lynnfild, and estimating his age by the birth of John Mudge who was born October 15, 1685, and died December 21 in the same year. Deacon John Mudge was born November 21, 1686. He was acting as a deacon of the South Church in June, 1761, but there was a vacancy in that office, February 23, 1763, when "the Ch^h meet to chuse a Deacon." *South Church Records*. That he was living in October, 1766, is evident from the order in the text, and he may have died about the time when the "Supplies of Rum & Sugar" ceased. That he died before October 1, 1767, appears from an entry in the town records.

John Mudge, the father of the deacon, bought of the heirs of Job Lane, in 1701/2, for two hundred pounds, a tene-

ment and farm of sixty-five acres, at Turkey Hill. *Midd. Co. Deeds*, xiv. 186. Part of this land was a portion of lot 34 of the allotment of 1638, which had been set-off to the Rev. John Harvard, the benefactor of Harvard College, and was sold in 1649 by Ralph Hall to Richard Cooke. *Suffolk Co. Deeds*, i. 103. Deacon John Mudge, by inheritance and the quit-claim of his sister Martha and her husband, Peter Edes, of Needham, came into possession of the farm in 1738, which he occupied but a few years, until 1745, when he sold it to Peter Edes, his brother-in-law. Edes removed to Malden and lived on the farm until 1762, when he sold it to Isaac Chittenden, of Boston. The Chittendens owned and occupied the land until 1813, when it was conveyed by Samuel Chittenden to William Hurd, of Charlestown. From Joseph Hurd, of Portsmouth, who had purchased it in 1816, it passed in 1831, for forty-five hundred dollars, to Leavitt Corbett, of Charlestown, who resided there until his death, August 9, 1855. The farm is now in the possession of the proprietors of Woodlawn Cemetery; and the Chittenden-Corbett house, which probably contained a portion of the Mudge house, was still standing, in 1895, on the west side of Turkey Hill, near Elm Street in Everett. It was torn down soon after.

The poverty of the South Church at that time, perhaps, prevented the assistance which its deacon should have received from its funds or its contributions; for it was the custom then, as now, for churches to help their members so far as possible. Contributions for the unfortunate were sometimes made at the close of the weekly lecture service, and especially on days of public fasts and thanksgivings. An early instance has already been given, and the lost diary of the Rev. Joseph Emerson mentioned, at least, two contributions which were made for "Nat Nycholes."⁴³ Sometimes the neighboring churches were helpful in the work of charity. The *Rumny-marish Church Book* contains the following entry, made by the former pastor of Malden, Thomas Cheever: —

November 10 [1726]. Public Thanksgiving. The Contribution was appointed for Ebenezer Hill of Maldon, who, having a sore leg for several years which the Doctours at last judged incurable unless his leg was cutt off (which was done the 7th of this month,) petitioned our Church and Congregation for our Charity, there was gathered about five pounds ten shillings — £5.10.11.

A distinction must be made between the workhouse, where the poor gathered daily to perform light tasks, and the almshouse, where they dwelt; although the former was finally merged in the latter where they both lived and worked. The workhouse preceded the almshouse, having been at first some house temporarily hired for the purpose, while the poor dwelt in their own dilapidated houses or were "boarded out" at the expense of the town. It was refused in March, 174½, to "build a house to imploy the poor in;" and in 1753, it was proposed to join with Cambridge, Medford, Woburn, and Reading in building a workhouse; but the town declined to entertain so extravagant a proposition. Some effort to bring the poor together was made in 1765 or 1766, but it does not appear to have been of long duration. In February of that year, the selectmen issued an order in favor of John Paine for two pounds and four shillings

⁴³ *Bi-Centennial Book of Malden*, 202.

for work don on the school house by the meeting house upon the account of rent due from the town to the propriators of said house for the poors living therein.

Finally, at the annual meeting March 2, 1772, it was voted "To hire a Work House for the poor of the Town;" and soon after, "That some Part of the Work House, to be hired for the poor, be also an Alms House if need be." The house which was hired was that which stood near the present easterly corner of Salem and Sprague Streets and which had formerly belonged to Thomas Burditt, Jr. The west end of the house, which had been set off to Widow Sarah Burditt, was that which was apparently used; and it may be that the keeper, John Gould, lived in the other part, which had recently been sold to Samuel Merritt. However this may be, it is certain that John Gould was master

John Gould

of the workhouse in 1773, when Zaccheus Banks, cordwainer, was apprehended and committed to his care; and here he dwelt in

the latter years of the century.⁴⁴ It was voted, March 1, 1773, "To support the poor at a Work House the ensuing Year, according to the Rules & orders of the last Year." A committee was chosen the next year "to lay a Plan for building a work-house;" but the town refused to accept its report at a subsequent meeting, and continued to hire until March 6, 1786, when it was recorded that Widow Burditt refused "to lett her house for the use of the poor."

In the meantime, the town had come into the possession of an almshouse and it had been voted, March 6, 1780,

that the Ouerseers of the poor shall moue the poor to the Towns house which lately Thomas Mancer lived in as soon as thay Conveniently can.

Thomas Manser had been sexton of the town and North Parish many years and in 1769 had become old and feeble,

⁴⁴ John Gould has been remembered in tradition as an extremely honest man. It is said that when he found himself in danger of becoming angry he would go into the woods at the foot of Wayte's

Mount and pray until the temptation had passed away. He died June 2, 1800. Samuel Merritt, the town clerk, was his adopted son.

though he performed the duties of his office several years longer. His house on the north side of the Sandy Bank highway was getting old like himself; and, considering the circumstances, the town passed the following vote: —

[November 17, 1769,] *Voted* To repair y^e House of m^r Thomas Manser, & provide for his comfortable Subsistence, during his natural Life, together with his Endeavours to Support himself, upon Condition that he will give a legal Conveyance of said House, with his other Real Estate to the Town.

Voted, That Capt John Dexter, Capt. Harnden & M^r James Kettell be a Committee to acquaint M^r Thomas Manser with the preceeding Vote; which Vote he complied with and gave a Deed of y^e Premises to the Town.

At the annual meeting in 1783, it was voted that the surveyors of highways "Shall make a Stone wall on the towns land by the Road to the Buring place that the poor may have a garden." The almshouse probably absorbed the workhouse after the refusal of the Widow Burditt to let her house longer for the town's use, and no more is heard of the latter. An enlargement of the former became needful in 1791, and a committee reported in April of that year that it was

Necessary that an addition of eighteen feet be added on the West part of s^d House to have a Gambrel Roof the Smoke to be carried into the Chimney of the Old house.

No action was taken on this report until May 7, 1792, when a committee was chosen "to employ workmen & furnish materials for enlarging the house for the poor." The little house of Thomas Manser, with a sun-dial — "the economical town time-piece of Malden," standing before its door,⁴⁵ continued to be the almshouse until 1822, when the town having purchased a portion of the Blanchard farm and adjoining lands on the Medford Road, sold for one hundred and forty-nine dollars and fifty cents the house and land on the "road leading to the Bank so called commonly called the old poor house."⁴⁶ The old house, enlarged and kept in good repair, yet stands on the northerly side of Madison Street, showing on its exterior few marks of age to distinguish it from its neighbors.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ *Bi-Centennial Book of Malden*, 224.

⁴⁶ *Midd. Co. Deeds*, ccxlv. 289.

⁴⁷ It had been built on a lot of about a quarter of an acre, which Jonathan

At a Generall Town meeting the 13th of July 1696 Cap william Green : moderator. This town taking jnto consideration y^e jnconuenences and damig : Acurring To them : by Jnmates. And Jll efected parsons setting themselves amongst them Ahaue *uoted* : and ordered : that Jf aney parson whatsoeuer : that shall Resaiue any Jnmate : Jnto their hous more then fourteen days before they Giue notis Thereof to the select men : or that shall Lett out their hous to hier ; to aney parson : but such as the select-men shall aproue of from time to time shall forfeit fiue shillings p^r weeck : so long as they continue defecttiue : heer jn : and pay all such damiges as shall com to the town thereby And that the Constable shall take the forfeit : of those y^t transgres herin by destres : by a warrant from y^e select men : for y^e use of the town :

This vote, which was based on a Province law, continued, with various modifications in force nearly a century, and simplified the settlement of paupers. Upon receiving notice, or within a reasonable time thereafter, the selectmen issued their warrant and the constable proceeded to warn the new comers to depart. Apparently the first to experience the operation of this vote was Thomas Degresha, in reference to whom it is recorded : —

Thomas degreuch^{ey} entred as a parson Resedant jn malden y^e 14 of decembar 1699 : wharupon the select men of this town gaue ordar by a warrant to Thomas okes constable to warn y^e said Thomas degreuche^y and his wife to depart y^e town of malden and be Resident nō longer ther jn baring date y^e 21 of decembar 1699.⁴⁸

Rich or poor, those who came to remain or those who came for a season — all were treated alike. It was not always necessary to obey, as the legal effect was usually produced by serving the warrant, which cleared the town from future liability. Sometimes, however, the constable was ordered to take a party

Howard, Jr. had deeded December 16, 1730, "for and in Consideration of love good will and affection which J have and dou Bear towards my freind and towns man Thomas Mansser." This land was bounded easterly "on a High way that goes to y^e Burring Place in s^d Town and Near s^d Burring place." *Unrecorded deed* in the writer's possession. This property was afterwards purchased by Timothy Bailey and was for many years occupied by the late

Samuel Shute. It is now known as 53 Madison Street.

⁴⁸ Thomas Degresha was married to Agnes Cracker by the Rev. Thomas Cheever at Rumney Marsh, March 16, 1693 $\frac{3}{4}$. They did not "depart y^e town" but continued therein. They were the parents of Thomas and the grandparents of Mary, the well known "Moll Grush" of later days. Grushy Pasture, on Forest Street, preserved the name in Malden until recent years.

by force and deposit him outside of the town limits. Sometimes the law required that notices of such warnings should be given to the County Court and approved by that authority. Thus, at the Court of General Sessions, March, 1734, the following entry was made: —

The Selectmen of Malden are allowed to enter their caution against Richard Perkins and Judith his wife, Mary Perkins their daughter and James Cannon their servant, who have been warned to depart out of the s^d Town of Malden, as appears by a warrant with a return endorsed thereon on file.

The notices given by heads of families and landlords under this vote sometimes contain valuable information in relation to the origin and movements of families. The following is one of many which may be found in the town records: —

Maldon June the 5th 1756

To mr John Shute town Clerk of Maldon These agreable to a law of this Province in such case provided are to acquaint you that mr John Rumbly & his Wife and children ware by me the subscriber admitted into my house in Maldon as tennants upon Rent on the twenty eighth day of may last and they were then first received and admitted into the possession of my said house and the said John and his family came last from medford he is a Brickmaker, I belive he is an industrious man and that he will maintain himself and family and pay his rent and nothing more of his or his familys Curcumstances are known by your Humble Servant

EBENEZER PRATT *Jur*:

Uriah Oakes, in January, 1758, took Mary Saunders and her children, Mary and Margaret, into his family as boarders. Her husband was a seafaring man with "nothing els to trust to but his prosperity." In the same year, Rose Clough, a widow from Boston, was reported as one "who is under good sircumstances;" and John and Abigail Cades, who came from Stoneham, were said to be "young and industrious." Soon after Susanna Downing, "a garl from Boston . . . under poor surcumstances," was taken in by Isaac Wheeler; while Joseph Lynde sheltered Mary Welch, a young woman from Charlestown, who was reported to be "not compos mentis;" and John Shute took Isaac Doubt of Boston — "he has been welthy but now very much reduced."

A few years later Timothy Sprague certified to Mary Hendly "a poor garl from Marblehead;" and Isaac Wayte had two children, Richard and Elizabeth Sanders, from Boston, whose father is recorded as being "a strong laborious man but has no great matter in the world." In 1764 Thomas Shute received Joseph Grant from Boston — "much disordered in mind and has but little worldly substance." Timothy Waite gave the following notice in 1772:—

Sarah Parsons of Leicester, a single Woman, came to live with me one year. She came the 29th Day of May last 1771, in Order to learn to be a Taylor.

Negroes are mentioned at times, coming probably as servants or farm laborers. Rebecca, "a melatto woman," was warned in 1745; and Jonas Green had "a molatto woman" named Mary Fair, from Lincoln, in 1768. Worster and Jupiter with their wives, Phyllis and Mary, from Medford,⁴⁹ were warned in 1780; and in 1786 appears the following entry in relation to one whose name and appearance, in her latter years, are still remembered by a few old inhabitants:—

To Ebenezer Waitt Constable of the Town of Malden Greeting, in the Name of the Commonwealth of Massechusets. you are Required forthwith to warn Deborah Sawco a Negro woman (Daughter to Cuffe Sawco of Medford) who Came into town from Salem in Jan^r. 1786 — that she forthwith Departe out of this town to Salem and that she be nolonger Resident herein — And Make Returne of this warrant with your Doings here on to me the Subscriber. Dated Malden July 18. 1786 — By Order of the Selectmen JOSEPH PERKINS *Town Cle^r*

Agreabl to the within writtin warrant I have warned the within mentioned Person to Departe out of this Town to Salem from whence she Came — Malden, Aug^t. 1786 — EBENEZER WAITT *Constable*

Deb Saco, who was thus warned to "Depart," died at the almshouse in Malden, June 17, 1839, aged about eighty years. Whether she was a negro or an Indian, I cannot say. Those who remember her are divided as to that matter. The name of her father is that of a negro, and the record of her death calls

⁴⁹ Worster had been a slave of the Rev. Ebenezer Turell, of Medford; his wife Phyllis, of the Rev. Eliakim Willis, of Malden; and Jupiter of Timothy Fitch, of the former town. A daughter, Rebecca, accompanied the latter.

her "a colored person." The late Augustus D. Rogers, of Salem, in a note to me, says that she was an old colored servant of Collector De Witt of that town, and that she was popularly supposed to be one hundred years old. He says, "I often gazed on her with awe, when, as I rode to Malden, she might be seen bending on her staff, with 'arbs' to sell." A representation of her as a fortune-teller was formerly in the East India Museum in Salem, and she has often appeared by proxy at ladies' fairs. I suspect that she was of two races, having an Indian mother. This was a not uncommon mixture during the continuance of slavery; and it was popular with the negroes, as the children of an Indian mother were free. She was a tramp, or, in the speech of that day, a "walk-about," ranging the country from Salem to Cambridge. She would disappear for months, returning suddenly, as eager to tell fortunes, as dirty, and as fond of rum as ever.

Of a similar character was Hannah Shiner, known also as Squa Shiner, an older woman, in whose veins the Indian blood predominated, if it were not wholly pure. She was a small woman with a thin face, and she usually travelled, with a small dog, selling baskets and herbs. She, too, was known in all the neighboring towns; but her home was near a spring on the borders of Turkey Swamp in Middlesex Fells, where she lived with a kindred spirit known as Old Toney. She is said to have been "kind-hearted, a faithful friend, a sharp enemy, a judge of herbs, a weaver of baskets, and a lover of rum." She was drowned in the Abajona River in Woburn, having been blown off a bridge by a high wind, on a cold winter day [December 22, 1820].⁵⁰ She was eighty-two years old at the time of her death.

Mary Degresha, otherwise Moll Grush, was another individual of the "walk-about" class. She was a daughter of Thomas Degresha and first appears as a town charge in 1786, when at a town meeting it was

[October 16, 1786.] *Voted* to put up Mary Degrusha to a vandue to see who will take her at the next Parish Meeting of this North Parrish.

⁵⁰ Cf. Brooks, *History of Medford*, 81; *Winchester Record*, i. 274.

[October 25, 1786.] Charles Hills west Room then meet accordingly and Lieu^t Francis Phillips bid her of for one year and the Town was to Cloath her Deacently and by him to keep her Deacently Cloathed and the Town to Give Lieu^t Phillips Six Dollers for his taking her and taking Proper Care of her and he is to keep her from being any farther a Town Charge for one year from the time that the Selectmen Delivers her to him the said Lieu^t Phillips.

Mary Degresha is said to have been an active and spirited woman and to have been offended when called Moll Grush. The story of her being the last sufferer at the whipping post in Malden is related elsewhere. In her old age she is described as having a thin body and a dark yellow complexion, from which she was popularly supposed to be of Indian blood. She lived a short time in a hut near Bear's Den, and died at the almshouse about 1838.

Whatever deals with poverty in its many forms has little to relieve it. Grotesque it may be, or a trace even of the comic may at times pass through it as a gleaming thread; but its grotesqueness becomes hideous, and the gleaming thread is tarnished when for a moment is seen beneath it stolid despair, starvation, sickness, lingering death — all the many woes which have attended the poor in all ages. What they suffered who are gone, what they are suffering who are living none may know save those who may live as they. Yet there is a deeper depth to which men and women in Massachusetts have descended without hope; for SLAVERY was here from the beginning and remained under the protection of the law until after the Revolutionary period.

It matters not that it existed in a mild and patriarchal form; for it was still a real slavery, wherein human beings had a money value and were sold like cattle or the ground on which they trod. The names of a few of these servitors have come down to us; but the names of Brahma Bucknam and Cato Lynde, of Phyllis Willis and Violet Hills, belong to a day and a condition which have passed away. So far removed are they from us — so remote from the thoughts and customs of the present is the condition in which they lived that the record of their existence has no living interest, and we look upon it only

as a curiosity of the past. As such, with much care and no slight labor, I have brought together from scattered sources the little that remains to illustrate the story of slavery in Malden. Its existence spans the time from the incorporation of the town to a day almost within the memory of man. Indeed, within sixty years I have taken the hand of the last survivor of enforced servitude here.

That slavery was almost coeval with the Colony cannot be doubted. Antiquaries know the story of the negro who was lost in the woods in 1633, and who, after frightening some Indians, who thought he was Abamacho — the Devil — was conducted to his *master*.⁵¹ The ninety-first article of the Body of Liberties, established by the General Court in 1641, concerns the

Liberties of Forreiners and Strangers.

91. There shall never be any bond slaverie, villinage or Captivitie amongst us unles it be lawfull Captives taken in just warres, and such strangers as willingly selle themselves or are sold to us. And these shall have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of god established in Israell concerning such persons doeth morally require. This exempts none from servitude who shall be Judged thereto by Authoritie.⁵²

This article has been cited to prove that the spirit of the early Massachusetts laws was against slavery; and yet it recognized the right of property in human flesh and provided for its transfer as clearly as any law of the later slave-holding colonies or states. By its authority captives taken in the Indian wars were sold into domestic servitude, or sent to the West Indies in exchange for negroes; and Africans were subjects of sale for nearly a century and a half. Nor was it ever expressly repealed; nor can the closest student of the subject point to the exact date when slavery in Massachusetts became legally extinct.⁵³

⁵¹ Wood, *New-Englands Prospect*, 77. (Ed. 1634.)

⁵² *Mass. Hist. Coll.* xxviii. 231.

⁵³ The history of slavery in New England is unwritten. Moore, *Notes of the History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, and Williams, *History of the Negro Race*

in America, have entered upon the field; but the one is written in a controversial spirit, and the author of the other is influenced by sympathy with his race. On the other hand, the historical writers of New England have ignored or misrepresented the subject, or have at-

The first notice of slavery in Malden is implied in an order of the General Court in relation to the servant of Job Lane, who had been found guilty of "runing from his s^d master."

[May 18, 1653.] *Ebedmelecks y^e negros censure.* In ans^r to the petetion of Job Lane, in the behalfe of Ebedmeleck, his servant, for the remittment of the rigor of the lawe, &c, the Court judgeth it meete, that the sajd Ebedmelecke, for his stealing victualls and breaking open a window on the Lords day, shall, the next lecture day, be whipt with five stripes.⁵⁴

The next is in a bond of Job Lane to John Leverett, afterwards Governor of the Colony.

Know al men by these p'sents that I Jobe Lane, of Malden in the County of midelsex in New Engld., Carpenter, acknowleg my selfe to be indebted vnto John Leverett, of Boston in the County of Svffolke, in the Massachvsets Collony in New Engld, for a negro boy called mercvry the svm of thirty povnds of Cvrrant monney of new Engld., the which svm, I, the sayd Jobe Lane p'mise to pay vnto the sayde Leverett at his Now dwelling hovse in boston, or in other pay to his Content, as for monney, or to his heyres execcvto's or assignes, for the trve performance of the same, I doe hereby fymely bynd myselfe my heyres, execcvto's & assignes in the penalty of sixty povnds of like Cvrrant monney. In witnes whereof, I have herevnto set my hand & seale this 12th day of Jvne 1667.

Witnes,

WILLIAM SEDGWICKE

ISAAC + GROSS.

JOB LAINE.



The close of Philip's War was fruitful in "servants" of another race — of heathen, who for their souls' everlasting good were doomed to temporal servitude. There is extant a paper written by Daniel Gookin in 1676, the endorsement and one item of which are as follows: —

tempted to excuse that which they could neither ignore nor misrepresent. The simple truth is that slavery was just and its purposes were righteous in the eyes of those who saw their profit therein, and there were few who could see its enormity under the influence of a present advantage. It was not until a spirit of liberty and resistance to oppression be-

gan to pervade the land that a general public opinion against slavery was aroused. When the truth of history is sought before the undue exaltation of the fathers, the history of slavery in Massachusetts may be fairly told.

⁵⁴ *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (1), 137.

⁵⁵ *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, xiii. 204.

A List of the Indian Children put to service that came in with John of Packachooche. . . . 1 Boy. To Goodman Greenland a carpenter of Charles towne on Misticke side, a boy name Tom aged twelue yeares, his father named Santisho of Packachooche.⁵⁶

Besides this I have found no case of Indian servitude on Mystic Side or in Malden, and slavery here, with this exception, seems to have been confined to the negro race.

"Turan Negro Serv^t to Edw Carrington, & a negro wench serv^t to old m^{rs} Lines" are mentioned in 1677; and their acquaintance, resulting in a presentment at the Court, brought fifteen stripes to the former and ten to the latter.⁵⁷

In the will of William Bucknam (1693) a negro is mentioned; and others are found, as property, in wills and inventories made prior to the Revolution. Samuel Bucknam's "negro peeter," and his troubles in 1703, have been mentioned. Jonathan Knower (1722) was possessed of a "Negro woman named Jenne," who was to serve his wife during her life and to be free at her decease; and Deacon John Greenland (1728/9) left to his grandson, John Shute, "one negro woman," who was valued at fifty pounds. The comparative value of human flesh in Malden during the early half of the eighteenth century may be known by the inventory of Deacon John Pratt, which was made in 1742, when an "oald negroman" and a cow were alike valued at ten pounds each.⁵⁸

During this period, the condition of the slave was hardly as tolerable as it afterwards became. He was a barbarian — a heathen whose conversion was hardly worth the cost, and whose soul, if any he had, was of little moment in the scheme of salvation. Rarely did his children receive the rite of baptism; nor were his brothers and sisters often admitted to the privileges of church membership before the middle of the century. The reason was obvious. If he became a church member he became eligible to the privileges of a freeman, which might by some favoring circumstances be brought within his reach; and no freeman could remain or become a servitor, save after a legal

⁵⁶ *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, viii. 272. There are twenty-one boys and eleven "mayds" in this list.

⁵⁷ *Midd. Court Records*, iii. 176.

⁵⁸ *Midd. Probate Files*, in loco.

judgment of the court for some sufficient reason. His life and limbs were protected by the letter of the law; but the slayer of a negro was hardly to be set by the side of one who killed a white man. In the former case the law might interpose with a show of authority and a faint zeal; but public sympathy was usually with the murderer. In the following extract, pity for "the poor man" who lost his temper chokes any appearance of regret for the death of his victim.

[December 2, 1728] On Thursday last an Irishman hapning to quarrel with a Negro man belonging to *Sweetser* of Malden, proceeded to strike the said Negro, and thereby wounded him to that degree that he dy'd on Saturday last, and the poor Man was the same day committed to Goal in order to be try'd for the said Crime.⁵⁹

Yet, to the slave the attainment of freedom was not impossible. Faithful servants were sometimes freed by will, after the deaths of their masters; and sometimes an earlier manumission was given. Nor was the release of aged or unhealthy dependants, from considerations of economy, uncommon; and the unfortunate freedman became a charge to the town or turned the mill of his poverty and distress alone. So frequent did such cases become that the General Court passed an act in 1703-4, which prohibited the freeing of servants, except upon giving bonds to save the public from future charges.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ *New-England Weekly Journal*. There is a tradition, which can hardly be connected with this story, that a negro was killed in the house of Thomas Hills, which stood on the easterly side of Harvell's Brook Lane, near the present corner of Cross and Lyme Streets. In the course of time, the old house became not only dilapidated but haunted, so that no tenant, save the unearthly one who was supposed to have returned, could be found to remain in it. A *black cat* was seen there, and people said that spirits could take a great many forms. The house became more uncanny and ruinous, and was demolished about seventy years ago. Perhaps this story may have been connected with Jack, "a negro who lived at Mr Thos Hills," who died, May 25, 1800, aged fourteen years.

⁶⁰ *Province Laws*, chap. 1, 1703-4.

"There is a tradition that one of the old Esquires of this town had a slave who had been in his family until he was about seventy years of age. Perceiving that there was not much more work left in the old man, the Esquire took him one day, and made him a somewhat pompous address to the following effect: 'You have been a faithful servant to me and my father before me. I have long been thinking what I should do to reward you for your services. I give you your freedom! You are your own master; you are your own man.' Upon this the old negro shook his grisly head, and with a sly glance, showing that he saw through his master's intentions, quietly replied: 'No, no, Massa, you eat de meat, and now you must pick de bone.'" *Bi-Centennial Book of Malden*, 131.

By the middle of the century, a feeling antagonistic to slavery began to work a change in public opinion and the condition of the slave began to improve. The laws for his protection became more direct or were better observed; and he was more freely admitted to the enjoyment of Christian rites and privileges. His children might be baptized and he might become a member of the church. "Ginne negro servant to Mr Thomas Pratt of Chelsea" was baptized in 1750, by the Rev. Aaron Cleaveland of the South Church; and there were at least two negroes who were members of the same church, in full communion, before the Revolution—Tower, "servant to Mrs. Blany," who was admitted, April 3, 1763, and Peter, "servant to Mr Darius Green," who was admitted March 17, 1765. The children of the latter, Margaret, Simon, and Phebe were baptized at the South Church.⁶¹ He was familiarly known as Old Peter, and he afterwards became the slave, or servant, of Ezra or Bernard Green.

The Green family had several slaves, as had also the Lyndes, the Dexters, and the Bucknams.⁶² The inventory of Ezra Green, taken July 5, 1768, contains the following items:—

To the Servents

To a Negro man Named Jeferre	£20.00.00
To a Negro Boy Named Simon	33.06.08
To a Negro Garl Named Vilot	10.13.04 ⁶³

Some of the papers by which Ezra Green obtained ownership of his slaves are extant and are worthy of preservation, not only

⁶¹ *South Church Records, in loco.*

⁶² There were several slaves attached to the farm of William Bucknam and his descendants, a portion of which is now occupied by Joseph Swan, whose house on Bucknam Street in Everett is upon the site of that of the Bucknams. "The two last woolly-haired residents upon the place rejoiced in the decidedly euphonious names of Pomp and Samp." *Malden Mirror*, August 14, 1875. "Pomp and seser," are mentioned as fiddlers at a country frolic in 1777, in a piece of doggerel which is said to have been written by one of the slaves

of this estate. This rhyme, which, with other curious or interesting papers, is in the possession of Mr. Swan, is hardly to be compared with the work of Phyllis Wheatley, the slave poet of Boston. It was to be sung "In the tune of the black swan;" and two couplets of the seven of which it is composed will fairly present its merits.

"theare was fieve cobbeler made a frolick
an one was taken with the collick.

"the fidders name was pomp or seser
and dauid danced with a mop squeser."


⁶³ *Midd. Probate Files, in loco.*

as showing how a legal right and title to the bodies and life service of men could be transferred and preserved, but as undeniable proofs of the reality of African slavery in New England.

Know all Men By These Presents That I Peter Hayes Jun^r of Stoneham in the County of Middlesix in his Majesties Province of the Masachusetts Bay in New England Yeoman Have Sold a Negro man Servant Named Tom: to Ezra Green of Malden in the County afore-said Gent^l and in Consideration of the Sum of Fifty Five pounds which I Do By These Presents Acknowledge I have Received of the above S^d Ezra Green for the above S^d Negro man Servant and am there with fully Satisfyed and contented, and I the Said Peter Hayes Jun^r have in my Self Good right full power and Lawfull Authority to Sell and Dispose of S^d Seruant as above Expressed and I do hereby Covenant and promise to warrant and Defend the above S^d Ezra Green in the quiet and peasable possion of the above S^d Negro man Seruant to his own proper Use and Disposal as he Shall think fitt In Wittness whereof I have hereunto Sett my hand and Seal the Twenty Sevnth Day of Oct^r Anno Dom: one Thousand Seven Hundred & Sixty And in the Thirty Forth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second King &c ———

Signed Sealed and Delivered
in Presents of

JAMES HAY
MARY BROWN

PETER HAY JUN^R  ⁶⁴

Know all men By These Presents that we Tho: Burditt Iabez Burditt Sam^l Sweetser & Ioseph Burditt all of Malden & Iacob Burditt of Charlstown Being All of the County of Middlesix & province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England Have Sold a Negro man Servant Named Ieffrey to Ezra Green of Malden & County aforesaid Gentleman for and in Consideration of Thirty Seven pounds Six Shillings & Eight pence which we Do By These Presents Acknowledge we have Received of the above s^d Ezar Green For the Above S^d Negro Man Servant & am therewith Fully Satisfyed & contented, and we the above S^d Thomas, Iacob, Iabez, and Ioseph Burditt and Samuel Sweetzar Have in our Selves good Right full Power & lawful Authority to sell and dispose of s^d Servant as above Express^d & we do hereby Covenant and Promise to warrant and defend the above s^d Ezra Green In the Quiet And Peasable Possesion of the above S^d Negro Man, to his own Proper Use & Disposal as he Shall Think fit In witness whereof we have Here-

⁶⁴ *Green Family Papers.*

unto Set our Hands And Seals this eighth Day of February Anni Dom ;
one Thousand Seven Hundred & Sixty two In the Second Year of the
Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third King ; &c.

Signed Sealed & Delivered

in Presents of

JAMES HOUEY

JOHN NICKOLS.

THOMAS BURDITT ◇

JACOB BURDIT ◇

SAM^{LL} SWEETSERER ◇

JABEZ BURDITT ◇

JOSEPH BURDITT.⁶⁵ ◇

Boston June y^e 7th 1762

Rec^d of Joseph Bryant of Stoneham Twenty Six Pounds thirteen
Shillings & four pence in part of pay for a Negro Man for pay of Whom
I have s^d Bryants Note of hand.

Witness my hand

EZRA GREEN.⁶⁶

The town records contain an entry relating to "a Malatto
child" who was "made a slave" to Solomon Townsend, who
afterwards occupied the house and land on Ferry Street since
known as the Haskins estate.

Maldon february the 4th day 1761 be it known that whereas the
select men of said town have put a Malatto child to me The subscriber
allowing me thirteen pounds six shillings and eight pence for my
trouble in bringing up of said child and having received an order for
said money J the subscriber do promis for me and my heirs to endem-
nify and clear the said town from any charge that may arise upon the
account of said child so long as it may be made a slave to me or my
heirs or to them that J or my heirs shall assign said child to Jn witness
wherof J have hereunto put my hand the day and date above said.

SOLOMON TOWNSEND.

There were forty-eight negroes in Malden in 1764-65, many
of whom were slaves; and thirteen "servants for life" formed
an item in the valuation of 1767.⁶⁷ There were a few free blacks
whose situation was not superior to that of the servants, even if
it were not more pitiable, for they were suspected and despised.

⁶⁵ *Green Family Papers*. The sellers
of Jeffrey were sons and heirs of Lieu-
tenant Thomas Burditt, an elder of the
South Church, who died October 15,
1758, aged 75, whose estate had not
been settled at this time. Samuel Sweet-
ser married Mary Burditt, July 8, 1736.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*. Perhaps this "Negro Man."

was Tom, who does not appear in the
inventory of the estate of Ezra Green
in 1768.

⁶⁷ *Columbian Centinel*, August 17,
1822. The negroes were about five per
cent of the population, which was then
nine hundred and eighty-three persons.

They were usually of a shiftless or roving disposition — vagabonds and wanderers; while their enslaved brothers were, at least, housed, clothed, and fed.

It is probable that at this time slavery in Massachusetts was at its height and that it soon began to decline.⁶⁸ Property in slaves became precarious when the sense of the community awoke to its enormity; and instances began to appear in which servants asserted their freedom and invoked the protection of the law. So gradually did it pass away that, as I have before stated, its final extinction cannot be marked. In 1780 negroes were openly advertised as merchandise in the Boston papers. The next year Nathaniel Jennison of Barre, in the county of Worcester, was indicted “for assaulting, beating, and imprisoning” his slave, Quork Walker. At his trial, before the Supreme Judicial Court in 1783, he was found guilty and fined forty shillings.⁶⁹ A note, which had been given for the price of a slave in 1787, was sued, when “the Court ruled that the maker had received no consideration, as man could not be sold.”⁷⁰ These cases denote the ebb of slavery. It might linger a few years longer under the plea of indentures of service or apprenticeship and be no less the slavery that it had been; but in its latest form it was of short duration. The following notice is a relic of its later days.

Ran away from the Subscriber, on the 3^d inst. an indented negro Servant, named EPHRAIM POMP, 18 years old, about 5 feet 3 inches high; walked lame; speaks broken by reason of a hair-lip which has been cut and sewed up; wore or carried away a blue cloth coat, a white do. waistcoat, dark colored cloth pantaloons, and a straw hat.

⁶⁸ That the importation of fresh victims had not wholly ceased a few years earlier is shown by the following advertisement:—

“JUST imported from Africa, and to be Sold on board the Brig *Jenney*, *William Ellery* Commander, now lying at *New-Boston*, A Number of likely NEGRO BOYS and GIRLS, from 12 to 24 Years of Age; Inquire of said *Ellery* on board said Brig, where constant Attendance is given.

Note, The above Slaves have all had

the Small-Pox. — Treasurer’s Notes, and New-England Rum will be as Pay.” *Boston Gazette*, July 17, 1758.

⁶⁹ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iv. 203. The several cases in which Quork Walker was the real party concerned are treated by Washburn, *Extinction of Slavery in Massachusetts*, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxxiv. 333–346. This writer declares that the decisions of the Court in these cases gave the death-blow to slavery in this state.

⁷⁰ *Nell, Colored Patriots*, 59.

All persons are forbid trusting or harboring said Lad, as they would avoid the penalty of the law ; and any person that will take up and return said Lad, shall receive a reward of ONE CENT for their trouble.

Malden, Sept. 13, [1804].

BERNARD GREEN.⁷¹

Several individuals who had been slaves were living in Malden within the last sixty years, among whom may be mentioned Katie Lynde and Simon Knights. The latter and his worthy and industrious wife are well remembered by many. He was the son of Old Peter, who has been noticed as the slave of Darius Green and as a member of the South Church. He was baptized by the Rev. Eliakim Willis, October 28, 1770, and was brought up by Bernard Green, with whom he lived some years after the extinction of slavery. Afterwards he earned his living as a laborer at whatever offered. He had the unstable and improvident ways of his race and it is said that his energetic wife would sometimes rebel at his thriftless proceedings and clear the house, either of him or herself. These separations were never of excessive length, as both were inclined to forgive and forget, and a few words from a neighbor would usually settle the matter. This was not an uncommon occurrence and sometimes several would join in the work of reconciliation, which was popularly called "marrying Simon Knights." They lived in a small black house of one story and two rooms, which after serving the children of Scadan as a school house for thirty years, was removed to Haskins's Lane, where it stood a little east of the site of the Unitarian Church, and made a comfortable, though humble, home for the worthy couple.

Lydia Knights was younger than her husband by a number of years ; and while he was an unmixed African, there was white

⁷¹ *Columbian Centinel*, September 15, 1804. Ephraim Pomp, "a poor negro boy under our care," was bound to Bernard Green by the selectmen of Charlestown, January 20, 1802. He was to serve until January 21, 1807, when he would arrive at the age of twenty-one. His master was to teach him the calling of a husbandman, besides giving him the rudiments of an education and keeping him well-fed, sheltered, and clothed.

He was to receive at the expiration of his time one hundred and ten dollars in money and two suits of apparel—one being "suitable for the Lords Day." *Green Family Papers*. He was a graceless dog to run away from so many benefits and so great a reward, unless there was an inside view of the system under which he served which was not indicated in the indenture.

blood in her veins. As has been intimated, she was industrious and energetic to an unusual degree, and her character entitled her to the respect of all. She was *the* "Miss Knights" of the town, while her husband was simply "Simon"; and neither wedding nor funeral was complete had she not borne a part in its preparation. She was the adjunct of the minister at the former, nor was the sexton more indispensable at the latter. Her presence at either insured skilful preparation and good service after the simple manner of the times. She was an autocrat in her department on such occasions, and it was said that parties had been postponed at her behest. Indeed, it was facetiously asserted that no one dared to die in Malden until it suited the convenience of "Miss" Knights. She left Malden to visit a son or a daughter, by her first marriage, in Tennessee, contrary to the wishes of Simon, who said she would never return. It is said that she died there very suddenly; but there were those who feared that she had been abducted and thrown into slavery. The latter, although not probable, was not impossible, as she was active and her skill as a cook would have made her a desirable servant.

After the departure of his wife, Simon, being infirm and beyond the performance of any considerable labor, became an inmate of the almshouse, where he lived several years. He was an early member of the Baptist Church, having been baptized in 1804-1806; and although he was once set aside and at other times became the subject of visitations and discipline for neglect of duty, he was on the whole a consistent and sincere Christian. He died in July, 1847; and his funeral service, which was held in the Baptist Church, was attended by the townspeople as that of a neighbor and friend.⁷²

⁷² Simon Knights was not the only person born in slavery who has been a member of the First Baptist Church. Peter Nassau, or Nassus, was baptized, April 8, 1803. He was born a slave in Martinique and was brought to Medford by his master, Joseph Domier, a French merchant. Having some difficulty with his master, he fled to Malden and was sheltered by Charles Hill of Hill's Tav-

ern, who defended him when it was sought to take him back to Medford. He remained in Malden several years, and was afterwards in the service of John Coffin Jones of Boston and others as coachman. When an old man, he went to Woodstock, Vermont, and became in time a town pauper.

Peter Nassau was popularly supposed to be an extremely old man. A portrait

Although the subject be lowly and the names humble, the record of these servitors may not be wholly useless, even though it may serve only to give another proof of the reality of slavery. The names in the following lists are in addition to those already mentioned.⁷³

MARRIAGES.

James and *Margrett*, negroes. Nov. 20, 1727.

Tobia, negro of Malden, and *Ziporah*, negro of Lynn. Dec. 18, 1729.

Sambo of Stoneham and *Mercar* of Malden. By Rev. James Osgood. Jan. 11, 1737 $\frac{1}{2}$.

John, a negro belonging to Joseph Lynde of Malden, and *Vilot*, a negro belonging to Thomas Hills of Malden. Jan. 26, 1749 $\frac{1}{50}$.

Cesar, a negro belonging to Benjamin Thwing of Boston and *Phyllis*, a negro belonging to Joseph Wilson of Malden. By Rev. Joseph Emerson. Dec. 6, 1751.

Peter Perkins, a negro of Lynn, and *Fenney*, a negro of Malden. By Rev. Joseph Emerson. Nov. 19, 1755.

Bramer,⁷⁴ a negro belonging to Benjamin Bucknam of Malden, and *Dinah*, a mulatto belonging to Mr. Toler of Stoneham. By Rev. Joseph Emerson. Jan. 24, 1760.

of him, which is said to have been a good one, was given in *Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion*, December 13, 1856, with an article in which he was called the oldest man in America and said to have "reached the extraordinary age of one hundred and twenty-six years." His age, however, was exaggerated. I was informed by the late Benjamin Goodwin Hill, a son of the landlord, Charles Hill, that he was merely a large boy when he fled to Malden, which was apparently about the year 1790. He was accustomed to make lengthy visits to his Malden friends — at first with considerable regularity but less frequently as his years increased. His last visit was in March, 1857, at which time he was probably about eighty-five years of age. He disclaimed any knowledge of his real age and said

he felt about two hundred years old. He died soon after his return to Vermont.

He retained a lively interest in the sons and daughters of his old protector, Charles Hill; and in their honor two of his daughters are said to have been named Sally John Sprague Nassau and Mary James Crane Nassau, coupling the names of husband and wife in each instance.

⁷³ Not all the names in this list are those of slaves. Some are undoubtedly those of free negroes or persons of negro and Indian blood; but it is not possible to separate them.

⁷⁴ Brahma. Brammer or Grammer, "a Negro man Slave to Benja^a Bucknam," was accused of stealing "a Cow Calf Spotted red and white and with a white face" from the close of Ezra Green in May, 1763. *Green Family Papers*.

Dover, a servant to Mr. Stoddard of Boston, and *Vilot*, a servant to Mr. Ebenezer Pratt of Malden. By Rev. Eliakim Willis. Oct. 7, 1764.

Prince, servant to Thomas Hills, and *Tarmar*, servant to Ezra Green, Esq., of this town. By Rev. Joseph Emerson. Nov. 9, 1764.

Cato, a servant to Nathan Lynde, and *Mareri*, servant to Capt. Dexter. By Rev. Joseph Emerson. April 5, 1765.

Jupiter, servant to Jonathan Waite of Lynn, and *Vilot*, servant to Thomas Hills of Malden. By Rev. Joseph Emerson. Dec. 26, 1765.

Bristol, servant to Zachariah Pool of Medford, and *Violet*, servant to Mr. Ebenezer Pratt of Malden. By Rev. Peter Thacher. Feb. 7, 1771.

Worster, negro servant of Rev. Mr. Turell of Medford, and *Phyllis*, negro servant of Rev. Mr. Willis of Malden. By Rev. Eliakim Willis. Nov. 25, 1771.

Samuel, servant of Joseph Lynde, and *Phyllis*, servant of Nathan Lynde, both of Malden. By Rev. Peter Thacher. April 16, 1772.

Prince, servant of Thomas Hills of Malden, and *Hannah*, servant of Francis Brown of Medford. By Rev. Peter Thacher. Oct. 7, 1773.

Sampson Bassett and *Billhak Emerson* of Maldon, negroes. By Rev. John Treadwell [of Lynn]. Aug. 8, 1776.

Pompey Magos of Malden and *Zipporah Barjina*⁷⁵ of Stoneham. By Rev. Peter Thacher. May 26, 1778.

INTENTIONS OF MARRIAGE.

Fortune, servant to Nathan Sargeant of Malden, and *Violet*, servant to William Oliver of Chelsea. Oct. 3, 1770.

⁷⁵ These were free persons of mixed negro and Indian blood, if the woman was not purely of the latter race. They were parents of Sal Magos another peripatetic fortune-teller and vendor of herbs

who was well known here sixty years ago. As a "walk-about" she divided the honors with Deb Saco and Hannah Shiner. Pompey Magos was a soldier of the Revolution and is mentioned elsewhere.

BIRTHS AND DEATHS.

Seasorr, son of *Roger* and *Margaret*, negroes, born ⁷⁶ Aug. 27, 1730.

Cesar, a negro boy, son to *Peg*, died Sept. 30, 1741.

Sippeo, servant to Capt. Jonathan Green of Stoneham, "Came to his Death by Accident By Slipping of a Raft of Seag & was Drowned [in Malden River]." ⁷⁷ Sept. 22, 1762.

Dinah, negro, servant to John and Mary Shute, died July 22, 1768.

Titus, a negro man, servant to Capt. John Dexter, died July 3, 1782.

Flora, a negro woman, servant to Lydia Holmes, died July 17, 1782.

Samson, a negro man belonging to Benjamin Bucknam, died, Jan. 5, 1786.

Cato, a negro, aged 70, died of dropsy, Oct. 23, 1797.

Fack, a negro who lived at Mr. Thomas Hills', aged 14, died, May 25, 1800.

SOLDIERS.

Titus, negro, served with his master, Jacob Lynde, in the army in 1760.

Samuel Harden, in service, 1777, and said to have deserted.

Prince Hills, in service, 1775.

Aaron Oliver, in service, 1775.

Pompe Magos, in service, 1779.

⁷⁶ This is the only birth of a negro child which can be found recorded in Malden prior to 1840. Married slaves and their young children were not looked upon with favor. Dr. Belknap wrote that "Negro children were reckoned an incumbrance in a family; and when weaned were given away like puppies.

They have been publickly advertised in the news-papers 'to be given away.'" *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iv. 200. The "*Seasorr*" who is mentioned in this entry was probably the "*Cesar*" of the next.

⁷⁷ Original inquest, signed by Jonathan Porter, coroner, in *Green Family Papers*.

CHAPTER XIII.

HIGHWAYS AND BRIDGES.

THE roads existing on Mystic Side and in Malden during the colonial period have been described; and the record relating to the ways laid out in the commons has been given in full.

On Mystic Side, the way from Penny Ferry to Malden; the Winnisimmet Road running from Malden by the Bucknam land, Nichols's Hill, and Powder Horn; the highway from the house of James Barrett along by the head of the five-acre lots into the Winnisimmet Road; and perhaps a way leading into Malden bounds over Sargeant's Hill to the point of rocks [Black Ann's Corner] in the Salem Road, were the principal ways, as they are to-day.

Although the way from Mystic River to Malden had existed since the settlement of Mystic Fields, it seems to have been vaguely defined and partially unsettled. At a meeting of the selectmen of Charlestown it was ordered,

[May 2, 1670.] Thomas Lynde, Will Dade and Richard Kittle Are to laie out A highway from the Gate Standing in the countrie highway from the peny ferrie and vp along that way so farr as Stephen paines land runs in that way towards maulden.¹

This committee reported during the next month, when it appeared that they had required Stephen Paine to make "that wet place on this side his house to be a sufficient high way for horse & cart."² This was apparently merely a survey or confirmation of the way already existing through the Carrington land, which Stephen Paine appears to have occupied in the lifetime of his father-in-law, Edward Carrington. The "wet

¹ *Charlestown Records*, iii. *in loco*.

² *Ibid*.

place" may be readily identified in the low ground formerly known as "the swamp," lying south of the Carrington house.³

The portion of the road nearer Mystic River ran through the land of the innholder, Richard Stowers, whose house of entertainment stood near by. He requested "[February 4, 1677⁸,] allowance for a highway y^t has bin frequently thorow his land to penny ferry;" and a lot of two and a half acres was granted him "on y^e North side of North Spring at Mistick Side . . . with a highway thorow it."⁴ Three years later, March 19, 1680⁴, a highway was laid out and settled "at Misticke side from y^e Meadows belonging to y^e north River through Ric. Stower's his grovnd and so downe to y^e watter side," and also a way from Thomas Rand's marsh "downe upon a line to a whitte thorne bush & so downe to y^e watter side right over against y^e whitte Iland."⁵ These ways, which were practically one, were for the convenience of the owners of the marsh lots. Indications of the old way upon the shore opposite White Island were apparent twenty years ago, and some traces may perhaps still be found in other portions of its course. The thorn bush has disappeared; but the name of Thomas Rand is preserved in Rand's Creek, which runs through the marshes from Everett to North River and formed the northerly boundary of his land. In the record of this way, the former settlement of the country road through the land of Richard Stowers is mentioned and it is added: "he owned to vs yt he hath had satisfaction for it."

The way to Wormwood Point, although it has lost its former importance, is one of the oldest on Mystic Side. It gave access to the common landing place at the point, which was freely used by the inhabitants of the easterly bank of the Mystic many years, and was called "an antient high way" in 1681, when the following report was made:—

The Return of an order that was Jshued out augst. y^e. 1st 1681 for the laying out of an antient high way of malden Side leading to peney ferry and from thence down to wormores point the committee chosen ware

³ Henderson Street, in Everett, east of Main Street, is laid out through the centre of the old swamp.

⁴ *Charlestown Records*, iii. *in loco*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iv. *in loco*.

Edw^d: Carrington Will^m: daudy Richard Stowers: which made this there return febr^y: 13th 1681 the high way that was appointed to be laid out from Bengamin Sweetsters gate that stands upon the high way that goeth to penney ferry & so along upon the ground that was formerly William Daudyes & goeth upon the ferm ground to the upper side of a great Rock & so goeth streight a little above bengamin Sweetsters hous and so goeth streight till we come down against Sarg^t: Lawrances Dowces Meadow then goeth along by said Dowces meadow with an elbow upon ferm land in the old way till we come to Barnibus Davises ground and on the upper side of a Couple of trees at one corner of said Dowces meadow and so goeth through the lower side of barnibus davises ground on the upland to the water side and this fore-said high way is to be one pole wide till we come to Barnibus Davises ground and through Barnibus Davises ground to be two pole till we come to Cap^t Thomas Brattles meadow and then four poles wide till we come through his meadow to the water side:

Atest

JN^O: NEWEL *Record^r*.

the mark WD of: M: DAUDY

RICHARD STOWERS

EDWARD CARRINGTON

A true Copy Book 4th page 23 Exam^d: p^r:

NATHANIEL DOWS *town Clerk*

the above said is a true Copy of what was taken out of Charlestown Book of records and recorded here by order of the select men of Malden in the year 1738

Atest

JOHN SHUTE *town Clerk*⁶

The condition of the Mystic Side ways in 1714 may be understood by the following extract from a report made in that year by a committee chosen by Charlestown "to prevent incroachments."

MISTICK SIDE. — The Way at mistick side as followeth:

there is a Small peice of land belonging to the town left for a pound or any other use: lying between m^r James Barrets Land & m^r Tuffs land formerly Stoweres.

⁶ This extract from the *Charlestown Records* was apparently entered in the *Malden Records* in consideration of the evidence which it afforded respecting the public rights which were thought to be threatened in the controversy with Joseph Wilson in relation to his gates, to which reference is made in another place. The way then laid out or con-

firmed is represented, so far as it is now a public way, by the present Beacham Street in Everett. There was formerly a large rock on its westerly side, which was probably the "great Rock" of the report. It is now under the sidewalk, the road having been widened about twenty-five feet since 1827.

The high way or contry road leading down from Malden to peney ferery is wholly inclosed & improved by m^r Stowers Sprague & Accknowledged by him & he paid one shilling :

There is a highway of one pole wide bordering on the head of the lotts within Stowers Spragues land from the contry road or high way by a ditch between the lotts formerly Tho^s. Rand & s^d. Spragues land North west ward & so along till it comes to Phinneas Uphams land : and the said high way runs from the said Thomas Rands marsh down till it comes over against the White Island : the s^d high way was for the Accommodation of the marsh lotts on the North & North westerly Side of the said Stowers Spragues Upland, And is all inclosed & improved by said Stowers Sprague :

Att the lower end of the said high-way by the river there being formerly an old thorn bush, & that being demollished & gone, wee have driven down a stake on each side the high way near where the said thorn bush stood : over Against the White Island :

There is a highway belonging to the town of one pole wide leading out of the contry road by Samuel Switters through the said Switters land, & so through m^r Benj^a Switters land by his house to wormwood point : the said high-way is one pole wide till it comes to the head of the marsh formerly Dowses & then turns on the said Benj^a Switters Upland : att the head of the marsh till it comes to the gate between m^r Switters land & m^r Odleins land formerly mitchells, now in the possession of James Nicholls : & then the said high way is two poles wide down to wormwoods point untill it comes to the Southerly corner of Brattells marsh & there measures two poles.

from the Old Stump against the barn & then the way & towns land is four poles wide for a landing place by the Watter side round the point till it comes to the cove or harbour against the door of the now dwelling house :

There is incroached and inclosed 7 or 8 foot of the towns land by James Nicholls within his garden fence att wormwoods point.⁷

After the annexation of Mystic Side to Malden, some controversy existed in relation to gates across the way to Wormwood Point; but the way, itself, seems to have been neglected. At the annual meeting, March 5, 1743³/₄,

It was put to vot whether the town would do any thing respecting the way to wormores point as well for the accommodation of mr Joseph Willson as the persons that have occasion to pas over his land to the salt marsh and water side and it past in the negetive.

⁷ *Charlestown Archives*, xxxiv. 265-266.

At the same meeting liberty was given to Thomas Richardson "to build a wharf upon Wormores point down from high water mark to half tide sixteen foot wide upon the high way where it is four poles wide for the benefitt of the town or any perticular person thereof." This landing place continued, as it had been from the earliest settlement, to be much used by the general public. Men like Ebenezer Pratt of Moulton's Island, and others, who made boating a means of livelihood, lived in the vicinity; and their boats were used to transport produce, timber, wood, and supplies to and from this and the neighboring landing at Moulton's Island. Both landings continued to be used until the building of Malden Bridge, and even after, when the wharves gradually disappeared. A boat, that tradition says was from the landing at Wormwood Point, met with a mishap which is thus recorded in the Malden record of *births*:—

John Rudge, James Sargeant and Nathan Burditt on the 5 day of May 1759 by the overseting of a small boat in a high gail of wind were drowned between boston and winesimmit Providence ordered it so that an aged woman mother to the said burditt who was over with him was saved alive by taking hold of an oar and a bag of bred.

In 1768 the road to Wormwood Point was again called in question; and at the annual meeting in that year, the selectmen were authorized to join with John Beacham, who had purchased a large portion of the Sweetser land, "in settelling And in haveing a town road confirmed to the town that leads from the said Beachams house to wormores point so called." Two years later [March 5, 1770] it was "*Voted*, to accept y^e Report of y^e Committee chosen to lay out the Way to Worm-wood's Point;" but the report was not recorded. It apparently did not settle the question; for at a meeting, November 3, 1800, it was "*Voted* to hear the Report of a Committee which is that M^r. Lewis Acknowledges their is a Town Roade from the County roade to Beachams point so Call^d but M^r Beacham does not." The matter was delayed until November 11, 1801, when "the Selectmen with the Town's Committe for the purpose of finding out the Old Roade leading to Beachams point so Cal^d, after obtaining a Coppy of the Record of s^d Roade: pro-

ceeded & staked out s^d Roade agreeable to the s^d Record." The record used was the Charlestown report of 1714, a copy of which forms a part of the committee's return.

The earliest entries in the town records in relation to highways, after the division of the commons, are as follows: —

[March 13, 1698/9.] *Voted* That y^e Select-men are Chose a Committee to set y^e bound between y^e peece of land that Capt Wilsons shop and Coal-hous stands on: and y^e highway And to signe and Acknowleg a deed of it.

[August 24, 1699] The Select-men are jmpoured to set y^e bounds of y^e high way by y^e clay-pits neer Lewisis bridg: and punish transgressors y^t shall intrench on y^e high ways jn diging of clay: by laying a fine on y^m.⁸

[May 16, 1701.] *voted* y^t john Sargeant Sen^r john Greenland, jonathan Sprague joseph Lamson and nathaniell upham are a committee to bound y^e country Rhoads jn this town and also to see whare jt may be most conuenant to Stop: or stake town highwaise: and make Report therof to y^e next town meting:

The committee mentioned in the last entry made the following report, which the town approved: —

[September 3, 1701.] We find Recorded jn y^e first Town book a highway laid out from The Cuntry Rhoad between M^r Hils & M^r Bun-kars farmes to thomas calles hous 4 pols broad from thomas calls to john wilkensons & by Thomas Molten Richard prats & peetar Tuffts to Charlestown Line towards y^e South Spring.⁹

⁸ Joseph Wilson's house and land have already been mentioned as being at the corner of the Salem and Reading Roads. He was a blacksmith, and his shop was one of the public places of the town. Whether it was on the former or latter road does not appear; but it may have been on the westerly side of Main Street, as tradition says the rubbish of a forge was found there while excavating many years ago.

Of the clay-pits near the bridge, some were at the corner of the present Main and Madison Streets, and others were in the land on which the First Parish meeting house was afterwards built. Bricks were made near by for many years after; and the Frog Pond, well remembered by Malden boys of the writer's generation, was a relic of the clay-digging days.

From it were made the bricks which form the walls of the First Parish Church. Clay-pits were also opened near Shute's Meadow, in the vicinity of the present Holyoke and Wyeth Streets; on Hutchinson's Lane (Cross Street) near the Skinner house; and on Harvell's Brook Lane (Cross Street), south of the present Willow Avenue. In the southern part of Mystic Side, from the marshes of the North River to Rumney Marsh, an extensive deposit of clay early attracted an industry which still remains; and the kilns which to-day are burning on the line of the Eastern Railroad in Everett are the successors of those which were lighted more than two centuries ago.

⁹ This was Harvell's Brook Lane, or that part of the present Cross Street

Also a way from Thomas Cals hous to y^e meting hous 2 polls broad. furthar this committie doe think: whare y^e formar commitee laid out The about s^d wais js most conuenant for y^e east end of y^e town. And also y^t Row of y^e naighbour-hood do pas from pembartons brook to y^e meting hous other waies y^e jnhabitants on both these parts of y^e town haue no alowed way to y^e meting hous. Also we doe jug jt nesenary y^t ther be a way laid out for y^e east & south end of y^e town to pas to y^e burying place.

At the meeting at which this report was presented, the Reading Road was considered; and it was

voted y^t Henery Green Joseph Linde, Phines upham Thomas okes And john Greenland are apointed a committie to bound out y^e highway of 2 pols broad from Capt william Greens to y^e meting hous whare y^e formar committie yt was chose between malden & charlestown Laid it and to Giue notic y^t y^e incumbrances now upon it be remoued by the first of nouember next jnsuing this date.

The selectmen, in answer to the request of Thomas Burditt of Malden and John Marble of Mystic Side,

Layd out a highway on y^e 10 of June 1702 between y^e s^d thomas burditt and John Marbls land from Joseph Sargeants land: of one pool broad to y^e northeast cornar of John Rigways land: also y^e same way js laid a pool wide along by y^e head of the s^d Rigways land jnto y^e Great Rhoad.

This way was laid out for the use of the persons whose lands are mentioned; and for some consideration connected therewith Joseph Sargeant paid John Marble eight shillings in money. This was upon the easterly side of the present Ferry

which runs from Salem Street to Ferry Street. The farm of Joseph Hills, as has been stated, comprehended most of the land between Salem, Ferry, and Cross Streets, north of Harvell's Brook, as well as other lands north of Salem Street and south of the brook.

Bunker's farm was a parcel of upland and swamp lying south of Salem Street and east of Cross Street. It was that seventy acres of woodland, "scituate in misticke field," which was owned by George Bunker in 1638. *Charlestown Archives*, xxxiv. 36. To this he added, by unrecorded purchases, a large tract of other lands in Scadan, out of which,

in 1661, he deeded to his son John two hundred acres in Malden, bounded w. by Joseph Hills and others; s. by the great swamp; and n. by the common and three small lots. *Midd. Co. Deeds*, ii. 181. Most of the Bunker land in Malden finally came into the possession of John Bunker, the saddler of Cambridge, grandson of George, whose claims so troubled the town and individual landholders in 1695.

The house of Thomas Call, near the present corner of Cross and Walnut Streets, is noticed in note 11 of the present chapter. The others were between Call's house and the South Spring.

Street; and it was that lane which, having been extended to Washington Avenue in Chelsea, has become Nichols Street in Everett.¹⁰

A committee was appointed, June 11, 1706, "to lay out a conuenant highway for the inhabitants of y^e East end of y^e town to goe to y^e meting hous: or to say whare y^e highway js jf alredy layd out." A way from Scadan already existed; but it was circuitous, and in a portion of its course the right to pass appears to have been somewhat doubtful. It was over that way which has been mentioned as leaving the Salem Road and running "between Mr Hils & Mr Bunkars farmes to thomas calles hous" — the later Harvell's Brook Lane and a part of the present Cross Street. From Thomas Call's house, which stood near the present southeasterly corner of Cross and Walnut Streets,¹¹ a narrow way called the Stony Lane ran southwestwardly over the hill towards the ancient Green house, which is still standing on Appleton Street, near the Everett line, and entered the Winnisimmet road of 1653. A longer way was open then, as now, over the Salem and Reading Roads by Wilson's Corner, Hill's Tavern, and Lewis's Bridge. The report of the committee, if made, was not recorded; but the following vote may have been its result: —

¹⁰ It ran easterly no farther than the house of Joseph Sargeant, which, after his death in 1717, appears in the records as that of Widow Mary Sargeant. All the land around it ultimately fell into the hands of the Nichols family. There were but two houses upon it as late as 1856 — those of Andrew D. Nichols and Ebenezer Nichols. The latter house, which stood at the head of the lane, was probably the old house of Joseph Sargeant.

¹¹ Thomas Call died in November, 1678. His widow, Lydia (Shepherdson), married Thomas Skinner, and carried the house of her former husband into the Skinner family. The process by which it came into the possession of Abraham Skinner, and finally of his widow, Hannah, has been described. *Vide* chap. xi. note 43. After the death of Hannah Skinner, January 14, 1723, it was in the occupancy of Abraham

Skinner, perhaps her son; and it afterwards passed into the hands of the Parkers in some way of which I have found no record. This estate, when deeded to Abraham Skinner in 1693, comprised three acres of land, with the house and barn, on the *northerly* side of the road, running to a point at the easterly end, and twelve acres on the southerly side of the road. The removal of the highway in 1729 left the house on the southerly side of the new way. The old house was not standing in 1798; and it had been demolished, it is supposed, many years before. Its cellar remained until within sixty years past; and a large rock, which stood in the field near the southeast corner of the present Cross and Walnut Streets, bore the name of Skinner's Rock, and preserved the name of its former owners long after they had passed away. It was removed in 1887.

[May 28, 1708,] *uoted* ensin phinas upham sam^{ll} wayt sen john prat john mudge and Thomas okes To Be acomity to uewe the lain throw john Greens paster commonly called the stonny lain in order unto the stoping of it and Remoueing of it down to john hutchinson land that now is and to maike aReturn of your dowings, heare in at the next Town meting

The Return of the com mity Wee the Subscribers Being chosen and Apointed By the Town to uewe the Ground from the highway aGainest john Greens house alonge By the Towns fence and so to john hutchinsons fence and so to the litel Gate By widow Skiners and Likewise to uewe the highway commony called the Stoney Lain and whare it may Be Beste to Stope it in order to the Remouel of it if the Town See case douen to that Sid of John Greens land next to john hutchinson fence and so to the litel Gate By widow Skiners

Which Saruis wee dide some time in june last past and doe judge that it may Be most for the Towns Benifet to Remoue it And that the Best placeses to Stope the Stony laine is Belowe widow Skiners hous at end And aGainst the fence that is Between nathanell uphames land and obeds jankens land on the South Sid of nathanell uphams land

SAMUEL WAYT SENER

PHINAS UPHAM

THOMAS OAKES

The report of the committee was made to the town, March 4, 1708 $\frac{8}{9}$; and it was voted "that the Stoney laine Be Stopped as the commity has mad thar Return and the Sad john Green to hange Gats at each end of Sad way." The committee was also authorized to "stake out the highway Through john Greens land from the Contery Roode A Gainest John Greens To the Contery Rode By widow Skinners."

This way, which was now opened by John Hutchinson's fence, was that portion of the present Cross Street which was known as Hutchinson's Lane and more recently as Peter Tufts's Lane. It began at the Winnisimmet road, which crossed the line of the present street near the corner of High Street as it now exists. There is some uncertainty as to its course after it reached the highway over the hill. The present Walnut Street, which it joined, is a portion of the old way from Lewis's Bridge, which ran along the easterly side of the Hutchinson land in its present course. It is clear that the way did not run

straight from Hutchinson's Corner to the house of Thomas Parker, which stood on the hill at the present corner of Ferry and Cross Streets, where was lately the house of James H. Whitaker;¹² but it proceeded more directly by the *southerly* side of the Call, or Skinner, house to the old way from the Salem Road to the South Spring. This left a V-shaped piece of road, around which the weary Scadanites had to trudge on their way to the meeting house. To overcome this difficulty, it was voted, May 15, 1710, "That y^e Town doe think jt needfull That ther be a highway of 2 pols broad from Thomas parkars house To y^e meting hous." In accordance with this vote, the selectmen met May 25,

and layd out a high-way for y^e use of y^e Town of Two pols broad on y^e norwest side of Abraham Skinars stonwall from y^e high way neer Thomas parkers house to y^e highway at y^e end of s^d Skinars Garding.

This was not satisfactory and, in fact, there seems to have been some opposition to the whole way. The matter was carried by somebody to the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, which performed among its other duties those of the later County Commissioners. At a town meeting April 20, 1711, Lieutenant Henry Green, Deacon Phineas Upham, Isaac Hill, and Benjamin Whittemore were chosen "to apere at y^e Sesions of y^e peece to be held at charlestown on Tusday y^e 24 jnstant to answer jn Referanc to y^e high way jn contreuarcy." After hearing the case, the Court passed the following order:—

[April 24, 1711]. Upon hearing the Petition or motion of Phineas Upham & Henry Green & others of y^e Town of maldon refering to a p^tended high way thro the p^rsonage Land in maldon from Tho^s Calls house to the meeting house, which seeming contrary to y^e primitive Return of the comitte of maldon for y^e laying out of high wayes in sd Town in y^e year 49: And that the Town of Maldon haueing appointed a Comittee of late to stake out the high way of Two Rod wide through

¹² The house of Thomas Parker, which was originally of one or two rooms, is supposed to have been built in the latter part of the seventeenth century. When it was enlarged is not known; but its former appearance indicated a date not later than the early half of the last century. It was removed

about 1860 to the vicinity of Ashland Street. Ferry Street from Parker's Corner at Cross Street to the easterly spur of Powder House, or Liberty Hill, did not exist until 1835. The land over which it passes was a meadow, around which the old way passed on the firmer land by the present Walnut Street.

Jn^o Greens Land from the Country Road against John Greens to the Country Road by the Widow Skinners along by the outside of John Hutchinsons fence & the Towns fence which is the p^rsonage Land, which s^d comittee on or about the year 1709 did lay out or stake out sd way as p^r theire Return under their hands of theire Doings therein Exhibited in Court fully appears This Court (Sundry of the members w^of haveing been upon the place and viewing the same) upon hearing of all parties Referring to y^e same, Conclude and order that the s^d Report of the late Comittee now Exhibited to y^e Court as aforesaid Js to be accepted and Improved as the Settled high way from s^d Thomas Calls house lot that way upon a straight Line to y^e Road leading to the meeting house of Two rods wide, and for p^rventing of Charge, That there may be hanged a gate at Each End for the Conveniency of those that haue occasion of y^e said Way Till further order of this Court and that all parties Concerned bear theire own cost.¹³

This closed the way between the Parker and Skinner houses; and the east end people had to "go 'round" for more than eighteen years, unless, as may have been, they were allowed to "cut acrost." At length it was voted: —

[November 26, 1729.] That y^e selectmen shall move y^e Highway that is by Abraham Skinners barn, to y^e north sid of His Land, & lay it out so as shall be most Conveiant for y^e Town

Five days later the selectmen finished the work and Hutchinson's Lane, or Peter Tufts's Lane, as it was afterwards called, was completed and so remained, tolerably straight but very narrow, until it was straightened, widened, and otherwise improved, and became the westerly portion of Cross Street. That section of the street beyond Ferry Street, equally narrow, and crooked to excess, was long known as Harvell's Brook Lane, from the brook which it crosses a short distance below Salem Street.¹⁴

¹³ *Midd. Court Records, — General Sessions, in loco.* The "primitiue Return" of the committee of 1649 is a record or paper which has disappeared.

¹⁴ A mill was established at an early date on the easterly side of Cross Street on the brook by the Eastern Railroad. The dam, crossing the meadow from bank to bank, was very distinct and perfect until the ground was graded for building purposes in 1887. The mill appears to have been owned and operated, prior to 1706, by William Mathews,

who had been brought up by Job Lane, and who in that year, a few months prior to his marriage with Mary, daughter of Robert Calley of Sandy Bank, sold to James Harvell of Lynn a dwelling house with half an acre of land, bounded west on the highway and north on the brook then called Stone Brook. *Midd. Co. Deeds*, xxiv. 697.

William Mathews, apparently, afterwards occupied a house and fourteen acres of land in the division lots, which he sold to John Lynde, Jr., in 1714. He

Memorandum, Malden December y^e: 1: 1729: y^e Select men Did then move y^e High way that was laid out behind Abraham Skinners Barn, & laid it out on y^e north side of His land, two pole wide y^e sd way is laid out part in Skinners & part in Thomas parkers land y^e North side of y^e sd way is laid from apost standing in y^e fence at y^e south End of y^e sd parkers primmhedg, & so to a post south of y^e Claypitt, & near y^e same, & from thence on a Straight line to y^e corner of John Hutchensons stone wall, & y^e south side of y^e sd way is bounded by aheap of stones lying on an old Dichwall by y^e side of y^e highway leeding toward Nathanell nickoles,¹⁵ & so to a stake, and from y^e sd stake, on aline to

had then removed to Lynn, and was still called a miller. *Midd. Co. Deeds*, xvii. 50.

James Harvell and his wife, Mary (Waite), had three children born in Malden. Another James, probably their son, had a wife, Sarah, and two sons, one of whom died in infancy.

No other traces of the Harvells in Malden are known to me. They may have lived and died here or removed; but their name, although changed in time to Harvey, became firmly attached to the road and brook on which they lived, and has remained unto the present day. The mill is supposed to have been used as late as the close of the Revolution.

In 1813 the town gave Aaron Waite of Salem, who then owned the farm which John Bunker had sold to Samuel Waite, "Liberty to dig a ditch through Harvey's Brook so called in Malden for the purpose of taking the water of his Meadow," and "to tak up & new lay the Bridge over s^d brook." A convenient watering place was made at the side of the road, where the women were accustomed to wash their yarn in the earlier days of this century, when spinning was a female accomplishment.

¹⁵ The house of Deacon Nathaniel Nichols was that which stood upon a lane which formerly ran from Ferry Street a little south of the present Harvard Street. The farm upon which it was situated became the property of Nathaniel and Samuel Nichols after the death of their father, May 10, 1725. The former sold the western half of the house with adjoining land, bounded s. e. upon the lane, to Jacob Parker in 1742. *Midd. Co. Deeds*, xlvi. 396. Samuel Nichols, the owner of the other

half, went in the expedition to Cape Breton in 1745, and died, with his younger brother John, during the siege of Louisburg. His widow, Jemima, married, July 18, 1746, John Polly of Medford, and joined with her son, Samuel Nichols of Medford, in 1761, in conveying the moiety to Jacob Parker, who thus became sole owner of the house and surrounding lands. *Midd. Co. Deeds*, lix. 278.

Jacob Parker married Rebecca, a daughter of the Rev. Joseph Emerson; and died January 17, 1779, of small-pox, which was brought into the town by his wife, and of which seven others died. After his death his widow enjoyed the customary widow's third of his estate and occupied a portion of the old house, where she kept a school at the expense of the town until her marriage with Deacon Benjamin Brintnall of Chelsea, August 3, 1780. In 1800 Asa Tufts, who had married Elizabeth Parker, and had come into possession of two-thirds of the house and homestead land, conveyed his portion to David Faulkner, and with his brother-in-law, Joshua Parker, quitclaimed the remaining third to the same grantee. *Midd. Co. Deeds*, cxxv. 385, 387. At the demise of the widow, who died insane, July 21, 1816, being then the relict of Deacon Samuel Waite, the estate came wholly into the hands of David Faulkner. His son, the late David Faulkner, razed the old house in 1849, and built that at the corner of Ferry and Harvard Streets in which his widow resided until her death in 1892.

The kitchen of the old house extended the whole length of the building at its rear; and its chimney and oven

y^e north corner of y^e sd Thomas parkers pastuer & so y^e way comes fluch with y^e way from faulkners, to Hutchenes (with a little winding) y^e East End of y^e sd way is all in Skinners land as far as to y^e post by y^e clay-pitt.

In consequence of the closing of the Stony Lane and the moving of the road to Hutchinson's fence, the way formerly granted to Mr. Wigglesworth through the parsonage land was discontinued. Soon after the inhabitants of the easterly portion of the town, for whose convenience the new way had been laid out, prayed the County Court to remove the gates which had been hung across it. Their petition was as follows: —

To the honored Justices of y^e Cort of Sessions now siting jn Charles-town The 10 of march : 1712³ The Humbl petition of sundrey of y^e Jnhabitants of the East and north-east side of y^e Town of malden Humbly Sheweth : that whar as your honours were pleas^d to Take the pains to com to malden sum time jn y^e yeer 1710 And did then setle a high way Then jn contreuery : And did say y^e way should ly on y^e out side of y^e Towns land : — that js jn y^e possession of our Reuerand ministar : — And whar as there was At y^t time 3 Gates did hang a thwart y^e said way : — you honour^s were then pleas^d to say Those Gates should Remaine there untill further ordar : — And whar as y^e peec of way js a bout : 100 : pols jn length and y^e one half almost fenc^d alredy the othar half ther js fencing stuff lyeth neer :

Therefore we humbly jntreat your honours y^t Those Gats may be Remoued and Remain no longar there : — That we and our families may haue the same priueleg : as all our frends and naighbours haue jn our Town — To haue our way cleer from Aney jncumbranc — To y^e publique worship of God
And your petitionars shall as duty binds Euer pray
malden date y^e

3 of dec 1712

JOHN GREENLAND
SIMAN GROUER
PETER TUFTS
JONATHAN KNOWER ^{INR}
JOHN MUDG ^{INER}
JACOB HASEY

JONATHAN KNOWER ^{SNR}
JOHN MUDG ^{SNR}
JEAMES WHITTEMORE
WILLIAM SARGEANT
JEAMES HOUHEY
BENIAMIN HILLS

JOSEPH : LAMSON ¹⁶

were famous for their size even in the days when large chimneys and capacious ovens were common. A smaller house, which stood in the lane near by, was

supposed to be of an early date, and may have been the "old shop" which is mentioned in the deed of Asa Tufts.

¹⁶ *Midd. Court Files, in loco.*

This petition was considered at the Court in April and its prayer allowed to the inconvenience of Samuel Green, the then owner of the Green farm and the son of John Green, who had died March 22, 17⁰⁹/₁₀. He carried the matter back to the Court of Sessions with his complaint.

[July 7, 1713] upon hearing the petition of Samuel Green for satisfaction for Land of his Improved in maldon for a high way, on which the gates that hang thereupon were ordered to be taken down some time Since. The Court *order* that y^e gates be made convenient for Travellers, and continued so till the next Quarter Sessions and there to make Report of their Doings therein.¹⁷

At a town meeting soon after [July 20, 1713,] the case was considered and

It was put to vote whether y^e Town will mak Samuell Green Resonabl allowanc for y^e land called y^e way from y^e litle Gate by widdo Skinars to y^e Gate by The contrey Road and jt past on y^e negitiue: The jnhabitants of y^e town said y^t Samuell Greens fathar took y^t way jn y^e stoney lane jn lew of y^e way by huchensons fenc.

That the "jnhabitants" were determined to stand by their opinion is evident; for at the same meeting a committee was appointed to defend the "cause in law with Sam^l Green: in Refrence To y^e high way from y^e Litle Gate neer y^e widdo Skinars To y^e Gate by y^e countrey Road neer y^e s^d Greens hous." The Court sustained the inhabitants and recorded an order which settled the case.

[December 8, 1713.] The Court are of opinion upon view of the evidence before them, that the Complanants Father hath had satisfaction for the same And do order that the high way be where it lyeth and so continued.¹⁸

In the meantime other roads were being considered and laid out. Nathaniel Upham, Jonathan Sprague, Sen., and John Green, Sen., were chosen, May 24, 1710, to run the line between "Eueness farm and y^e Countrey Rhoad" at the northern extremity of the town. At the same time, a committee was appointed to view the land "between James houe's and boston

¹⁷ *Midd. Court Records, — General Sessions, in loco.*

¹⁸ *Ibid*

Rhoad: ¹⁹ And se whar jts most conuenant to lay a high-way out for y^e use of y^e Town." ²⁰ This committee made the following return, which was accepted at a meeting three days later: —

[June 2, 1710,] first we Turn out of y^e highway jnto Jonathan Knowars land by y^e cornar of James houes orchard and so by s^d orchard To y^e north east cornar and from thenc on a line to a black oke Jn s^d houeys feeld neer y^e fenc on y^e southwardly side of s^d Tree And so through said houes feeld: on y^e southwardly side of two white oke trees standing neer to gethar jn Thomas waits land neer to y^e sd houes feeld on y^e eastwardly side and so jn y^e old way As jt Runs along to Steuen Lerebes cornar of his cornfield and so along jn y^e Raing Line to boston Rhoad.²¹

At a meeting held July 20, 1713, "It was putt to vote whethar y^e Town will mend y^e way y^t Runs from y^e country Road neere Sam^l Grouars To John Wilkinsons between y^e Raig of lots. And jt past on y^e negitiue." In consequence of this vote, John Upham, Jonathan Barrett, and other inhabitants of the northern portion of the town petitioned the Court for convenient highways from their houses to the meeting house; and the Court ordered the selectmen "to look to such matters." ²² Soon after it is recorded

[September 29, 1713.] y^t y^e select-men doe lay out a conuenant high way for Them . . . 2 pols broad on y^e northwardly side of That Raing of lots y^t Runs from John Wilkinsons Land neer his hous down to y^e cuntrey Road y^t leads to Reding. — beginning at y^e s^d wilkinsons land.

¹⁹ Boston Road, the road from the point of rocks, or Black Ann's Corner, to Winnisimmet, so called because it was near the line and partly within the limits of Boston.

²⁰ The duties which were here imposed upon a committee were sometimes performed by the selectmen, as appears in the following vote, relating to a high-way or lane in the southeastern part of the town.

"[May 8, 1704] voted That y^e selectmen hath liberty to lay out a conuenant high-way of Two pools broad from leut

Josep haseys: land so y^t he may pass from his one land jnto sum Cuntrey highway."

²¹ This was evidently a confirmation in part of an old way, the location of which I cannot closely determine. It is, however, certain that it was north of the tract now occupied by Woodlawn Cemetery, and east of the old highway which ran from Sargeant's Hill to Black Ann's Corner.

²² *Midd. Court Records, — General Sessions, August 25, 1713.*

This was a confirmation to public uses of one of the rights of way which were laid out between the ranges of common land in 1695. From the fact that John Wilkinson's house and lands were on the highlands towards Long Pond, and other indications, it is *evident that the way now laid out was that long known as Upham's Lane and now as Upham Street in Melrose.

[March 1, 1713 $\frac{3}{4}$,] *vote*: That Jose Line has libarty Granted to him and his haireis To Raise the causeway y^e Lyeth betweene y^e medo formerly cap^t waits: and y^e sd Lines medo so high as to flow y^e s^d lines meddo: and y^e s^d Lins doe oblige him self and his haireis To maintain y^e s^d causway jn good Repair suficant for both Town and countrey to pass: — so long as they se cause to flow y^e s^d medo Also y^e said line hes libarty to take earth and grauill on y^e high way on y^e Top of y^e hill near y^e s^d caseway for y^e ends aboue s^d

The proximity of Captain John Wayte's meadow proves this causeway to have been across the meadow near Island Hill,²³ and so marks the origin of the present Main Street in that direction. It afforded "a short cut" to the meeting house to a portion of the north end people who may have passed across the Lynde land by a private way on the westerly side of Boston Rock.²⁴ Another private way ran along the southern side of Boston Rock to the old Reading Road near the present Wyoming Cemetery, which, widened and made a public way, has become Sylvan Street in Melrose. An entry made in the records in 1717 may have reference to a connection made between the Reading Road and the way over the causeway at its southern end, or it was in the near vicinity.

sum time in y^e mounth of June or July in y^e years 1717 y^e select men Laid out away by y^e side of Joseph Lynds Land estly in to y^e old Road Sam^l wait geiving up his Right in s^d Land.

²³ Island Hill, north of Wayte's Mount, which sometimes has been confounded with Island End on the South River, was formerly a picturesque object in the landscape. It is situated on the westerly side of Main Street, a little north of Forest Street. At the present time the ledge of which it is composed is being removed, and it will soon become a thing of the past.

²⁴ Soon after an attempt was made to close a way which had, perhaps, fallen into disuse or become of doubtful public benefit. Its location is uncertain.

"[May 10, 1714.] Jt was putt To vote whether y^e way shall be stopt neer to James Moltons hous ouer To obadia Jenkins land — and jt past on y^e negative."

The select men of malden mett y^e 17. of feb 1721½ And doe alow of y^e Two pools jn bredth y^t lieth Att y^e south end of the first Raing of y^e second Thousand acrs — from boston line to Reding Road To be a Town high-way :

The select men on the 15th day of nov^r 1754 opened a town road from m^r James Barrets orchard to Chelsea line between the first and second range of lots in the second devision.

Although the latter entries are nearly thirty-three years apart in time, they refer to a single way in North Malden which had existed as one of the rights of way between the ranges, and now became a settled town road. It was formerly known as Barrett's Lane, and is now Porter Street in Melrose.

The roads which had now been laid out answered the needs of the people for many years; and no new ways were granted until several years after the close of the Revolution. The few notices which appear in the meantime relate to repairs or confirmations of old ways, or to regulations and agreements respecting private ways which had become of public use. In 1751 Phineas Sprague, Nathaniel Howard, Samuel Sprague, Thomas Vinton, Benoni Vinton, and Phineas Sprague, Jr., inhabitants of the north end, were allowed to work out their highway rates for three years on a private way from Jonathan Howard's house to that of Phineas Sprague. The few houses which then existed at the north end west of the Reading Road appear to have had no allowed town ways by which they could be reached. Their owners passed by private ways over the neighbouring lands; and as these ways came to be of more than local convenience they were adopted as town ways. Thus, over the way from Jonathan Howard's house and its extensions running in all directions but a straight one, as it passed from house to house,²⁵ was laid out in time the road to Stoneham. This road in its eccentric course is now represented by Vinton Street, and by

²⁵ How it ran in changing courses from house to house, as it grew up to suit the convenience of the neighboring farmers, may be seen in the report of the selectmen, who laid it out as a town way in 1789, and in the plan of the

North District in 1830, which will be given in a succeeding volume. On the plan it is that road which runs from the house of Joseph Howard to that of Aaron Vinton and the Stoneham line.

portions of Foster, Cottage, and Hurd Streets, and that section of Wyoming Avenue which ends at Main Street.

In 1755 it is recorded that Timothy Sprague had given the town a deed of land "near the place called the water falls which accommodates said town for a road."²⁶ At the same time he asked for a portion of the town's land at Sandy Bank, and was refused. It is mentioned in 1761 that "Timothy Sprague by moveing his fence has incroached on the high way or towns land near to the house of Elizabeth and Tabitha willson;"²⁷ but the town refused to act upon the matter at the annual meeting in that year.

In 1769 the ancient way and public landing place at Moulton's Island were laid out anew. The report of the committee, and the records relating to the neighboring landing place at Wormwood Point, which have been freely quoted, are interesting as defining the ways and town rights at the earliest settled portions of Mystic Side.

Malden May y^e 2nd 1769

We the Subscribers being chosen a Committee to Stake out the Way leading to the Jsland End, have laid out Said Way, from y^e Country Road to the Landing Place, about one Rod and an half wide, as y^e Road now runs; and have Stak'd out the Landing Place; beginning at y^e Head of y^e East Dock, & from thence across y^e Well, on a straight Line to y^e Westerly Stake, which is about 16 Rod, & from thence to the Southeast Corner of M^r Blaney's Wharffe, & from S^d Bounds to low Water Mark

The above Way and Landing Place, M^r Ebenezer Pratt gives to y^e Town, to be kept free and clear of all Incumbrances, except Liberty to hang & maintain a good Gate across S^d Way, where it now Stands, wide enough for Carts to pass and repass; Said Liberty to be reserved to him & his heirs for ever

EBEN ^r HARDEN	} Committee
JOHN DEXTER	
JOHN BUCKNAM	
JONAS GREEN	
EBEN ^r PRATT	

²⁶ Near his mill at Black Rock, since known as Odiome's Mill. This was some part of the lane that became Mill Street, and afterwards Mountain Avenue,

which had been an allowed public way for many years.

²⁷ At the corner of the Salem and Reading Roads.

[May 18, 1769.] *Voted*, To accept the Report of the Committee respecting the Way leading to the Island End.²⁸

It was voted, May 18, 1772, "To exchange y^e Road, formerly laid out on the East Side of Swain's Pond, for the Road now improved." A committee was appointed to agree with the owners of the land; and the new way was confirmed "where the Road is now improved on the East Side of Swain's Pond." The discontinued way was one of those which were opened in the sheep pasture and three hundred acres; and the new way was probably only a slight removal to easier or firmer ground. It was that which, with perhaps a few slight changes, is now known as Swain's Pond Avenue. It is described as running from John Grover's field and by his mill on Swain's Pond

²⁸ The road from the South Spring to the end of Moulton's Island was one of the earliest on Mystic Side. It is mentioned as a highway in 1650. Closed by gates and vaguely defined, it remained more for the use of the owners of the land over which it ran than as a public road. The few who passed to the common landing place at its end alone raised it to the dignity of a travelled way. Both the landing place and the highway are mentioned in 1717 — the former as the Charlestown landing place. Thomas Mitchell, who married Mary Moulton, and died in 1709, built a house on the east side of the highway, near the landing place, which he passed by a deed of gift to his only son, Captain John Mitchell, in 1703. After the death of Elizabeth, widow of John Mitchell, in 1749, Ebenezer Pratt bought the rights of the several heirs, which, added to the lands which he inherited from his father, Ebenezer, a few years later, gave him the possession of most of the island and the adjacent marshes. The old house was standing within the second quarter of the present century; and its cellar remained until the ground was levelled for the improvements made in its vicinity. The station of the Eastern Railroad now stands on or near its site.

The landing place was improved in 1750, when Captain Benjamin Blaney, whose tan-yard was at the South Spring, was allowed by the town

"To build a wharf upon the beach at the Island end thirty foot front said wharf to be about forty foot from m^r Thomas pratts marsh and not so nigh the bank but that there may be room for a cart way between said wharf and said bank said blany to improve said wharf for the term of thirty years and then to have liberty to remove said wharf."

This wharf was known for many years as Blaney's Wharf, and later as Clapp's Wharf, from Timothy Clapp, who manufactured bricks at the clay-pits near the South Spring early in the present century. In 1890 some remains of the wharf and its easterly dock were to be seen.

The town way has disappeared with the hill over which it formerly passed. It left the main road near the South Spring at the present corner of Everett Avenue and Vine Street in Everett, taking a course a little west of the latter street. In 1890 a slight inequality in the ground where it passed over the meadow alone remained to reveal it.

Moulton's, or Mitchell's Island was an extensive mound of glacial waste of the same character as Powder Horn and other hills in its neighborhood. In 1898 but slight indications of its former existence remained, and the little that was left was rapidly disappearing. As large quantities of the material of which it was composed has been deposited upon the surrounding marshes, its original character as an island exists no longer.

Brook²⁹ to "y^e road formerly laid out to Chelsea, as y^e cart way now goes." On the northerly side of the pond it existed for many years as a vaguely defined and partially discontinued way leading up to Upham's Lane. Relocated and changed in many portions of its course, it is now a settled street.

There is upon the town record an agreement between Nathaniel Paine and John Grover, dated July 2, 1772, in relation to a way beginning at the road from Black Ann's Corner to Winnisimmet, near Grover's house, and running to Paine's house through the fields. This way, which was accepted by the town at its next annual meeting, was that which old inhabitants will remember as formerly leading to the house of Benjamin Nichols, which was built upon the site of the house of Nathaniel Paine. It may be readily recognized on the plan of Malden South School District, which will appear in a future volume.

The Spragues, who passed from Naumkeag to Mishawum in 1629, must have crossed the Mystic at a ford a few rods above the location of the present bridge at Medford. A few years later Nicholas Davison, the agent of Governor Cradock, whose farm stretched along the easterly bank of the Mystic, built a bridge near by. On the Charlestown side it was reached by a long causeway over the low land; and it is described as having been "exceedingly rude and dangerously frail."³⁰ It seems to have been built primarily for the use of Cradock's men; but it soon became a public convenience and as such was recognized by the General Court, when it ordered "[(10) 10: 41.] that Leift Sprague & Edw^d Converse should repair the bridg at Meadfoard, over Mistick River, & the same to bee paid for out of the treasury."³¹ It was apparently of the most simple construction and required frequent attention. It soon again became unfit for travel, and the Court appointed Ralph Sprague and Edward Converse again

²⁹ The site of the mill of John Grover could be found in 1894 in the meadow on the easterly side of Swain's Pond Avenue, near its junction with Lebanon Street. The dam was then as distinct as in the days of its builder; and on the

west side of the brook the shape and size of the little mill could be traced.

³⁰ Brooks, *History of Medford*, 59. This writer says it was built in 1638.

³¹ *Mass. Colony Records*, i. 343.

to veiw y^e bridge at Mistick, & what charge they conceive meete, to be p^rsently expended for y^e making it sufficient & p^rvent y^e ruine thereof, or by furth^r delay to endang^r it, by agreeing wth workmen for y^e compleate repairing thereof, & to make their returne to M^r Wiloughby & M^r Russell, & w^t they shall do herein to be satisfied out of y^e treasury.⁸²

Two years later the Court again took it into consideration, and fearful, perhaps, of the expense which seemed to attend its proper maintenance, ordered

[October 27, 1648,] that the said Mistick bridge henceforth shall not, by the country, any way be repaired, & that the passage for travellers shall be over the foarde w^{ch} is above the bridge^e; & further, for the p^rventing future charges about bridges & high wayes, it is ordered, that all bridges & highwayes, in the limitts of the severall townships, that now are or hereafter shalbe made by the severall townes, in whose limits such bridges and highwayes are, be by them repaired, made, & maintained.⁸³

This was the origin of the law, now so well established, by which towns are made responsible for the maintenance of public ways within their borders. The order appears to have become a dead letter at once, and the bridge fell into a worse condition. It was, however, of value to the Cradock tenants and to the country above the Mystic, and if its users could be made to contribute to its support it might be properly maintained; so Davison, for his principal, petitioned the General Court and obtained the passage of the following order, which established the first toll bridge in New England, if not in the British Colonies: —

[June 2, 1653,] Itt is by this Court ordered and declared, that if any person or persons shall appeare that will engage sufficiently to builde, repaier, and maintajne the bridge at Misticke at his or theire proper costs and charges, it shall be lawfull, and all and euery such p^rson or p^rsons so engaging are heereby authorized, and haue full power, to aske, requier, and recouer of euery single p^rson passing ouer the sajd bridge 1^d; and for euery horse and man, 6^d; for euery beast, 2^d; for euery cart, 1^s; and this to continew so long as the bridge shall be sufficiently majntajned as aforesajd.⁸⁴

⁸² May 6, 1646. *Mass. Colony Records*,
ii. 149.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, ii. 263.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, iv. (1), 148.

Still, neither Davison the agent, nor Edward Collins, who had recently purchased the Cradock lands, undertook to rebuild the bridge, nor did any others appear to assume the responsibility; and the passage across the ford became the common highway. The need of a better passage, however, appears to have been obvious; and the following petition was presented to the County Court: —

To the honoured Court now holden at Cambridge octo: 2^d 1655
Samuel Hough: Edw: Convers and Joseph: Hills, on behalf of the
Countrie humbly shew

That, the Countrie (as is well known to this Cort) haue Sustained great loss and damage for some yeares past by the decay and want of the Bridg Called mistick Bridge notwithstanding the Severall Complaintes petitions and presentments made to Several Courts concerning the same; our humble request Therefore to this honnoured Cort is that Deacon Mousal of charlstowne Deacon child of wattertowne m^r Tho: Danforth. of Cambridge m^r Edw: Collins of medford Will: Coudre of Redding Sam: Richardson of Wobuⁿ and Lit^r John Waight of moldon, or any 3: or 4 of them or Such others as the Corte Se good may be appointed and Authorized forthwith to make vp a sufficient Cart Bridge over the Sayd river in Such Convenient place as may be most comodious for the Cuntrie in generall. And that the same may be Effectually carried on wee further humblie desire that there be by this Court An Assesment made on the Severall Townes within this Countie for raying the Sum of one hundred and twenty poundes and warrants Jsued forth to the Severall Townships for levyng and collecting the Same by due Course of lawe According to the Assesment for Countrie rates. And to pay it in vnto m^r Collins at his howse at meadford or as he shall appoint. And that the Comittee be ordred to giue Account of the said som at the next Countie Courte to be holden at Cambridg or the Court following at Charlstowne So shall wee with many others be bound to blesse God for your furtheranc of Soe needfull A Service.⁸⁵

[At a County Court, April 1, 1656,] Cap^t Norton, m^r Edward Collines, m^r Joseph Hills & m^r Brattle, are appointed by this Court a Committee to erect misticke Bridge, and to levy the charges there of vpon the County, according to Law.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ *Midd. Court Files, in loco.* Rev. well-known deputy of Malden. The Samuel Hough was the pastor of Reading; Edward Collins, a leading inhabitant of Woburn; and Joseph Hills, the inhabitants of Reading preferred a similar petition at the same time.

⁸⁶ *Midd. Court Records, i. 97.*

The rebuilding of the bridge was performed in accordance with the order, and during its progress the County Court was drawn by its cost to the consideration of its future maintenance. A committee reported to the Court at Charlestown, April 7, 1657, as follows: —

Wee quæstion the countjes abilitje to mainteine & beare the charge thereof, and having some experimentall knowledge that tounes will be more cautious in laying out theire oune costs then the countjes, both in building & repaying, doe therefore conclude, according to our weake ap'hensions, that as few bridges should be built at the countjes charge as possibly maybe, only those two bridges, i. e., at Billirrikey & Misticke, to be finished at the countys charge, and for tyme to come majntAINED in repaire by the tounes & precincts in which they are.

This report, which was accepted by the County Court and confirmed by the General Court soon after,⁸⁷ led to the taxation of the several towns which were benefited by the bridge and caused many disputes and lawsuits.

During the next thirty years little appears in relation to the bridge and the connection of the several towns with its maintenance; but its later history was probably a continuance in spirit and form of that which preceded it. Mr. Brooks remarks that "The bridge seemed to have a wonderful aptitude in getting out of repair; and, as Medford was liable to be indicted for the fact the bridge became the standing vexation of the town."⁸⁸ An entry in the Malden records, November 29, 1689, shows that "maulden workt a mistak bridge with cart and 4 oxen and 3 hands to gravell the bridg." In less than two years the town was delinquent and, with Woburn and Reading, neglected or refused to pay her dues. The selectmen of Medford petitioned the General Court and were referred to the County Court for "a finall Jsue of that matter referring to the Settlement of Said Bridge."⁸⁹ The latter favored the petitioners, although the opposing towns made a concerted defence. It was, perhaps, in connection with this case that Malden at a meeting, November 20, 1694, allowed Henry Green his charges. "with Lawers and expenses consarning mistick bridg."

⁸⁷ *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (1), 306-308.

⁸⁸ Brooks, *History of Medford*, 64.

⁸⁹ *General Court Records*, vi. 189.

The towns were again unsuccessful before the Court in 1698; and Deacon John Green was chosen, on the part of Malden, to carry out the following vote: —

[May 6, 1698,] *Voted* — That this town will joyn with oborn and Reding jn tryall of law vpon apeall: from y^e jugment of y^e justices of y^e peace: at y^e Court Last held at Charlestown: To y^e next Superior Court or Courts Consarning mistick brigd.

Several ineffectual attempts were made to cast off the burden. At a meeting, April 1, 1702, it was

voted y^t Leu^t Henery Green and Thomas newhall are apointed to Join with oborn and Reding: and y^t they haue full power to agree with medford: as they can Jn Refranc to mistick brig: not Exceeding our proportion to eighteen Shillings p^r yeer: provided Jn so doing: y^e town shall haue an aquitance for euer: for euer hauing aney furthar charg consarning s^d brig:

The proposed agreement with Medford came to naught; and in the following December Isaac Hill and John Greenland were chosen to meet with "oborn And Reding men to consider what to doe in Referanc to mistick brig." "Sarg^t upham & sarg^t dextar" were appointed to the same service in 1714; and at a meeting, held November 29 of that year, it was voted not to raise "15 pounds to pay Towards y^e Rebuilding of mistick brigd."⁴⁰ However, in spite of the opposition of the neighboring towns, the rebuilding was completed and Medford applied to the Court of Sessions for redress. The Court apportioned the charges upon the five towns of Charlestown, Medford, Reading, Woburn, and Malden to the amount of one hundred and thirty-five pounds and three shillings — the proportion of the former town being sixty-four pounds and fourteen shillings, and those of the others seventeen pounds, twelve shillings, and three-

⁴⁰ This was in consequence of the following order of the Court of Sessions:

"[Concord, August 31, 1714.] Prsuant to y^e Return & Motion of the undertakers of y^e Building of Mistick Bridge referring to their provision of Timber Plank and Labour already provided . . . order that there be forthwith raised the sum of Sixty pounds by the Town of

Charlestowne, and paid in p suant to y^e Courts order, and Sixty pounds more to be raised forthwith by the Towns of Woburn Reading Maldon & Medford in equall proportion To say ffifteen pounds to be raised by Each of s^d Towns and to be paid in to y^e Respective Town Treasu^{rs} hands, etc." *Midd. Court Records — General Sessions, in loco.*

pence each.⁴¹ At a meeting, August 8, 1715, Malden voted to raise twenty-four pounds, twelve shillings, and sevenpence "to defrey y^e charg of mistick bridg;" for which the selectmen soon after laid a town rate of twenty-five pounds and sevenpence.

Disputes with Medford and presentments at the Court were not unfrequent during the succeeding years until the early part of 1760, when the town refused to join with the other towns in repairing or rebuilding the bridge; and a committee was chosen to carry the matter before the General Court. At the April session of the Court the following entry was made: —

[April 24, 1760,] A Petition of Joseph Lynde and others, a Committee of the Town of Malden, Setting forth That in the Year 1671. the Great and General Court ordered That Medford, Woburn, Reading and Malden, should Build and maintain the one half of a Bridge, lying on Medford River, and Charlestown the other half.⁴² That the circumstances of said Towns are since greatly alter'd. And Praying that the Town of Malden may be freed from that charge for the future.⁴³

Consideration of the petition was referred to a future time; and notice was given to the other towns, who answered according to their several interests. The reply of Woburn gives in review some of the reasons adduced in the Malden petition. It says: —

1. they say a Considerable part of the Town [Malden] that Improved said Bridg in that Day are since annexed to the Towns of Reading and Stoneham and those are the Persons that mostly vse said bridg: to which by Information their is but two families that is set to Reading from said malden that go ouer said bridg more than one apeace in three year and we are sencable that one half of the Town of malden must of Necessity go the same way to boston that woburn Doth so that if the

⁴¹ Brooks, *History of Medford*, 65.

⁴² This must be an error. There is no notice in the *Mass. Colony Records* of the passage of such an order in 1671. The Council, whose records from 1656 to 1686 are not known to be in existence, may have acted in the matter; but the following extract from the petition of Woburn indicates that a settlement by the General Court followed the order of 1657 which is given in the text, and

appears to correct the error of the Malden committee.

"about the year 1657 The Towns of Charlestown Medford Woburn Reading and Malden were ordered by y^e Court Relateing to the Bridge at Medford as followeth (viz) Charlestown to maintain the Southerly half of s^d Bridge & Medford woburn Reading and Malden the northerly half Equally between them." *Mass. Archives*, cxxi. 369.

⁴³ *General Court Records*, xxiii. 322.

said bridge be not an advantage to the Town of Malden it is No benefit to the Town of Woburn: and as to Woburns being so much Larger then the Town of Malden it Needeth no answer the Tax bill will set that in a True Light

2 The Town of Malden say that the Line being Run between Chelsy and their Town that they haue a Considerable bridg to maintain which bridge as we apprihend is Not So Chargeable to the Town of Malden as a Number of bridges in Woburn.⁴⁴

The reply of Medford was an answer not only to the Malden petition but to those, as well, of the towns of Woburn and Reading, which had also prayed for relief.

To his Excellency Thomas Pownall Esq. Captain General & Commander in Chief in and over his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay aforesaid, the Hon^{ble} his Majesty's Council and House of Representatives in General Court Assembled June 2^d 1760 —

Whereas the Towns of Wobourn, Reading & Malden lately Exhibited to this Hon^{ble} Court by their respective Committees their Several Petitions, requesting your Excellency and Honours, that the said Towns may for the future be freed from any Charge relating to the Maintaining the northerly Half of a Bridge in Medford for Reasons therein mentioned,

In Answer to which Petitions we in behalf of the Town of Medford beg Leave to offer what follows, That is to Say

That by the Acknowledgment of the Petitioners their Predecessors and they have been at the Charge of Repairing & Keeping in good Order Three Quarters of the northerly Half of said Bridge, for more than an Hundred Years past, notwithstanding their frequent applications to the Court of General Sessions, his Majesty's Superior Court of Judicature and this Hon^d Court, to be freed from the said Charge, Yet they at this Time of Day pray to be excus'd from the Charge and Trouble of Maintaining their usual Proportion, Because Say they, the Town of Medford is Enlarg'd and grown much more able than heretofore and also that there was Land Assign'd for the Maintenance and Convenience of each Half of said Bridge also that they are straitned for Room on the northerly Side of the Bridge for Landing Materials for the Repair of the Same, Also that they are at a great Charge in maintaining Bridges, Highways &c; Now granting the Town of Medford is Larger than heretofore, yet our Charges as to other Bridges (excepting the Two over Medford River) are more in Proportion to our Bigness

⁴⁴ *Mass. Archives*, cxxi. 373. The bridge mentioned was that over Pines River below Black Ann's Corner.

we Apprehend than any of the before mentioned Towns — and as to any Lands assigned to the Building or Repairing said Bridge, we know not of any, neither have heard of any on the Northerly Side, neither have we Receivd any more directly or Indirectly than about the Sum of Seventeen Pounds towards supporting the Southerly Half of said Bridge & Causey adjoining, Since a part of Charlestown has been Annexed to Medford, Tho' the Charge we are now Obligated to be at in Order to Rebuild said Southerly Half of the Bridge & Causey will amount to more than an Hundred Pounds as near as we can think — As to Room the said Towns have the same that the Town of Medford has for Landing Materials for Rebuilding & Repairing said Bridge. Moreover, The aforesaid Towns make a much greater Use of said Bridge for Carting &c than the Town of Medford aforesaid does, Who maintain Five Eighths of the Same. Besides we are at the Charge of one Half of the Bridge over the Same River at a Place called the Wears, where it is considerably wider than where the first mentioned Bridge is, the Repairing of which this Year we Apprehend will amount to Twenty Pounds at least to us.

Upon the whole we Humbly Conceive that there is not so much as the Shadow of Reason for the said Towns being Excused from bearing the Same Proportion of Rebuilding and Keeping in good Order the said Half of said Bridge which their Grandfathers readily agreed to do — And therefore Entreat your Excellency and Honours wou'd not Excuse said Towns from bearing the Same Proportion of the Charge of Rebuilding & Keeping in good Order said Half of the aforementioned Bridge but Dismiss their Petitions which Apprehend are vexations —

Your Excellency's & Honours most Obedient Huml Servants

SAM BROOKS
B POOL

FRANCIS WHITMORE
SIMON TUFTS

} Committee
for
Medford.⁴⁵

At the General Court in June a committee was appointed to "take the same under consideration;" but they made no report until April 17, 1761, when the matter was recommitted, perhaps in consideration of a prospect of an early settlement being made between the towns.

At a town meeting, June 30, 1761, Timothy Sprague, Edward Waite, and Stephen Paine were appointed "to act what they think may be most for the towns benefit refering to medford bridge which said towns are in controversy about." The recent annexation to Medford of a portion of Charlestown on the south-

⁴⁵ *Mass. Archives*, cxxi. 371.

erly bank of the Mystic had thrown the bridge and its approaches entirely within the territory of the former town; and it seems to have been considered desirable for several reasons that that town should assume its complete control. Arrangements were made with the neighboring towns; and August 18, 1761, a committee acting for the town of Medford, for sixteen pounds, thirteen shillings, and fourpence, lawful money, paid by the Malden committee, gave a release of "all the said town of Maldons part of supporting said Bridge forever,"⁴⁶ and the controversy of more than a hundred years was at an end.

Mystic Bridge was not the only bridge out of its limits which the town was called upon to assist in maintaining. At a meeting of the selectmen, December 20, 1699, a county rate amounting to four pounds, nine shillings, and threepence was made "for cambridg great bridg and othar County Charges." At the annual meeting in March, 1746/7, no action was taken on a question referring to a charge with Chelsea in repairing the bridge between Benjamin Waite's and David Parker's, and the county bridge over Pines River on the road from Black Ann's Corner to Winnisimmet, sometimes called the Boston Road. The latter bridge, although within the Malden line, was considered of more advantage to the inhabitants of Chelsea and the county of Essex than to those of Malden, and it was sometimes a charge to the former town. A committee was appointed by the Court of Sessions, December 8, 1747, to "view the Bridge in Maldon between Oliver's Farm, and Black Anne's (which m^r Benj^a: Kent inform'd the Court is defective & dangerous)." This committee reported in the following May that they "find the same to lye within the Township of Malden, and to be much decayed, and are of opinion that it be thoroughly repaired as soon as conveniently may be."⁴⁷

Early mention is made of Lewis's Bridge, through which the

⁴⁶ *Malden Town Records, in loco*. The Mystic Bridge was of great importance to all the country above the river. Although it was within the territory of another town, I have considered it of consequence in a history of Malden,

more especially as the annalists of Medford have treated it with slight attention.

⁴⁷ *Midd. Court Records — General Sessions, in loco*.

tide flowed into the meadow of Joseph Hills lying between the Reading Road and Cedar Hill. Pemberton's Creek, or Harvell's Brook, which it spanned, has ceased to be the pleasant stream of yore and has become a dirty ditch by the side of the Eastern Railroad track, and Lewis's Bridge a mere culvert under Main Street. At a County Court, December 27, 1659,

Mauldon being p^resented for a defective Bridge neere to the ordinary are fined two Shill: 6^d & are enjoyned to repayre the same before next Court on Penalty of 40^s & to pay Costs of Court 2^s & 6^d.⁴⁸

The City Hall now stands on or near the site of Abraham Hill's ordinary and the bridge may have been that just mentioned or that which crossed the Three Mile Brook at the junction of the Medford and Reading Roads. Both these bridges are frequently mentioned. They were probably rudely built of logs and so continued many years. John Wilson and Joseph Green, "in behalf of themselves & the rest of the Selectmen of Malden," appeared before the Court, April 13, 1725,

to answer to y^e p^resentment of the Grand Jurors for want of a Bridge. They declare that there is a new sufficient Bridge Erected over the way that is presented. are dismissed paying fees and costs.⁴⁹

The selectmen of Malden had a frequent acquaintance with the Court through the vigilance of the Grand Jury. Two years later they were presented "for not keeping in good repair a Bridge in malden aforesaid commonly called Lewis's Bridge." They failed to appear when cited and a warrant was issued to secure their appearance "to answer their contempt." At the next session they appeared and "do say that the said Bridge is now & has been for sometime in good repair." How they were purged of their contempt does not appear; but it is to be supposed that the Court was satisfied, as they were dismissed after paying fees.⁵⁰

In however "good repair" Lewis's Bridge may have been in 1727, it soon required rebuilding. At a meeting held, December 7, 1738, the town refused to raise money "to defrey the

⁴⁸ *Midd. Court Records*, i. 194.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, *General Sessions*, *in loco*.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, *General Sessions*, April 4, June 13, 1727.

charge that the surveyors have been at in building the new bridge near the meeting hous; " but the next month a more liberal spirit prevailed, and fifty-one pounds, one shilling, and one penny were raised for "building the new bridge near the north meeting house in this town." It was voted, May 19, 1760, to "build anew the bridge called Lewis's and the bridge by mr Jsaac Hills with stones when they need to be rebuilt." Our fathers were not given to haste. Six years elapsed before it was voted, "[May 19, 1766] To Build anew the Bridge at Lewises creek with Stone this Year;" and another year passed before it was decided "That the town will rebuild the bridg by mr Kettles this year and that with stone."⁵¹ That the work in the latter instance was done is evident, as James Kettell was paid in October, 1768, for "a cart to carry stons to build the bridge near his house." When the bridges were rebuilt it was voted, after the usual delay, "[May 18, 1772.] To erect Rails on each Side the two Bridges, near the North Meeting House, for the greater Safety of Travellers."

Other bridges are mentioned. At a Court of Sessions, March 13, 1715, the selectmen were called to answer "for not repairing a bridge over a Brook neer Capt Dexters."⁵² The building of Malden Bridge at Penny Ferry belongs to a later period.

The charges for roads and bridges appear to have been met at times with liberality and at other times grudgingly, although for the most part convenient ways adapted to the prevailing methods of travel were well maintained. In 1705 the selectmen made a highway rate of twenty pounds, one shilling, and six-pence.⁵³ This was hardly adequate to the purpose; for the next year the selectmen appeared before the Court to answer "for the Defect of y^e high way neer Lewisses Bridge, Informing

⁵¹ James Kettell, who added to the calling of a tavern keeper, the office of a deputy sheriff and the trade of a baker, now kept the Rising Eagle, or Hill's Tavern, to which he had recently succeeded by his marriage with Sarah (Haven), the widow of Isaac Hill, the former landlord. The bridge by Hill's, or Kettell's, was near the present southern corner of Main and Pleasant Streets,

the course of the brook having been materially changed within the last forty years.

⁵² *Midd. Court Records — General Sessions, in loco.*

⁵³ This was proportioned to the inhabitants of the north and south sides of Harvell's Brook as follows: to the north side, £12 11s. 7d.; to the south side, £7 9s. 11d.

the Court they are mended.”⁵⁴ In 1707 the appropriation was twenty pounds in money, and the same sum was voted in 1709; but at the annual meeting, in March, 171 $\frac{2}{3}$, it was raised to thirty pounds, “to mend y^e high wais.” During the distress occasioned by the issue of paper money in the earlier half of the eighteenth century, the appropriations varied from time to time as the amounts were fixed in money or the depreciated currency of the several issues. Reduced to twenty pounds in 1715, the amount was raised to one hundred pounds in 1734 and was the same in 1741. For many years, during the scarcity of ready money, much of the highway rate was “worked out” at fixed rates, as in 1750, when the work of a man with a cart and two pairs of oxen, or with one pair of oxen and a horse, was rated at six shillings and fourpence a day. With one pair of oxen and a cart a man could decrease his highway tax at the rate of five shillings and fourpence a day; while the poorer man, who brought his hands alone to the task, received a daily quit-tance of two shillings and eightpence. The custom of working out taxes was not wholly abandoned until within fifty years. Many an old inhabitant now living has wielded the shovel and the hoe upon the town highways in his earlier years.

The closing of even the most important roads by gates was common in the early part of the eighteenth century and in some instances survived to a time within the memory of persons now living. This was necessary to prevent the straying of cattle from the fenced farms into the open roads, whence they might wander into the woods or uninclosed meadows. At first this was done at the convenience of landowners without the intervention of the authorities or the town; but as travel increased and the great inconvenience of frequent gates appeared, it became a question to be acted upon at town meetings and sometimes, even, considered by the County Court. A committee of the Court made a report in 1701 concerning “Gates in Maldon,” by which it appears that they were ordered “to open both wayes Easie for Travailers;” and the petition of the selectmen of Malden, “for the hanging of a Gate neer the

⁵⁴ *Midd. Court Records — General Sessions*, July 9, 1706.

pound by Jsaac Hills," was allowed in 1705.⁵⁵ This gate, not far from the site of the City Hall, may have crossed the Reading Road or closed the way to Medford. The roads at that point were narrow and no indication as yet existed of the present square, which gradually grew by the appropriation of a watering place at the northwesterly corner of the roads.

At the annual town meeting in March, 1708⁹, Leonard Drown and William Teele were allowed to set a gate and fence across the highway "Betwene John willsons and Samuell wayts fence nere the apelltree." They were to pay for "the fede within the sad Gate." The next year this privilege was given to William Teele alone upon the same terms, it being voted that he "may haue y^e feed on y^e Towns land between y^e gate and The landing places [at Sandy Bank.]" In March, 1719¹/₄, he had liberty

To feed or pastor y^e Towns land at Sandy bank: between y^e Gate neer Lewiss bridg and Lannard drowns land this presant yeer provided y^e s^d Teel. doe maintain a gate That Shall hang well a Thwart y^e way whare y^e Gate now Stands.

[March 1, 1713¹/₄,] *vote*: y^t william Teel hes libarty Granted for y^e presant yeer: To jmproue y^e land that lyeth between y^e clay pits and goody drowns fenc for pastoring — and also he may hang agate jn y^e usuall place neer The clay-pits: ⁵⁶

⁵⁵ *Midd. Court Records — General Sessions*, March 18, 170¹/₄; March 13, 170¹/₄.

⁵⁶ John Wilson's land was on the south side and Samuel Waite's land and "the apelltree" on the north side of the way to Sandy Bank at the corner of the great road. The clay-pits were near by. The house of William Teele on the small piece of town land, at the southerly corner of the roads, is the subject of a note elsewhere.

The land and house of Leonard Drown, on the way below the burying ground, were those of Robert Calley, who died February 15, 170³/₄. Leonard Drown married Widow Mary Calley and entered upon the estate of his predecessor; but his occupancy was not of long duration. There is a story of a child put to nurse with the wife of Leonard Drown by Jonathan Sprague, who refused to inform the Court of the names of its father and

mother, and was obliged to give bonds to save the town from charges concerning it. Wyman, *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown*, makes an ugly intimation in respect to its parentage. Drown appears to have left his wife and lived in Charlestown with John Johnson, who married his sister or, perhaps, his daughter by a former marriage. The land was mentioned in 1714 as "goody drowns" and as Calley's soon after. In 1737 widow Drown and Robert Calley, the son, sold seven acres on the south side of the burying ground to John Waite of Lynn. This land afterwards became a part of the Green farm and was known as the John Waite pasture until recent years. While excavations were being made on Converse Avenue, a few years since, indications of a cellar were found, which probably belonged to the Calley house.

This privilege was granted yearly to William Teele, during his life; and after his death it was voted to his widow, Mary Teele, in 1719, when she had liberty "To hang a gate a thort sandy-bank high-way neer her hous, and to haue y^e benefit of y^e feed or paster in y^e burying place."

In 1709 it is recorded that "Seuerall parsons haue desired to hang a gate a cross y^e Town high-way between william waits and dextars Rox: and jt js granted by a vote." The report relating to a road "between James Houes and boston Rhoad," in 1710, was accepted by the town,

provided y^e propriotors of y^e land shall not be compeld To fenc on each side of s^d way but haue libarty to hang and maintain Gates between each propriotars land upon sd way.

The County Court, in 1713, allowed the petition of the inhabitants of Malden

for the Removeing of Three gates standing athwart the highway settled by the Justices of s^d County Anno: Dom. 1710 that lyes on y^e outside of the Towns Land in y^e possession of the minister.⁵⁷

Liberty was given Joseph Waite, in 1714, to hang three gates on the town highways in Scadan: —

one acros The way neer To dextars Rocks, one on y^e way y^t leads Towards Samuel greens, and one on y^e way y^t leads Towards Zachre hills for this presant yeer.

Seven years later Nathaniel Jenkins entered his "decent" against the following vote: —

[March y^e 13: 1720/21] Sam^l wayte — daniel newhall — nath: upham — sam^l newhall — eben upham — eben hils — sam^l Green — And Abraham skiner desireth liberty of The Town To hang foure Gates a thurt y^e Towns high-way: one neer To nath Jenkins — one a thurt y^e way leading to swains pond one upon The line of The sheepastor: and one a thurt The way neer To william prats — The Town hes Granted there desier by A vote att y^e abous^d Meting:

The obstruction of highways by gates was now beginning to be met with disfavor, as appears in the following votes: —

⁵⁷ *Midd. Court Records — General Sessions*, April 14, 1713. The difficulties which attended the removal of these gates from the way between Thomas Skinner's and the meeting house have been noticed.

[May 12. 1738] it was put to vote to see if the town will grant liberty to Joseph Willson to hang a gate for one year near his house upon the town road that leads to wormwood point upon this consideration that said Willson allows the town ten shillings for said liberty and it past in the affirmative

it was put to vote to see if the town will grant any other person or persons liberty to hang and keep up a gate or gates on any other road or roads belonging to the town: and it past in the negative

At the annual meeting in March, 1738⁸/₉, the privilege of Joseph Wilson was not renewed, and the town refused to allow Ebenezer Pratt to close the way to the landing place at Moulton's Island. Wilson either disregarded or disputed the vote of the town; and at a later meeting the interposition of the Court was asked.

[July 5. 1739] *vot* That mr Timothy Sprague shall request in behalf of said town. of his Majesty's Justices of the sessions of the peace to be holden at Cambridge the tenth day of this instant July that there may not be any gate hang across any town road in said town contrary to a vote of the town and to the damage of any of the inhabitants thereof

Timothy Sprague presented his petition and motion to the Court at Cambridge, and the case was referred to the December term. The landowners at Wormwood Point may have had some prescriptive rights which were considered valid. The following petition, which was preferred to the selectmen, indicates fears of "a needless contention:" —

To the Select men of The Town of Malden.

Gentlemen — Whereas at a General meeting of the Inhabitants of said Town, on the fifth Day of July Last Timothy Sprague was Chosen as Agent for said Town To prefer a motion on the Town's behalf To the Court of General Sessions of the peace To be held at Cambridge on the tenth of July last by adjourn' Desiring that the Gate which Joseph Willson Set up On the way Leading To wormwood point might be removed and fearing the Consequence of Involving the Town in a needless Contention, we the Subscribers, Inhabitants of said Town Desir that in your next warrant for a General meeting in said Town you would insert such words as these viz^t that they Give their vote whether they will recall the power Given To Timothy Sprague as agent for the Town of Malden Respecting the removal of Joseph Willsons Gate Standing on

the way Leading To wormwood point, and also whether they will withdraw the motion made by the said Timothy Sprague on the Towns behalf Be fore the Court of General Sessions of the peace held at Cambridge in July Last by adjournment for the removing the said Gate, (which Is Continued Till December Court next.) in Doing which you will we humbly conceive Serve the Interest of the said Town as well as Gratify Gentlemen your Humble Serv^{ts}

Maldin Sept. 25. 1739.

JAMES BARRIT

STOWER SPRAGUE

SAM^{LL} GREEN

SAMUEL BLANCHARD

JOSES BUCKNAM IUN

SAMUEL STOWER

JOSEPH CASWELL

JABEZ SARGEANT

JONATHAN SARGEANT

JOHN GREEN JUN^R.⁵⁸

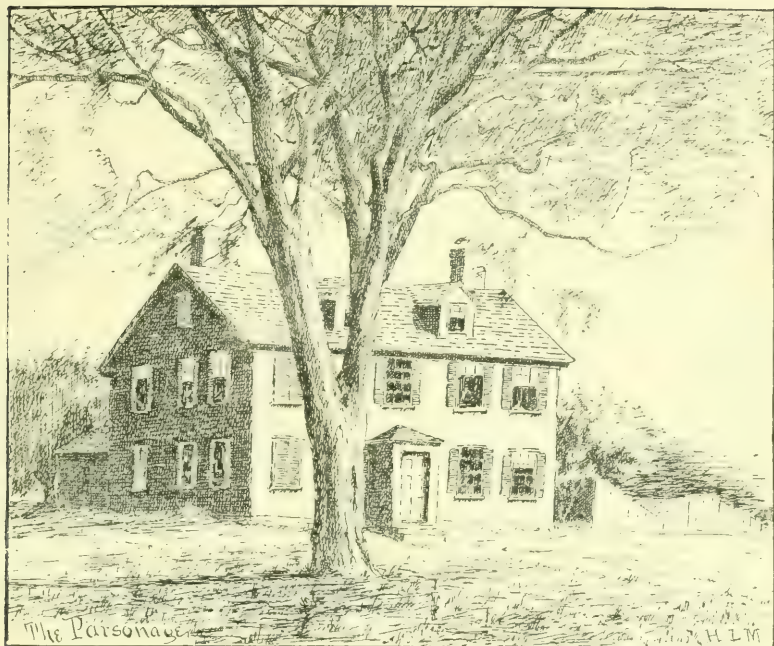
This petition received no favorable attention. The case was continued from Court to Court until May 20, 1740, when the petition was dismissed.

While travelling was entirely on foot or on horseback, the inconvenience of gates was not great; but the gradual introduction of chaises and other vehicles rendered unobstructed roads desirable. Little thereafter appears concerning gates across county and town roads, save on the less travelled ways, where some rights were still granted. At the annual meeting,

[March 4, 1765] It was put to vote to see if the town will give liberty to ~~mr~~ Samuel Green and others to run a fence between ell pond and the high way. provided they leve a convenient way open for watering of cattle at the pond And keep convenient draw bars or a gate for people to pass and repass with their teams in the usual place of their going to and from said pond with their flax. And it past in the affirmative.

Some old gates, doubtless, remained for a while. The way to Wormwood Point was so stopped for many years, and the portion towards the river and landing place gradually merged in the adjoining lands. The road to the burying ground and landing place at Sandy Bank was closed by a gate until nearly the middle of the present century.

⁵⁸ Original MS. in the possession of Artemas Barrett of Melrose, 1866.



CHAPTER XIV.

DAVID PARSONS AND JOSEPH EMERSON.

AFTER the death of Mr. Wigglesworth the spirit of strife revived; and out of the church came discontents and evils, which kept the town uneasy for the next three years. More than four months elapsed after the death of the pastor before any action was taken towards filling his place. Then a meeting was held with the following result:—

[October 24, 1705] The town was warned to Give there concurrence in y^e churches actt In chosing M^r Medceff to be there Minister for five or six months A vote was cald for: and ther came in one and thirty vots for M^r Medceff and not one vote for any other man.

In the face of this apparent unanimity twenty-one persons immediately entered their “decent” upon the record against the action of the town; and in December,

The meting being warned to Raise a suply of money for y^e maintainanc of the misestrey jt was put to vote whether y^e town would Raise

aney money for y^t end And y^e vote past on y^e negative: and nothing was don jn y^t mattar.

That preaching was continued appears from a vote passed at a meeting in the following March, by which Mrs. Wigglesworth was paid four shillings "for her entertaining y^e ministars sinc Mr Wigglesworth deced^d: which is 30 weeks." At the same meeting it was voted "y^t ther shall be 3. 10. 0. money Raised for Mr Metcaf." An additional vote to raise no money for the ministry for the ensuing year was hardly in the spirit of the others.

Meanwhile the church appears to have struggled with the question of a settlement of a pastor; and, having nominated two candidates, Mr. Joseph Metcalf [H. C. 1703] and Mr. John Barnard [H. C. 1700], a meeting of the town was called, May 24, 1706, for an agreement. At this meeting the school-master "natt waite [was] jmproved as a moderator," and Mr. Metcalf had "25 vots for him To be y^e towns minister." To this record the clerk added: "Ther was about twelue men which did enter ther decent a gainst y^e abou s^d choice: namely Isaac Hill Richard pratt Jonathan Sprague Sam^l Sprague Jonathan Sargeant Tho Waite Sen^r: Tho. burditt Sen^r Sam^{ll} Waite Sen^r. Sam^{ll} Waite Jun^r Jacob Wilson John Wilkenson Sen^r Edward Sprague." Finally the meeting passed the following vote, which effectually prevented the calling of Mr. Metcalf or any one else: —

It was putt to vote whether y^e town would Raise aney money to maintain The ministrey among us And y^e vote past on y^e negitiue. The moderator said jt was no vote.

Two months later the town was in better humor, and passed a vote of concurrence, "The Church hauing latly made choice of Mr Jerimiah Wise¹ to be there minister." Whatever action may have followed this meeting, it came to nought, and Mr. Wise went to Berwick. The church made another choice, with a most lame and impotent conclusion. A meeting was warned, November 15, 1706, —

¹ Jeremiah Wise [H. C. 1700], a son was pastor of the church at Berwick of the Rev. John Wise of Ipswich. He forty-eight years.

To se whether y^e town would concur with y^e church jn the Choice y^e haue made of m^r Corwin : y^e maigor part of y^e church with seuerall of y^e town Refused to vote saying y^e proseedings were nott leguall : y^e Rest of y^e town presant brogt jn There votes nonconcurranc for m^r Corwin.²

Three months now passed, and the church again took action ; and the town was called, February 21, 1706⁶/₇, to concur in the choice of Mr. Peter Thacher [H. C. 1706]. The record says : "y^e vots were called for jn and ther was 31 vots which was The maiger part considerable." Matters proceeded so far with Mr. Thacher that a settlement was voted in April as follows :—

Voted That M^r Thacher shall haue fifty pounds per yeare in mony and the use of the parsenag housing and land and a suficent suply of fire-wood lade at his dore and the benifet of Strangres mony all this so long as he carieth on the work of the ministrey amongst us in 'malden.

There are now indications of an open breach between the church and the town. At a meeting of the latter, held June 15, "uotes was called for in and M^r Clape³ was cleary uoted for and chosen to Be this towns minestar in order to setelment ;" and Deacon John Greenland and Corporal Samuel Green were chosen to "lay the townes uote Before m^r Clape." At the same time, the salary and privileges which had been offered Mr. Thacher were voted for the "incoriging" of Mr. Clap, "and it wase a cleare uot ;" and the selectmen were authorized to agree with Isaac Hill and John Green "for the entertaining ministers for time past." No reference was made to the church in this matter, but the fact that the town was choosing a minister was emphasized. This meeting was apparently held under the pressure of an indictment by the Grand Jury, which hastened the independent action of the town ; but it was barren of results, and Mr. Clap's prospective settlement promised no better end-

² George Curwen, a native of Salem [H. C. 1701], and afterwards minister of the First Church in his native town. He married Mehitable Parkman, a granddaughter of Captain John Wayte, and was father of Samuel Curwen, the noted loyalist, whose diary and letters, illustrating the days preceding the Revolution, form a volume of value.

³ Probably Nathaniel Clap [H. C. 1690], a native of Dorchester, who, without a church, was then preaching at Newport on Rhode Island, where he commenced in 1695, continuing his labors in the midst of difficulties and trials until 1720, when a church was formed and he became its pastor.

ing than the others. The County Court, which met at Charlestown in July, applied the spur to the dilatory town by the following order: —

The Court on Consideration that the Town of Maldon who notwithstanding they haue been p^resented for y^e want of a Settled minister according to Law & also haueing been Strictly ordered by y^e Court to whom they were p^resented to prouide y^m Selues of [a] Settled minister, are yet without a Settled minister The Court order that they forthwith prouide y^m Selues of a Settled minister by y^e next Quarter Sessions for Midd^x, or the Court will proced wth them according to y^e late act of y^e Province for maintaining and propeating Religion by Entering theire Complaint to y^e Generall assembly, y^t so they may be proceeded wth according to y^e Seuerity of Said act.⁴

In consequence of this order, the selectmen appeared at the Court, September 9, and “made answer y^t they haue applyed them Selues to m^r Clap and are waiting for his answer.”⁵ Three weeks later they again appeared before the Court,

Informing y^e Court that they haue been p^rsueing theire call to m^r Clap and a few days since Receiued his Answ^r in y^e Negatiue, and praying the Courts favo^r for a little longer tyme to proceed to apply to another in order to Settlm^t.⁶

A meeting of the town was held, October 3, being “warned By order of the selectmen,” and twenty-five pounds, in money, were raised for the ministry for six months. No action towards a permanent settlement was taken until November 24, when a public meeting was “warned by order of a Justes of the peace,” and the town, by a vote of forty-one in the affirmative and none in the negative, concurred with the church in the choice of Mr. Nathaniel Gookin [H. C. 1703]. A settlement was voted by which he was to have a yearly salary of sixty pounds, the use of the parsonage, and the “naked money that comes in to the Boxe.” This action the selectmen duly reported to the Court, saying, —

that they haue had a generall meeting of the Town and are in a hope full way of being Supplied, haueing applyed them Selues to m^r Gookin, and are waiting for his Answ^r.⁷

⁴ *Midd. Court Records, — General Sessions, July 1, 1707.*

⁵ *Ibid., Sept. 9, 1707.*

⁶ *Ibid., Sept. 30, 1707.*

⁷ *Ibid., Dec. 9, 1707.*

The application to Mr. Gookin had no better issue than the others. Preaching was continued, apparently without interruption. At a meeting held January 26, 170 $\frac{7}{8}$, Isaac Hill, the innholder, was allowed two shillings and ninepence for each Sabbath that ministers were entertained at his house, "except Mr Tufts days that he preached;" and it was further "*uoted* That the minesters shall Be intertained at John Greens house — whilst the Town meating in March next."

The next candidate was Mr. Joseph Parsons [H. C. 1697], who was the choice of the church and received forty votes, with none dissentient, at a town meeting, February 6, 170 $\frac{7}{8}$. He was offered the salary and privileges that had been offered Mr. Gookin; and a committee of six was chosen to confer with him. Lieutenant Henry Green, who was a selectman and had been moderator of the meeting, reported to the Court that "they are in p'suance of a Compliance wth m^r Joseph Parsons who hath taken the matter into Consideration, and they are waiting for his answer."⁸

The result of the "consideration" of Mr. Parsons was not favorable and the spring and summer passed without a settlement. The town raised sixty pounds, money, for the support of the ministry during the year, and passed several votes relating to the care of the transient supplies and candidates which the church procured. It was "*uoted* That the menister shall Be intertained at john Greens sener his hous;" and soon after, a claim of Isaac Hill for a like service at the rate of three shillings for each day was refused; but he was allowed two shillings and ninepence a day as before, "except m^r Tufts and for his entertainment o-1^s-6^d per sabbath."

Meanwhile the affairs of the church and town became more unsettled and the divisions increased. So hopeless was the outlook and so far it seemed from any change for the better, that in September Lieutenant Henry Green and John Green, two of the selectmen, threw themselves and the town upon the judgment of the Court; and the Court, acting with promptness, made a settlement of the affair at once.

⁸ *Midd. Court Records, — General Sessions, March 9, 170 $\frac{7}{8}$.*

L^t Henry Green and Jn^o Green of maldon appearing in Court to Inform the Court referring to their Providing them Selues wth a Settled minister p^suant to the order of y^e last Sessions, Informed the Court, that they haue had Seuerall meetings of the Church and one of the Towne in order to y^e accomodateing that affaيرة referring to a minister, but can make nothing take effect, but yet are in a verry unsettled and Divided frame, and So like to Continue and leaue them Selues to the pleasure of y^e Court

The Court haueing from Court to Court in their Seuerall Respective Sessions for a long time p^suant to y^e Directions of an act for Settlm^t of ministers called the Town of Maldon before them to answ^r to y^r p^sentm^t by y^e Grand Jury for being without a Settled minister according to Law, and haueing passed seuerall orders upon y^e s^d Town to provide them Selues of an orthodox minister and to make their Return of their doings therein to y^e next Courts of Sessions. all which orders proveing Ineffectuall, and they Still so continueing and like so to do being in an unsettled and Divided frame and Leaving them Selues to y^e Court for to use their pleasure wth them as to that affaيرة. The Court Do unanimously agree and Conclude as followeth That m^r Thomas Tufts is a Suitable p^son qualified as aforesd for the Worke of the ministry in that Town of Maldon, and see cause to Settle him there in that Worke And Do order the Town of Maldon to pay him for his maintenance during his Continuance in s^d Worke amongst them after y^e Rate of Seventy pounds money p^r annum The Same to be Levied upon y^e Respective Inhabitants *etc*⁹

Mr. Thomas Tufts [H. C. 1701] was of the Mystic Side family and, being in some measure a prophet in his own country, may not have been acceptable to the people of Malden. Perhaps his talents were not remarkable; for his appointment by the Court seems to have been the nearest he ever came to a permanent settlement. Thus pushed by the Court and threatened with a pastor not of their choice, the church and town quickly put themselves "in a very hopeful way of a loveing Agreem^t." The following record of the town meeting and the accompanying petition to the General Court tell the story in a quaint and not uninteresting manner:—

October

27: 1708 A publick Town meting Lef Henry Green moderater In order to the Townes concorance with the Chirch in Thare Choyse

⁹ *Midd. Court Records, — General Sessions, Sept. 14, 1708.*

of m^r dauid parsons to Be the towns minester in order [to] setelment and uotes was called for to Be Brat in for that purpos and thare came in 53 uotes for m^r dauid parsons to Be the towns minester in order to setelment And thare came in none to the contary

uoted That the Town will alowe m^r dauid parsons for his incorigement 60 pounds per year in mony and the use and benifet of the partineg and the town to put the partineg in Repair and all the naked mony that comes in to the Box so longe as he setells heare and contineues in the worke of the minestary amount us here in malden

uoted Lef Thomas newhall Edward Sprague Sam^{ll} Green sen and Ensin phinas upham To Goe to se to Gite apotion draue to present to the Gererall Corte for the taken of the quarter sessions order consarning m^r Thomas Tufts Being the minester of malden

A true Cope *Attest* JOHN GREEN *Town Clark*

JOHN FAUSDICK

BENJAMIN WITTEMOR

NATHANIEL WAITE

SAMUEL BUKMAN

SAMUEL WAIT JUNIER

THOMAS OAKS

EBENEZER HILLS

JOHN LINDS JUNIER

JOSEPH WAITE

PETER TUFTS

WILLIAM WAITE

LEMUEL JENKINS

Wee aboue named enter our desents because we doe conceive here is a contempt of the authority

2 : we are not able to maintaine two ministers

We aboue named du anter our decents a gainst your procedens this day becos we doue con ceue it tis a contemp of a authority and we dou thnk we are not abl to mantain two minesters at once.¹⁰

To his Ex^{cy} Joseph Dudley Esq^r. Cap^t. General & Govern^r in Chief, etc. . . . in General Court Assembled y^e 20th of October 1708.

The Petition of Thomas Newhall, Edward Sprague, Samuel Green & Phineas Upham, In the name & by Appointm^t of y^e Town of Malden May it please y^r Ex^{cy}
& this Hon^{ble} Assembly.

The Church & Town of Malden ever Since the Death of the Revnd M^r Wigglesworth their late Pastor about Three years Since have wth all manner of Application Endeavoured a New Settlem^t of the Ministry among them, and given an Invitation to Several worthy Gentlemen to

¹⁰ *Mass. Archives*, xi. 276. The "document, a copy of which is entered in the cent" appears to be the original document, a copy of which is entered in the town records.

Preach wth them for a Taste of their Gifts in Order to a further proce-
 dure but have been Obstructed of Obtaining their desire by some few
 of their Brethren Neighbours laying Discouragements in y^e way. And
 the Town have been under presentm^{ts} fore being Destitute of a Minis-
 ter, Altho Her Ma^{ty}s Justices have been Indulgent to them from time
 to time Adviseing them to a good Agreeem^t among themselves But fin-
 ally in Sept^r last appointed a Minist^r One M^r Tufts to come to them,
 some time before w^{ch} the Church had made an Jnvitation to One M^r
 David Parsons then at Long Jsland, who so far Accepted thereof, as to
 come down thereupon. And the last Lords day Visited & preached to
 them part of the day, being the first Sabbath of M^r Tufts preaching, &
 on the Munday following the Church met, And gave a Call to M^r Par-
 sons, their being Thirty one Voters present, of w^{ch} he had the Votes of
 Twenty Six, the others not Voting at all, and on y^e Wednesday after,
 the Town met & pass'd a Vote in Concurrence wth the Churcn by Fifty
 three Votes, w^{ch} is by far the greater p^t of the whole Town there being
 but Twelve that has descedent. They have Also Treated wth M^r Par-
 sons ab^t Maintenance, so that both Church & Town are in a very hope-
 ful way of a loveing Agreeem^t & good Settlem^t of a Minister of their own
 Chuseing to Mutual Satisfaction.

We Therefore humbly pray That this Hon^{ble} Court would be pleased
 to Direct That the afore recited Order of the Quarter Sessions may
 [be] Surperceded set aside & made Void

And Yo^r Pet^{rs} as in Duty bound Shall every Pray &c.

Boston Oct^r 28th 1708.

THO NEWHALL
 EDWARD SPRAGUE
 SAMU^{EL} GREN
 PHINEHAS VPHAM

28th Oct^r 1708 In Council

Read and Ordered That the Prayer of this Pet^{on} be Granted, so far
 that the Order of the Court of Sessions be Stayed until the Issue of the
 affair referring to m^r Parsons. *Sent down for Concurrence*

JS^A ADDINGTON Secry.

*In the House of Representatives Octo^r 29th: 1708 Read and Pass'd
 a Concurrence*

THOMAS OLIVER *Speaker*.¹¹

Mr. Parsons was apparently not immediately ordained; nor
 does an agreement with him appear to have been made without
 considerable deliberation on the one part or the other. At the
 annual meeting in March, 1708⁶, John Pratt and Joseph Green
 were allowed forty shillings "to Beare thare charges in thar

¹¹ *Mass. Archives*, xi. 275.

uiouge of fetching m^r parsons from Spring fieelde;" and it was "noted That the Town will Alowe m^r parsons 20 coard of wood per year and yearly so Longe as he cares on the worke of the ministry Amonght us And the wood to be Lade at his dowr." In April Jacob Winslad was allowed eighteen shillings for "y^e hier of his hors to Spring-feild to fech m^r parsons." In October a vote was passed by which his year was made to begin on the first of April, and his salary was to be paid in half-yearly instalments. It is probable that he was ordained during the early summer of that year, as in May, 1721, he stated that he had "served in the work of the ministry for near 12 years past."

David Parsons, the successor of Michael Wigglesworth, was a son of Joseph Parsons of Northampton, where he was born, February 1, 1679/80. His social position or lack of scholarship placed him at the foot of his

David Parsons

class at Harvard College, where he was graduated in 1705. His elder brother, Joseph, was among the early candidates for the pastorate, after the death of Mr. Wigglesworth, whose settlements failed. Well would it have been with the church and town had the "affair" with the younger brother failed as well. Of his talents as a preacher nothing is known. As a man he was eccentric and quarrelsome; and his strong passions were such as were neither of advantage to himself nor conducive to the peace of the church and community. His labors in Malden do not appear to have been altogether peaceful, although he remained here about twelve years. He was not a man to consider the circumstances of his people nor to share with them in their misfortunes, as Mr. Wigglesworth had so readily done; but he appears to have been ready to drive a sharp bargain and to insist on its fulfilment to the last condition.

His salary, which had been fixed at sixty pounds, was changed in 1711 by the allowance of eight pounds in money instead of twenty cords of wood, and so remained through his pastorate. Apparently it was not paid with great punctuality; for in October, 1718, he receipted upon the town record for payment "Jn

full for y^e money past for my saruic jn y^e ministrey jn malden jn y^e year 1717." In 1720 his complaint was met by the town as follows:—

[May 16, 1720] Whar as m^r dauid parsons had latly complained Tha^t his sallarey Js not so Good by A third as jt was when he first settled heer: Therefore jt was putt to vote whether The Town will alow m^r parsons one Third more jn prouinc bils And they That are of that mind should bring jn ther minds by papars:— And they that Are of a contrary mind should bring jn non-con-curranc.

And The vote past on y^e negitiue:

A second and a third complaint of a like character were of no avail, and the town steadily adhered to its refusal to add to the salary of its pastor. Mr. Parsons here distinctly showed his aggressive and uncompromising character; for while demanding an increase of salary, which might readily have been granted under different circumstances, he was driving the town at the County Court for "neglect to fullfill and p^rform Their Contract & agreement." The town was inclined to do neither until compelled. At the Court, June 14, 1720, Lieutenant Thomas Newhall, Captain John Dexter, John Pratt, and John Green, "all of y^e Church of Maldon," were admitted in behalf of Mr. Parsons to prosecute his complaint against the town, which was represented by three of the selectmen, John Wilson, Jonathan Sargeant, and Daniel Floyd. A jury found the town guilty, but judgment was deferred until a committee could visit Malden. When the committee reported in July, judgment was entered; and it was ordered "y^t the said Select men of Maldon Do pay as a fine to y^e King y^e sum of Ten pounds, unless they Do shingle the Barn, and Repaire y^e House and fences." At the end of August the selectmen reported that they had complied with the order of the Court, and the case was dismissed.

It cannot be supposed that great harmony existed at this time, especially when the characters of both parties are considered; nor could there have been any prospect of a settlement aside from a dissolution of the ties which bound them together as pastor and people. The records of the church for this period are not extant; but the town records indicate that a council of

neighboring churches was called in the winter or spring of 1721, which recommended a separation. An entry in the Leicester town records confirms this and shows that the council was held prior to March 30 of that year.¹² The departure of Mr. Parsons had not at this time been determined, but it was evidently thought of as desirable and not at all improbable. Votes passed in relation to a provision for the ministry and "y^e contribution jnto y^e box," at a meeting held March 29, were to take effect only "when m^r parsons doth quit y^e pulpit" and "when m^r parsons leaueth This Town." A little less than seven weeks later, the following entry was made: —

[May 15, 1721.] It was put To vote whether y^e Town will Giue m^r parsons five pounds for what he hath disburst upon y^e parsonage provided he doth now quitt his pastorall office in this Church and jt past on y^e afirmatiue :

voted That Three pounds shall be aded to y^e five pounds upon The abousd conditions — And m^r Joseph line doth promis upon his word jn The presants of This meting That this Town shall not be: charged with y^e said Three pounds.¹³

On the same day Mr. Parsons entered the following acquittance upon the record: —

These may signifie to all persons concerned that J the subscriber having served in the work of the ministry for near 12 years past & the Town of Malden being under obligation to me upon settlement J do now upon the towns paying of me acording to agreement in time past till the 21 of May current J relinquish all their former obligations to me having asked of the Church a dismission from my pastoral relation among them (according to the direction of the late council) & the Chh also having granted it Malden, dat y^e 15 of May 1721

DAVID PARSONS

Meanwhile Mr. Parsons had secured a settlement in the new town of Leicester, of which he became the first pastor. His

¹² Mr. Parsons was in waiting at Richardson's tavern in Leicester while that town was considering the question of his settlement.

"[March 30, 1721] Mr. Parsons being called in, it was desired that he would show how far his way was clear to leave

Malden; upon which he produced and read the judgment of a council of clerks favoring his remove." Washburn, *Historical Sketches of the Town of Leicester*, 77-78.

¹³ Joseph Lynde paid the promised sum to the town treasurer in December.

brother, Joseph, although not a resident, was a large landholder in Leicester; and several of his Malden parishioners had removed there and were numbered among its original settlers. Among them were Captain Samuel Green,¹⁴ a grandson of Joseph Hills, who became the Nestor of the new settlement, John Lynde, a son of Captain John Lynde, Thomas Newhall, a son of Lieutenant Thomas Newhall, and others who carried the family names of Malden into the woods of that section, where they flourished and, having subdued the wilderness, after many

¹⁴ The story of Thomas Green, a son of Captain Samuel Green, illustrates the old times and shows the difficulties which attended a removal, for even so short a distance, in those days. A family may now go beyond the Rocky Mountains with more of ease and comfort than they experienced who moved from Malden to Leicester in the early half of the eighteenth century.

"His father came to Leicester as early as 1717 and was one of its first settlers. While he was preparing to remove his family, he visited the town, bringing his son with him; and left him there to look after some cattle, which he had driven from Malden, and turned out upon his lands in Leicester. It was summer; and, as he expected to return in a short time, no danger was apprehended in leaving the young man—then seventeen or eighteen years old—thus alone in the wilderness. He, however, was soon attacked with a fever; and his father was unexpectedly prevented from returning as he had intended, and he was left to battle with the disease as he best could. His only shelter was a kind of cave under a rock, near the stream on which his father afterwards erected his mills. His only sustenance consisted of the milk of one of the cows, which he contrived to obtain by tying her calf to a tree near his cave; which led her to visit the spot several times a day, and brought her within his reach. The water he used he obtained by creeping upon the ground to the stream. In this deplorable condition, some of his former neighbors who were landholders, and about to remove to

Leicester, and had come there to look after their cattle, found him. He appealed to them for aid to return home; but they were unable to afford it and left him. On their return to Malden, they informed his father of his condition; and he immediately came to his relief. But he had no other means of removing his sick son through the new and (a considerable part of the way) wilderness country between Leicester and Malden, except on horseback; and after four days' travelling, he accomplished the journey." Washburn, *Historical Sketches of the Town of Leicester*, 112.

Greene, *Descendants of Thomas Green*[e], 22, says, that a fever sore added to his troubles and reduced him "to a state of great weakness." He "made use of different roots which fell in his way as medicine;" and his courage "sunk for the first time, when the two neighbors of his father's refused to take him home with them. He wept at their unkindness."

Thomas Green afterwards practised the science of medicine with great success, having acquired its principles from two surgeons who had been in service among the buccaneers. He added the duties of a minister to those of a physician, and became the pastor of a Baptist society in Leicester, which under his care became large and flourishing. His son, his grandson, and great-grandson were eminent physicians. The latter, the late Dr. John Green, gained a wide reputation in his profession and was the founder of the Free Public Library of Worcester.

years still remain.¹⁵ That town had voted as early as November 28, 1720, "that Mr. David Parsons be our Gospel Minister." Two days later Thomas Newhall and five of his brethren addressed a letter to the Malden pastor, extending him a call, "if God in his providence should remove you from your uneasiness and difficulty." This letter and those which followed show to excess "the style, the cant and abject servility that, in those days, were felt and used towards a minister."

We cant but see we are utterly unworthy of so great a Blessing ; but if you have such a Blessing to bestow on us, as we hope you will be, We desire forever to praise his name for his Goodness to us ward.

He was offered forty acres of land, sixty pounds as a settlement and a yearly salary of sixty pounds ; but he " hesitated or declined giving a decisive answer." If he was haggling with his new admirers, he showed himself to be a good judge of the situation ; for they advanced the offer to a settlement of one hundred pounds and a salary of seventy-five pounds, which the town confirmed by a vote, March 30, 1721. He was installed September 15 following.

The people of Leicester were probably more unable than unwilling to pay the salary of their pastor promptly ; and their historian says, "they found they had caught a tartar." They began to enjoy, in all its fulness, the " Blessing " which they had craved, and the fourteen years of the pastorate of Mr. Parsons were a period of bitter strife. The feeling of the inhabitants was well indicated in a vote which was passed in January, 1726 $\frac{7}{8}$, — "That the town be willing that Mr. Parsons should remove and remain out of this town." In January, 1728 $\frac{9}{10}$, it was voted, "That we are willing he should leave the town, but shall not

¹⁵ The removal from Malden to Leicester was quite an extensive one for those days, especially for the little community from which it took a number of young and enterprising men and women. It continued nearly a quarter of a century, as from time to time a Leicester man would find a wife among his relatives and friends in Malden or a Malden youth would be attracted by a Leicester maiden. Besides those named in the

text, individuals of the families of Call, Hasey, Mower, Nichols, Richardson, Sargeant, Sprague, Stowers, Upham, Waite, and Whittemore became inhabitants of Leicester. Most of them had large families, whose descendants in many cases still occupy the lands of their fathers. Others, like the Sargeants and Whittemores, became successful manufacturers and carried their enterprises abroad into other states.

raise [*that is, pay*] his salary." They voted him out, but he remained. He would not be driven nor coaxed. In short, he took the reins into his own hands, and sought to drive the town as he would. Lawsuit followed after lawsuit. The people were divided; and the scandalous quarrel was maintained for nearly eight years, when an ecclesiastical council cut the knot and the contentious minister was dismissed.¹⁶

The deposed pastor carried the desire for strife into his retirement, commencing two actions against his former parishioners in 1737; and the curse which went with him through life might almost be said to have followed him to an unhonored grave. He died in Leicester in 1743, bearing, even unto death, his hatred of those who once prayed for his coming. He directed that his body should be buried in the centre of a field upon his own land, "unwilling that his ashes should repose by the side of those with whom he had broken the consecrated bread." The mound beneath which he was laid to rest was long since broken by the plough and obliterated; and the stone which alone remained, as his dishonored memorial, was used as the cover of a chimney ashpit. Fortunately, it was placed with the inscription downward, so that with difficulty it was afterwards found to read, with sarcastic grace, as follows: —

In memory of
Rev. Mr. DAVID PARSONS
who after many years of
Hard Labour and Suffering
was laid here
Oct. 12. 1743
aged sixty-three.¹⁷

¹⁶ Cf. Draper, *History of Spencer*, and Washburn, *Historical Sketches of the Town of Leicester*. From these works, which are my authorities in relation to the connection of Mr. Parsons with Leicester, I have made liberal quotations.

¹⁷ Mr. Parsons m. Sarah Stebbins, and had the following family in Malden: —

Sarah, d. June 8, 1709.

Sarah, b. July 25, 1710.

David, b. March 24, 171½.

Israel, b. April 8, 1714; d. soon.

Israel, b. December 28, 1715, who may have been that Israel Parsons of Leicester who m. Hannah Waite of Malden, January 9, 175¼.

Widow Sarah Parsons died at Leicester, June 17, 1759, aged seventy-three.

Their eldest son, David, was graduated at Harvard College, 1729, and was ordained as the first pastor of the church at Amherst, November 7, 1739. He inclined to Toryism; and his townsmen

The church and town were not long in filling the place made vacant by the departure of Mr. Parsons. They very soon concurred, on the same day, in the choice of one who, like Michael Wigglesworth, was to remain with them during a long life. Useful and benignant was that life from its beginning to its close, and filled with gentle influences.

At a meting of y^e brethren of y^e church jn malden on y^e 20: of June 1721: jn order To chuse a minister: The vote run thus
Jf jt be y^e minds of y^e brethren of y^e church: that Ther shal be a minister chose at This Time jn order To setlement, bring jn your vots for The man you would haue. And m^r Joseph Emerson was chose by a cleier vote to be our minister jn order To setlement.

And The jnhabitants of y^e Town did Giue There concurrence jn y^e churches choice jn a Town-meting on y^e same day They being warn^d To mete for y^e end:

A settlement of sixty pounds was granted; and a yearly salary of one hundred pounds was voted, with the use of the parsonage and ministry lands "so long as m^r Emerson continues Jn y^e work of The ministrey amongst us jn This Town."

Joseph Emerson, the son of Edward Emerson,¹⁸ was born at Chelmsford, April 20, 1700. He was a grandson of the Rev.

Joseph Emerson, the first settled minister of Mendon, and his wife, Eliza-

Joseph Emerson

beth, a daughter of the Rev. Edward Bulkley, and a granddaughter of the Rev. Peter Bulkley, the second and first min-

in 1777 voted that the conduct of Mr. Parsons was offensive. However, they paid his salary until his death, January 1, 1781. He was spoken of with respect by those who knew him. His son, the Rev. David Parsons, D. D., succeeded him in the ministry. Cf. Holland, *History of Western Massachusetts*, ii. 166; Boltwood, *History of Hadley*, 415; *American Quarterly Register*, x. 265; and Dickerman and others in *Anniversary of First Church in Amherst*.

¹⁸ Edward Emerson was a grandson of Thomas Emerson, the baker of Ipswich; was born about 1670, and married Rebecca Waldo, a daughter of Dea-

con Cornelius Waldo of Ipswich and Chelmsford. He removed from Chelmsford soon after the birth of his son, Joseph, and was of Charlestown in 1704, where he was a justice of the peace and a merchant. He is supposed to have left Charlestown about the year 1707; and he is next found at Newbury, where he was a deacon of the Fourth Church. Late in life he appears to have removed to Malden, where he died "very suddenly," May 9, 1743. His widow died April 23, 1752, at the age of ninety years; and both lie buried in the field at Sandy Bank.

The good qualities and abilities of

isters of Concord. His record presents few or no points to interest the careless reader; but they who love to hear of the simple, earnest, and faithful lives of the clergy of the provincial period will find much that will refresh them therein. He appears to have been nurtured in the midst of the strictest Puritanism and to have taken it in at every mental pore, until his whole life was tempered by it. Said his son, speaking after his father's death: —

It pleased the sovereign spirit of God early, very early, to sow the seeds of grace in his heart. By a blessing upon the endeavours of his pious parents, he might be said to fear the Lord from his childhood, and to be acquainted with the holy scriptures from his youth. If I do not misremember, he was able to pray in the family, in the absence of my grandfather, before he was *eight years* of age, to the edification and astonishment of those who attended on the exercises of the family. As he grew in years and stature, he grew in favor with God and man. He was admitted into college when he had but little more than finished his *thirteenth year*, out of which he came with an unspotted character. He early devoted himself to the gospel-ministry, and directed his studies this way; and began to preach before he was *eighteen*, to general acceptance. It was not long before he had a unanimous call to settle at Wenham, which call he tho't it his duty to negative; and took up with the invitation of the people in this town, to give himself to the service of their souls, and was solemnly set apart to this work Oct. 31st. 1721, in great love, peace, and unanimity, while he was yet not *twenty-two years* of age.¹⁹

He was graduated at Harvard College in 1717, standing the ninth in a class of seventeen, and spent the four years pre-

the Emersons came as well from the maternal Bulkleys as from the paternal Emersons. The patience of Edward Emerson is remembered in a family tradition; and, by inference, he possessed the virtue of self-control. A story of the one time when he failed is given in Holmes, *Ralph Waldo Emerson*, 8.

¹⁹ I quote here and in other places from the sermon preached by the Rev. Joseph Emerson of Pepperrell, at Malden, after the death of his father, which is my sole authority for the character and early life of Mr. Emerson. A por-

tion was published with the following title-page: —

"An | Extract | from a late | Sermon
| on the Death of the Reverend | Mr.
Joseph Emerson, | Pastor of the First
Church in Malden, | Who Died very
suddenly, | On Monday Evening July
13th, 1767. | In the 68th Year of his
Age. | Delivered at Malden, | By Joseph
Emerson, A.M. | Pastor of the Church
at Pepperrell. | Zech. i 5. *Your Fathers
where are they?* [etc.] Boston:
Printed by Edes & Gill, for Bulke-
ley Emerson, | Of Newbury-Port, |
MDCCLXVII."

ceding his ordination in preaching and teaching at various places.²⁰ Unlike his predecessor, Michael Wigglesworth, he was blessed with a body which was unusually free from infirmities, so that, during a pastorate of nearly forty-six years, he was absent from the pulpit but two Sabbaths. He would have been grieved at some modern innovations in relation to Sunday services, or would have mourned over the decadence of the clergy, who grow faint at the expenditure of one sermon a week. He was a diligent student. "Never was [he] more in his element than when in his study; and [he] gave himself incessantly to reading and meditation. He studied to suit his discourses to the particular circumstances of his people;" and he "was much in the study of the sacred oracles, was uncommonly diligent in his preparations for the public; did not bring you that which cost him nothing."²¹ He was a follower of Calvin, to whose teach-

²⁰ McClure, *Bi-Centennial Book of Malden*, 161, says: "He graduated in 1717, and preached for the first time at a private meeting in Haverhill. The next year he spent in teaching a school in York, Me., occasionally preaching. The next year he kept a school at Newbury, and spent the winter after in preaching at Kingston. In July, 1719, he desisted from teaching, and went to reside with his uncle Waldo, at Boston. Here he continued, preaching in different places till March, 1721, when he was invited to Malden."

The authority of Dr. McClure in these statements appears to have been the diary of Mr. Emerson, from which he quotes in several places. The diary of one like Mr. Emerson, who for nearly a half-century observed and took part in the affairs of the town, promised to be a rich mine of material for the local historian. It appears to have been placed in the hands of the compilers of the *Bi-Centennial Book* by the late Ralph Waldo Emerson, in 1849, and has since disappeared. Earnest inquiries and a careful search, by the family of Mr. Emerson in Concord, and inquiries elsewhere have failed to bring it from its hiding place, if it be still in existence. It is feared that it

was destroyed in the partial burning of Mr. Emerson's house in 1872.

²¹ Mr. Emerson's sermons were carefully written out. An amusing story is told of his father-in-law, the eccentric Samuel Moody.

"When he [Mr. Emerson] took his wife to see her father, he usually spent the Sabbath, and preached for him. He wrote his sermons out accurately, pretty much in full, before delivering them. Numbers of Mr. Moody's hearers were very much taken up with Mr. Emerson's sermons, and ever ready to say, 'Oh! what instructive sermons! — we can learn something from them.' Father Moody found it out, and thought with himself, 'If I should sometimes write a sermon in full, it may be that I shall do good to these people, that I cannot benefit in my rambling way of preaching;' for he wrote but little, and often nothing, for his pulpit preparations. So, for a variety, he wrote a sermon out in full, and began his meeting on the Sabbath, calculating to read it to his people. He proceeded on a while, and then stopped and looked around upon his hearers, and said, 'Emerson must be Emerson, and Moody must be Moody. I feel as if my head was in a bag. You call Moody a *rambling*

ings he was strongly attached; and he strove to "fetch all his doctrines from the Word of God." On the testimony of his son,

He was a *Boanerges*, a son of thunder, to the workers of iniquity; a *Barnabas*, a son of consolation, to the mourners in Zion. He bore his testimony against the prevailing sins of the times and place, left no sin unreprieved in public: those who did sin were *rebuked before all*, nor did he fear the face of any man.

In church government he was tender, unswerving, and impartial, dealing justly and with mercy in his office. A large portion of his pastorate was occupied by the dissensions which were introduced and continued by those who departed to a new church and parish; but his conduct was such as that "he was not reproached by any as being the cause." Aside from his pulpit ministrations, he was the pattern of a New England pastor, seeking out the erring or the troubled souls of his charge, going from house to house bearing the gospel and administering "reproofs, counsels, and warnings."

Integrity and uprightness distinguished his private character. "He had," says his son, "a remarkable tenderness of conscience with respect to truth and righteousness between man and man; and in some instances it seemed to border upon scrupulosity. He was very affable, pleasant and courteous in his whole behavior, to all with whom he conversed. Where he had received injuries, he heartily forgave; nor would he suffer the least shadow of revenge."²² He was known as a friendly and bene-

preacher, and it is true enough; but he is just fit to catch up *rambling sinners*. You are all run away from the Lord.' And on he went in his old way, resolved not to be trammelled at that rate. It was like the coat of mail to David; he had not proved it." Moody, *Biographical Sketches of the Moody Family*, 69.

²² Samuel Dexter, afterwards the revered pastor of Dedham, records in his diary a "falling out" with Mr. Emerson.

"[March 5, 172 $\frac{2}{3}$.] I went to visit Mr Emerson & upon something of Uneasiness y^t had before happened I took

opportunity to have a full & free Discourse; we had it, but with too much heat & passion, y^t Lord forgive my Rashness, & I beg that God would forgive my Antagonist. Oh Let y^t falling out, be but y^e Renewing of Love & y^e perpetual Establishment of sincere friendship. I would be humble before God & I pray y^t God would make me so, for any thing y^t I have done or said Amiss & Unbecoming.

"6. I wrote to Mr Emerson & he wrote to me, & we made up all past difficultys." *N. E. Hist. and Genral Register*, xiv. 35.

volent neighbor, fruitful in charity and alms-giving. To meet the demands of charity and religion he devoted a tenth part of his income; and he "was very exact in keeping the account; wise and prudent in the distribution of it." He was a man of prayer, setting apart "whole days for prayer with fasting;" and never entering upon affairs of importance without seeking the blessing and imploring the guidance of God. "But," adds his son, "was he without failings? No. He had them, he felt them, he lamented them, he got a marvellous victory over them: was ready to confess his faults, and when unguarded words drop'd from him, would ask forgiveness, even of his children and servants." In the eyes of this writer, so often quoted, he bore "the character of the gospel bishop in Paul's epistles to Timothy and Titus, very evidently copied after it, and few came nearer the original."

Mr. Emerson was married, December 27, 1721, to Mary Moody, whose father, the Rev. Samuel Moody of York, was equally celebrated for his eccentricities and his abilities as a clergyman. Before the marriage, a wedding sermon from the text, "In the day of prosperity be joyful," was preached by a relative. The other half of the verse was used on a less joyous occasion. The young couple occupied the "ministry house," which had been the home of Wigglesworth, and gathered around them the little substance which they possessed. It had been put in "Good Repaire" by the workmanship of Joshua Blanchard the housewright and Jabez Sargeant the joiner, at the charge of the town. The following quaint receipt is entered upon the town record:—

These may jnform whom Jt may consarn That y^e parsonage hous
which J doe now dwell jn: jn malden: And also y^e fences That are
about the parsonag land: Are sett jn Good Repaire Acording as This
Town did promis me: when J did setle here jn y^e work of y^e ministrey
— And J doe Resaiue Them so: As wittnes my hand This: 8 of march
1722-3 JOSEPH EMERSON.

Here misfortune found them on the night of July 31, 1724, when the house was burned with the greater part of the library and furniture.²³ Mr. Emerson wrote in his diary:—

²³ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xi. 82.

August 1. Last night, about 10 or 11 o'clock, our house and a great part of our substance was consumed by fire. The Lord help us suitably to lay to heart this awful providence! The Lord affect our hearts with his great goodness in sparing our lives! We have been as brands plucked out of the burning.²⁴

On Sunday, August 2, the Rev. Joseph Sewall preached in the Malden meeting house, and the verse which had furnished the wedding text furnished another for this occasion: "In the day of adversity consider." A week later Mr. Emerson wrote: —

August 9. I preached all day from the latter end of the first chapter of Job. There was a public contribution of the town for us. Many were very kind and bountiful to us. The Lord reward them! It is God that both enables and disposes our benefactors to minister to our necessity.²⁵

The town moved with more earnestness and celerity than usual; and at a meeting held August 7 it was voted "That a new hous shall be beult for y^e use of y^e ministry jn this Town." Five days later it was voted that "the said hous shall be beult 38 foots in Length: — and 19 foot wide — and 16 foot stud: and a Leanto on The back side of 12 foot wide." The sum of two hundred pounds was raised; and John Wilson, John Tufts, Lieutenant Samuel Green, James Barrett, and Benjamin Hills "was chose by a vote: To be of y^e comitie for To manig The afaire of beuilding of y^e parsonag hous for y^e use of y^e ministrey." Lieutenant Samuel Green was chosen treasurer of the fund.

As has already been stated, the new house was placed eight or ten rods north of the site of the old house. The old cellar, in a mound or knoll overrun with wild grape vines and bushes, marked the early home of the Malden pastors for many years, and was finally removed by George W. Wilson, the later owner of the parsonage estate.

There appears to have been a considerable interest felt in the new building, which may indicate the hold which Mr. Emerson was taking upon the hearts of his people. In September John Lynde, Joseph Lynde, and Samuel Newhall, "all farmers," bound themselves in the sum of fifty pounds to "find The stuff

²⁴ *Bi-Centennial Book of Malden*, 191.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

and suficently finish the Chaimbars both out side and inside That are ouer The lento That Joineth To y^e parsonag hous At our one cost and charg." ²⁶ The frame was purchased of John Paine for thirty pounds. The mason work was performed by Benjamin Sweetser of Mystic Side, whose bill, amounting to seventeen pounds and six shillings, is still preserved. Among the items are found the following:—

To making three mantell Trees and geting Chimny	
Stickes	0. 1. 8
To Laying a harth in y ^e bed rome	0. 1. 6
To plastering in y ^e Litell rome	0. 5. 8
5 hund Brick	0. 10. 6
10 Bushell of Lime	0. 15. 0
To Bulding a Stack of Chimnyes	6. 0. 0 ²⁷

The entire cost was three hundred and thirty-five pounds, eleven shillings, and fivepence.²⁸ There is extant a fragment of a report made by the committee. The charge of five pounds for "Raisen of the house" is suggestive. Lemons, sugar, and rum may have crept in to swell the cost under that item.

Malden June y^e 15th 1725

To Y^e Towne of malden. & our charlstown naibours y^t are anexed to us Gentelmen, these are to giue you sum acompt of y^e two hundred pounds y^t was granted towards y^e bulding of y^e ministry hous in malden & how it is disposed of.

Item to y ^e frame	30 - 00 - 00
Item for Cler Bords	24 - 00 - 00
Item for pich pine Bords	12 - 00 - 00
Item to nails	16 - 02 - 00
Item to y ^e carppenders	40 - 00 - 00
Item to Brick	18 - 18 - 00
Item to Lime	06 - 10 - 06
Item to bulding of y ^e chimneys	06 - 00 - 00
Item to glass	25 - 01 - 00
Item to Clabords & Shingels	20 - 00 - 00
Charge of Raisen of the house	05 - 00 - 00
Transporten of bords and shingals and clabords and laths	07 - 11 - 06

²⁶ Original MS., in *Green Family Papers*.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ *Town Records*, February 16, 1727½.

for Labor	17 - 15 - 4
for Timber	04 - 11 - 6
for paint & oyl	00 - 9 - 6 ²⁹

The house was finished by January 5, 1724 $\frac{1}{2}$, when Mr. Emerson, the town having recently added fifty pounds to his salary, moved into it with his young family. Here he continued to reside, and here he died. Here lived Mr. Thacher, and here was born the noble and celebrated Adoniram Judson, during the occupancy of his father. Here lived the succeeding pastors of the First Church and Parish, except the Rev. Eliakim Willis, who remained in the house which was deeded to him by the South Precinct, until the removal of the Rev. Sylvanus Cobb in 1837, when the parsonage and its lands were left by the parish to the disposal of its trustees, and a tenant took possession of the old home of the ministers.

The property had come, in course of time and by the gradual separation of church and state, to be held by the First Parish. Outlays upon the buildings and fences equalled, if they did not exceed, any income which was realized, and its distance from the meeting house rendered it unfit for the purposes of a parsonage. It was voted by the parish, January 13, 1845, "to petition to the Legislature for the right to sell the parsonage Farm belonging to [the] First Parish;" and Benjamin G. Hill, Uriah Chamberlain, and George Winslow were chosen to carry the vote into effect. The petition was granted; and the farm, lying in two portions upon the east and west sides of the road, and including the site of the meeting house of Michael Wigglesworth, was sold for fifty-five hundred dollars to the late George W. Wilson, whose family still occupies the house.³⁰

²⁹ Original MS. in *Green Family Papers*. The following, which is preserved with it, may serve as an example of an ancient *dun*:—

"may 17 = 1727 Lau^t Samauall green Sr be plesed not to forgeet what is Due to me for frating of Shingals for the pasonag house which is on pound five Shilings — 01^r— 05 — 0

Thomas pratt "

³⁰ *Midd. Co. Deeds*, ccclxiii. 427.

The property conveyed comprised eighteen and three-quarters acres and twenty-nine poles. The parcel on the east side of the road was bounded, N., Edward Newhall; E., Peter Tufts; S., Peter Tufts's Lane. This included the house. The other parcel, containing about two and one-half acres, included the site of the meeting house, and was bounded, S.W. and N., Ezra Green; E., by the road.

The old house has been considerably changed from its original condition by additions and improvements, and shows few of the abasing marks of time, which are often brought by many years. It has fortunately fallen into the hands of those who value it above any modern structure which can be built. Its associations and the robe of age, which it wears with dignity, add charms to its possession, and it seems likely to remain for many years.

CHAPTER XV.

CHARLESTOWN NEIGHBORS AND TROUBLE.

IT has been seen how the inhabitants at Mystic Side, or that part of the old town which remained east of the river after the separation of Malden, held a double relation — an ecclesiastical one with the new town, and a political one with Charlestown. Under the influence of the first, their social intercourse, and perhaps their daily business, such as it was, identified them more closely with the former than with the latter town. They received their proportion at the annual town meetings in the distribution of the minor offices of highway surveyors, fence viewers, constables, and tithingmen, and little else. Perhaps they neither desired nor needed more. So it came about that the information which the Charlestown records contain in relation to them is extremely slight and disconnected. It shows a scanty and scattered population, who like their neighbors and brethren of Malden, were working out in a humble way the great problem of human life. If they had little, it was their own; and the years passed over them leaving the second generation as humble, quite as ignorant, and no richer than their fathers.

One of the earliest entries in the Charlestown records relating to Mystic Side, after the division, is in connection with a piece of common land.

28. 12^{mo}. 1653. Tho: Pearce & W^m Baker are apoint^d & desired to veiw y^e ground on Mistick side affore Goo: Barretts¹ doore, as y^e peice of Comon & the Highway thereabouts, & any oth^r ground thereabouts, they are to sett the bounds of the Highwaies, & each peice of Ground on every side & end & to bring report thereof to the Townsmen the

¹ Goodman Barrett, — James Barrett, ent corner of School and Main Streets, — whose house, standing near the pres- in Everett, is elsewhere noticed.

next 7: day come seven night, & they are to desire Edw^d Carrington to helpe them in what hee can Informe them, & they are to vie[w] ground of the town at the upp^rend of his Hay Lotts & to bring report.²

The first month & 31: day 1654.

*The Surveyors:
ord^r: the 28
of the XII month
last . . . make
report of what
Comon patches
of land they
found at
misticks^d neare
James Barretts
house*

Wee whose names are heereund^r written, have accord: to y^e desire of y^e Select Townsmen this yeare have veiwed some Comon ground on Mistickeside, & what wee have found & seene lyeth thus as followeth: one peice of Comon lyeth by James Barretts ground on the East, & on the West the Highway, on the North Bro: Carringtons, on the South the Highway to Winnisemitt, also A little peice of Comon at the upper end of bro: Hutchinson, ground, hee on the West y^e Highway on the North & East, And A Try-

angle point in y^e south; also anoth^r peice, of Comon lying thus to o^r best memory at o^r first laying out, of the Meadows, on the South end M^r Cullick, on the west Tho: Ewar, on y^e North Geo: Hutchinson, on the East side y^e Highway, some oth^r Comon against James Barretts house wee saw there, it was but little, & A Highway was to goe through it, wee lett it alone

THO: PEARCE, W^m BAKER.³

Although the lands west of the North River, comprising the farms of the Rev. John Wilson and Increase Nowell and the long range of common extending to Woburn and Reading, were left to Charlestown, the care or authority of that town over matters there seems for a long time to have been of little moment. It was principally exercised at Wilson's Point in quieting the disputes of the Blanchards and John Guppy, who had divided the Wilson farm which Thomas Blanchard purchased in 1659/4.⁴ In 1661 the selectmen were called to settle the fences at the farm in the possession of George and Samuel Blanchard, and John Guppy, and again the next year. In 1664 the three persons named, "all dwelling at p^rsent on that farme sometime called m^r Willsons farme . . . submit themselues as other inhabitants of the Towne vnto the towne orders &c." On

² *Charlestown Records*, ii. *in loco*.

³ *Ibid*.

⁴ John Guppy had acquired the one-quarter right of Nathaniel Blanchard to the Wilson land, which was bounded on

the north by Nowell's Creek, which now separates Malden from Medford at Edgeworth. The house was afterwards in the possession of Thomas Shepard. Guppy became a pauper.

the same day, the selectmen "ordered the farm at Wilsons" and the highway near the house of George Blanchard. In 1665 the quarrellous farmers again required the interposition of the townsmen, and the fences were again settled between the Blanchards and Guppy. Nor was the matter concluded by a readjustment made the next year; for it frequently came before the selectmen, until 1694, when a committee was appointed to lay out a highway, or locate an old one, at Blanchard's farm, "from Tho^s Shepherd^s house (Alias nath^l Blanchard) to the Covenry road."⁵

The constant disputes at Wilson's Point must have kept the selectmen of Charlestown busy, and the parties there seem to have had a taste for litigation, if we may judge by the frequent appearance of legal cases, as of Blanchard *vs.* Guppy, and others. There was a slight change in the proceedings in 1672, when the selectmen issued an order in relation to George Blancher, "in not providing for his family as also his neglect of Educating his children in the knowledge & feare of God."⁶

After the many settlements of their fences, and the laying out of the road there, the dwellers at Wilson's Point became as peaceable as their neighbors on the other side of the North River.

In 1664 the selectmen made a division of some common land to the Mystic Side proprietors. The list which follows may be imperfect, as the names of two or three at least, who must have been landholders at that time, do not appear.⁷

⁵ *Charlestown Records*, iv. *in loco* [June 25, 1694].

⁶ *Ibid.*, iii. *in loco* [April 24, 1672].

⁷ Perhaps they had already received their portions. Early in 1658 Charlestown had made a division of the extensive commons which remained to that town in the territory now covered by Stoneham and the north-eastern portion of Medford. In this division the inhabitants of Mystic Side, with the exception of Edward Carrington and the Blanchards, appear to have had no part. This was the occasion of the following order, and the later division mentioned in the text was, I think, in settlement of the grievance.

"[¹⁶⁵⁸_{19 October}.] In ans^r to the petition of the inhabitants of Misticke, the Court, having heard what the inhabitants of Charles Toun & Misticke could say, doe determine that the inhabitants of Misticke shall haue halfe proportions wth the rest of the inhabitants of Charls Toun in the commons lately divided at Charls Toun, Misticke Riuer, except Charlstoune leaue the inhabitants of Misticke and theire lands to Maulden, and Maulden accept them to such libertjes of commonage wth them as other theire inhabitants haue." *Mass. Colony Records*, iv. (1), 349.

[November 5, 1664.] The Selectmen meeting with our Inhabitants of Charlestown Dwelling on Mistick side mutually Agreed and ordered for them in thier severall lotts to be Devided as follows :

N ^o					Akers comm.	
1	John Greenland	heads & Estate	vall ^a	180 ^l	22	-04
2	William Bucknam	head & Estate	vall ^a	009 ^l	0 ³ / ₄	-00
3	James Barrett	heads & Estate	vall ^a	162 ^l	20	-03½
4	Edward Barlow	heads & Estate	vall ^a	60 ^l	07	-01
5	Walter Adams	heads & Estate	vall ^a	40 ^l	04	-01
6	Cooch or Wheler ⁸	heads & Estate	vall ^a	46 ^l	05	-01
7	Richard Dexter	heads & Estate	vall ^a	200 ^l	24	-04
8	George ffelch	heads & Estate	vall ^a	200 ^l	24	-04
9	Thomas Witemore	head & Estate	vall ^a	200 ^l	24	-04
10	George Knower	heads & Estate	vall ^a	12 ^l	01	-00
11	Phillip Attwood ⁹	heads & Estate	vall ^a	80 ^l	09	-01½

A little more than thirteen years later, a list of "ye severall famulies," which the appointed tithingmen were to take in charge, gives an opportunity to ascertain the actual number of families seated at Mystic Side. Eighteen heads of families are named, and a few transient dwellers are implied, although not named.

STEPHEN PAINE
and to minde
any p^rsons omitted
in these p^remeses.

Goodm Stowers
Widdo Barrett
Nich: Hooke
Richd Dexter
Thom^s Wheler
Ja Mellens house
Widdo: Lee
Edw^d Barlow
Widdow Bray

PETER TUFTS: SEN^r

George Blancher
Sam^l Blancher
Thom^s Shepard
Goodm Marrable
Dan^l Whittamoar
Walter Addams
Thom^s Michell & w^t
other p^rsons dwell in
their p^remess.¹⁰

⁸ Frances, widow of Isaac Wheeler of Charlestown, married Richard Cooke of Malden, about 1655.

⁹ Charlestown Records, iii. in loco.

¹⁰ Ibid. [April 9, 1678].

An account of the highways at Mystic Side has been given; and it has been seen that several parcels of common land remained for a number of years. They finally disappeared as commons or were granted to various persons, one by one. Of these tracts was that known as the Bull Lots, on the westerly side of Main Street near the present crossing of the Eastern Railroad in Everett. In March, 1679/80, a committee, assisted by Philip Atwood and Stephen Paine, bounded these lots as follows: —

on y^e West End Vpon Rand^s Creeke on y^e East end by afore sd Pain^s ffence. he allowing a Sufficient Cart high way, of two pole wide. through his pasture. & so a long y^e South side of his Orchard, and so a Long y^e Road. y^t ledeth to peny fferry.¹¹

This land was rented to Philip Atwood that year; and in 1689 it was granted to Philip Atwood, Jr., for seven years from July 3, 1688, at a yearly rental of sixteen shillings to be paid in provisions, "as it Can then be bovght for ready money or other wise in Cvrran^t money." These lots were granted or sold and passed out of the possession of the town. As Philip Atwood, Jr., owned land bounded on the west by Rand's Creek, which he conveyed in 1698⁹, his leasehold may have been changed to real ownership.

Another small piece of common land lay on the southerly side of the country road at the South Spring, a portion of which, containing about twenty-six rods, was sold to Joseph Lamson in 1682,¹² and finally became the property of Samuel Stowers, who

¹¹ *Charlestown Records*, iv. *in loco* [March 1, 1679/80.] The cartway through Stephen Paine's pasture may well have been a portion of the present Main Street, north of School Street, in Everett. Rand's Creek still flows, a tiny stream, from the vicinity of the railroad crossing westward to the North River. Sandy Island, which it passes on the northerly side just before it reaches North River, and which in 1898 is a small piece of upland covered with bushes and low trees and surrounded by the salt marsh, was in 1638 a part of the possessions of Robert Rand, whose name is perpetuated by the little creek

which bounded his property. At that time the firm land on the bank of the Mystic River, where the works of the Cochrane Chemical Company now stand, was woodland. There are other islands in the marsh similar to Sandy Island, one of which, probably that on the bank of the Mystic below the mouth of the North River, was known as George Hepburne's Island in 1698. Ferry Island, still distinguishable, furnished a convenient landing place for Penny Ferry; and Call's Island was farther east upon the marsh.

¹² *Ibid.* [April 26, 1682].

lived on the spot, if not in the house, afterwards owned and occupied by Captain Daniel Waters at the westerly corner of the present Chelsea and Ferry Streets. The remainder of the common land at that place, except that around the spring, was leased in two lots, in 1713, to John Brintnall and Samuel Stowers for twenty years.

This Indenture the twenty eight day of may, Anno Domini 1713 and in the Twelfth year of her maj^{ties} reigne, Between Jn^o Brintnall of Charlestown, in the County of Midd^s in New England, Tanner of the one part: and Nathaniel Dows, Treasur^r of the said Town in the name and by order of the selectmen of the said Town on the other part, Witnesseth: That Whereas their is a Small slip of Land belonging to the said Town partly inclosed in and with the lands of the said Brintnall, at or near to a place called South Spring at Mistick side, extending forty foot in the front at the high-way and so running Down towards the marsh ten poles & a half to a stake and so to a point; the line between the said Brintnall's Land and the said slip of Towns land to run parrell and strait with the said Brintnals land or house lott over the way: and the said slip of land being Convenient for the said John Brintnall. Now therfore for and in consideration of the yearly rent and acknowledgement of two Shillings yearly and each year to be paid by the said Brintnall, his heires, &c., unto Nathaniel Dows, Town treas^r, or his successors in his said office, for the use of the said Towne, The said Nathaniel Dows, treas^r as aforesaid, and by order of the select men of said Town as aforesaid, Doth by these presence lett and Grant to the said John Brintnall, his heires, &c., the said slip of Land: and also the Libberty or priviledge of the watter wch shall run through the said slip of Towns-land from south Spring: for and During the Term of Twenty yeares from hence next ensuing to be Compleat and Ended. And I, the said Jn^o Brintnall, Do by these presents for myself, my heires, execut^{rs}, and Adm^{rs}, promise and engage to pay the said yearly rent and Acknowledgements of Two shillings to the said Nathaniel Dows, Treas^{er} or his successors in said office for the use of the Town yearly and each year during the said Term, and at the end of the said Term to yield up and surrend^r the said slip of Land to the possession of the said town. In witness wherof the said Jn^o Brintnall and Nath. Dows, Treas^r have herunto Interchangably sett our hands and seales the day and year above written.

Signed, Sealed, & Deliv^d in p^sence

of us

EDW^d LARKIN,

ELEAZ^R DOWS,

JOHN BRINTNALL,

& seal.

This Indenture made the Twenty eight day of May, Anno Dom: 1713, and in the twelfth year of her maj^{ties} reigne, between Samuel Stower of Charlestown, in the County of Midd^{sex} in Newengland, yeoman on the one part, and Nathaniel Dows, Treas^r of the s^d Town on the other part, Witneseth That Wheras there is a small piece or corner of land : belonging to the said Town Enclosed in and with the land of the said Stowers at or near a place Called South Spring at mistick side Extending Sixty and three foot in the front at the highway : and running Down aboute ten poles and a half on a line to Brintnals and Mellowes lowermost stake : and there to run across the meadow in Spring gutter twenty four foot to an other stake against the said Stowers land : and thence up to a stake by the said Stowers upland and Orchard : and so up to a stake in Spring Gutter at the ffront in the fence Lying between a slip of the Towns land Lett to M^r Jn^o Brintnall and the said Stower's own land : and the said small corner of the Towns land lying and being Convenient for the said Stowers : Now therefore, for and in Consideration of the yearly rent and Acknowledgement of three shillings and six pence yearly and each year to be paid by the said Stowers, his heires, &c, unto Nathaniel Dows, Treas^{er}, or his successors in this said office, for the use of the said Town : The said Nathaniel Dows, Treas^r as aforesaid and by order of the selectmen of said Town as aforesaid, Doth by these presents grant and Lett to the said Samuel Stowers, his heires, &c., the said Corner or piece of Land for and During the term of twenty yeares from hence next Ensuing to be Compleated and Ended, and the said Stowers shall not stop the passage of the Watter in the said land Coming out of South Spring : nor alter or turn it out of the Natural course : And I, the said Samuel Stowers, do by these presents, for myself, my heires, execut^{rs}, & Adm^{rs}, promise and engage to pay said yearly rent and Acknowledgements of three shillings & six pence to the said Nathaniel Dows, Treas^r, or his successors in said office for the use of the Town yearly : and each year during the said term : and at the end of the said to yeild and surrender the peice and Corner of land to the possession of the said Town. In Witnes wherof we, the said Samuel Stowers and Nath^l Dows, treasurer, have herunto Interchangably sett their hands and seals the day and year above written.

Signed, Sealed, & Deliver^d in the

presence of us

JOSEPH LAMPSON,

JOSEPH WHITTEMORE.

SAMUEL STOWERS

& seal.¹⁸

The triangular piece which was leased to Brintnall could still be seen in 1893. It was long known as Blaner's tan-yard, and

¹⁸ *Charlestown Archives*, xxxiv. 225, 226.

later as Joanna Oliver's close. Brintnall was a tanner and used the premises in his business, as did Benjamin Blaney, who purchased both lots of the town of Charlestown in 1727.¹⁴

"White Island and the sedge bank by it," — that island in the Mystic which is now crossed by the Eastern Railroad, was leased to John Sprague in 1697 for seven years, at the rate of twelve shillings yearly;¹⁵ and about the same time, Ferry Island, or that piece of firm land, surrounded by salt marsh, on which the landing-way and other appurtenances of Penny Ferry were situated was granted to Benjamin Sweetser, Jr., for four years, at an annual rental of six shillings.¹⁶ This land, important from its position in regard to the ferry, remained to Charlestown after the annexation of Mystic Side to Malden, and is now the narrow strip by which Boston has a foothold upon the eastern bank of the Mystic.

It does not appear that Charlestown exercised any great care over its dependents across the river, beyond the ordering of roads and fences and common lands, or that much of the common fund was expended for their benefit. Their religious needs were supplied by the Malden church, of which they were a component part; but no provision appears to have been made for the education of their children. If any were made, it must have been slight indeed to have left no indication of its existence.¹⁷ At length, in 1721, it is recorded that "Mr John Tufts made Request of £4 Raised for y^e School mistick side Left to Consid^r;" and, after consideration, perhaps, "John Tufts, Samuel Sweetser & Stower Sprague for Mistick Side" were appointed to agree with a schoolmaster.¹⁸ They agreed with Nathan Bucknam, a son of Joses Bucknam, who had just been graduated at Harvard College, and who taught not only at Mystic Side, but also in Malden under the change which was about to take place.

¹⁴ *Midd. Co. Deeds*, xxix. 250. *Vide* chap. xi. note 25.

¹⁵ *Charlestown Records*, vi. *in loco* [July 6, 1697].

¹⁶ *Ibid.* [April 6, 1697].

¹⁷ "[1718] The sum of three pounds

was voted for a school on Mystic side, and eight pounds for one in the precinct [Stoneham] near Reading." Frothingham, *History of Charlestown*, 249.

¹⁸ *Charlestown Records*, vii. *in loco* [July 3, 1721].

The allowance by Charlestown of a school at Mystic Side, and money for its support appears to have been made under the pressure of an attempt which the inhabitants of the north side, weary of their long continued deprivations, were making for the transfer of their persons and estates to the town of Malden. This movement commenced as early as June 2, 1720, when at a town meeting in Malden,

It was putt To vote to se wher This Town will Joine with our Charlestown naightbours jn petitioning To y^e Generall court for Ther coming of from Charlestown to be one Town-ship with malden acording To y^e warrant: And y^e vote past on the affirmitiue: And That js all y^t dwell on y^e north side of mistick Riuer up To malden line: and from boston line To medford line.

In consequence of the opposition of Charlestown, and perhaps for some other considerations, the application was not immediately successful; but at the session in September, 1723, the petitioners were granted their request in part, and were set off to Malden for specific purposes. In all other respects they still remained a part of Charlestown.

[September 5, 1723.] Penn Townsend Esq^r from the Committee appointed to Consider the Petition of the North Inhabitants of Charlestown made y^e following Report viz^t

The Committee are of Opinion that all y^e Lands & Estates lying & being on the north Side of Mistick River to the South Bonds of Malden & between the bounds of Boston & Medford be Intirely free & exempted from paying Province, County & Town Charges in Charlestown (the Annual Maintainance & Support of the Poor only excepted) & that the said Inhabitants Lands, & Estates be wholly annexd and Joyned to y^e Town of Malden, & to pay their Proportion of all Province, County & Town Charges in that Town (the Annual Support & maintainance of y^e Poor excepted) & Shall be accordingly warned & Summon'd to Malden Town meetings & act as the other Inhabitants of Malden may or Can do, any other or former practice to the Contrary Notwithstanding.

In Council Read and not Accepted And

Ordered That the Inhabitants & their lands & Estates belonging to Charlestown lying and being on the North Side of Mistick River to the South bounds of Malden & between the bounds of Boston & Medford, be sett off from the Town of Charlestown and annexd to Malden, As to the Charge of Supporting y^e Ministry Meeting House, Schools, & School

Houses and the Priviledge of Voting in all matters Relating to the Same.
In the House of Represent^s Read and Concur'd

Consented to, W^m DUMMER.¹⁹

The people of Malden proceeded with unusual alacrity to accommodate themselves to the needs of their "Charlestown naightbours;" and, at a town meeting held November 15, 1723, a school was established at Mystic Side, it being voted "That y^e school shall be kept at Eben^r Sargeants or att Joses bucknams from This Time untill y^e first of march following." At a later meeting John Tufts, Joses Bucknam, Sen., and Samuel Sweetser, inhabitants of Mystic Side, were chosen assessors for "y^e jnhabitants of Charlestown y^t are anexed;" and the selectmen, at a meeting held December 26, adjusted rates with "our charlestown naightbours y^t are latly anexed to malden for y^e support of The ministrey and school."

The inhabitants of Mystic Side now owned divided duties and responsibilities, — ecclesiastical and educational in the town of Malden, and political in that of Charlestown. On questions relating to the former, they acted in the meetings of the younger town; and in elections, in matters relating to the care of the poor, and in other municipal affairs, their votes were cast, if at all, on the farther bank of the river. Assessors chosen from their own number adjusted the taxes which they paid for the support of religion and the school.

There seems, naturally, to have been many inconveniences in such a condition; and the wish for a final and total disunion with Charlestown gained ground. In 1725 William Paine and seventeen others petitioned for a separation, which Charlestown refused.²⁰ The petitioners, however, carried the matter beyond the jurisdiction of the town, and appealed to the General Court. The town of Malden joined in their behalf and took action as follows: —

Att a publick Town meating in Malden December y^e: 10th 1725
Voted, William Sargeant Moderrator. *Voted*. that A Committy shall be Chosen to join with our Charlestown neighbors in y^e preferring apetition to ye Generall Court to se if that part of Charlestown that hath bin

¹⁹ *General Court Records*, xii. 38. ²⁰ Frothingham, *History of Charlestown*, 251.

Lately sett of or anexed to malden by y^e sd Court for y^e suport of the minnistry & Schoole, may now be wholely sett of to be as one with Malden, both they & all y^e Lands that Ly within y^e bounds mentioned in a Late Act of y^e Generall Court Refering to those our Charlestown neighbors.

Jacob Wilson and Jonathan Barrett were chosen, who, joining with Joses Bucknam, of Mystic Side, pressed the application before the Court with the result indicated in the following extracts.

[December 23, 1725.] A Petition of Joses Bucknam of Charlestown & Jacob Wilson & Jonathan Barret of Malden in Behalf of the Jnhabitants of Malden & of Charlestown living on the North Side of Mistick River bordering upon the Town of Malden between the Towns of Boston & Medford, Praying that the Lands & Estates of the Charlestown Jnhabitants within the Bounds aforesaid may be annex'd to the Town of Malden in all Respects.

Jn the House of Represent^{ves} *Read & Referred* to the next May Session for further Consideration, And that in the mean Time the Petitioners Serve the Towns of Charlestown & Stonham with a Copy of this Petition That they Shew Cause, if any they have on the Second Tuesday of the said Session Why the Prayer of this Petition should not be granted :

Jn Council; Read & Concur'd; Consented to, W^m DUMMER.²¹

[June 7. 1726.] On the Petition of Ioses Bucknam Iacob Wilson and Jonathan Barrett on Behalf of the Town of Malden and that Part of the Town of Charls: Town on the North Side of Mistick River, praying as Entered Dec^r 23^d 1725.

In Council Read again Together with the Answer of the Town of Charlestown, And the Same being duly Considered.

Ordered that the Inhabitants of Charles Town within y^e Limits described in this Petition with their Estates, and the Lands belonging to the Inhabitants of Malden within the Same Limits be Sett off from the Said Town of Charlestown and joyned to the Town of Malden to all Intents and purposes Whatsoever, Provided that the Ferry called Penny Ferry with the profits thereof remain to the Said Town of Charlestown, and that the way on the North Side lately purchased by Charlestown ly open for the Use of the Said Ferry.

In the House of Represent^{ves}: Read and Concur'd.

Consented to, W^m DUMMER.²²

²¹ *General Court Records*, xiii. 95.

²² *Ibid.*, 145. In 1730 a committee of the town petitioned,

"Shewing that there are certain Lands within the Limits of that Part of Charlestown that was set off to Malden

Thirty-four years later the ground thus taken from Charlestown was viewed, its northern line described, and its inhabitants named.

[September 13, 1760] I, John Townsend of Charlestown in the County of Middlesex Sadler of full age Testifie & Say That the Dividing line between the Towns of Malden & Charlestown, before part of Charlestown was Annex^{ed} to Malden, Began at a marked Tree which Stood in an old wall in the Esterly Side of Joseph Sargents Land, by the line of the Present Town of Chelsea, & from thence run Westerly near a Strait Line to a tree at the north End of Deacon James Hoveys Lott & from Thence Westerly to a Rock marked. M : C. near Phinehas Sargeants old House & from thence Northerly unto an old Stump in the Corner of M^r Benj^a. Bucknams pasture & from thence westerly near a Strait line to Sandy Bank River So call^{ed}. And upon Viewing the Line afores^d J find the two Trees afores^d are gone and That the Familys Following Live on that part of Malden which was Charlestown Viz : The heads of the Familys are

Wid ^o Abigail Barritt	Benj. Sprague
Eben ^r Barritt	Thos. Sargeant
Dea: Joses Bucknam	Joseph Sargeant
Wid ^o Phebe Bucknam	John Sargeant
Aron Bucknam	Wid ^o Wheeler
Moses Bucknam	Daniel Whittemore
John Bucknam	Ioseph Whittemore
Zaccheus Banks	Wid ^o Mudge
Nehemiah Blany	Amos Stowers

Wid^o Abigail Blany
John Bechum
Deacon Caswell
Moses Collins
John Nicholls
John Oliver
John Paine

And upon y^e Best Iudg-
ment I haue been able to
make upon Viewing y^e Sec-
ond Parrish in Malden I
am well Sattisfied that

in the year 1725, the Owners whereof live in other Towns, & therefore refuse to pay Rates for those Lands to Malden, pretending they are not included in that Order, Praying this Court to explain the Order above refer'd to, & to signify their Pleasure, whether the Lands afore refer'd to are included therein."

In answer to this petition it was

"Ordered that all the Lands within the Limits described in the Petition of

Joses Bucknam & others in behalf of the Town of Malden &c presented to this Court Anno 1725, be & hereby are declared to belong to the said Town of Malden to all Jntents & Purposes whatsoever, Except the white Jsland so called, & the Lands belonging to Peny Ferry, & the Lands belonging to Charlestown School; w^{ch} are to remain to the Town of Charlestown." *General Court Records*, xiv. 434.

Ebn: Pratt
 Wid^e Richerdson
 David Sargent
 Sam^l Sweetser
 Dea. John Mudge.

Deducting The Real Estates
 which was Excepted Out
 of that Parrish by the Gen^l
 Court About half the Re-
 mander of y^e Real Estates

in that Parish was Charlestown Untill it was annexed to Malden About
 Thirty four years ago.

JOHN TOWNSEND

I Iohn Green of Stoneham in y^e County of Middlesix yeoman of full
 age Testifie That I haue been with y^e afores^d Iohn Townsend & Viewed
 y^e Dividing Line Afores^d by him mentioned and know that the
 Familys afores^d in y^e parrish afores^d Live on the Southerly Side of
 y^e Line afores^d And upon Viewing y^e Parrish I am also well Sattessfied
 That Exclusive of y^e Real Estates Excepted Out of that Parrish by the
 Gen^l Court About half y^e Real Estates in the Parrish afores^d is on the
 Southerly Side of y^e Line afores^d and in That part of Malden which I
 well Remember was formerly Charlestown.

JOHN GREEN.²³

The town of Malden was now at its greatest territorial extent. Its northern boundary was near the northerly shore of Smith's Pond in Reading; and with the exception of the small reservation at Penny Ferry, which still remains to Charlestown [Boston], it embraced all the country between the bounds of Boston on the east and Medford, Charlestown Commons, and the new town of Stoneham on the west.²⁴ Wilson's farm, a

²³ Original MS. in the possession of Artemas Barrett of Melrose. This testimony was obtained for use "in an action of Ejectment to be tried by Review at the Superiour Court of Judicature to be holden at Worcester" in September, 1760, "wherein the Rev^d m^r Eliakim Willis is Plaintiff & the Rev^d m^r Joseph Emerson Defendant." This was a suit brought by the South Precinct for the purpose of obtaining a portion of the ministerial lands at Shrewsbury, which, failing, left the contentious parish at its lowest estate.

²⁴ The General Court, with the assent of Charlestown, considering that "the Town of Charlestown within the County of Middlesex is of great Extent & Length & lies commodiously for two Townships, And the Northerly Part thereof being competently filled with Inhabitants, who

labour under great Difficulties by their Remoteness from the Place of publick Worship, And the Said Northerly Part have thereupon made their Application to the Said Town & have likewise address'd this Court that they may be Set off a distinct & Separate Town," enacted, December 17, 1725:—

"That the northerly part of the said town of Charlestown; that is to say, all the lands lying on the east side of Woburn, the south side of Reading, the west side of Malden, and the north side of the fifth range of the first division of Charlestown wood-lots, be, and hereby is, set off and constituted a separate township, by the name of Stoneham." *General Court Records*, xiii. 49; *Province Laws*, 1725-26.

The Charlestown wood-lots, the southerly line of which began at a point

large portion of which is now within the limits of Medford, formed its southwestern corner. Its western line ran straight to Reading near Smith's Pond, that tract of land comprising the Green farms, and now known as Melrose Highlands, not being set off to Stoneham until eight years later. Its extreme length, from north to south, was hardly short of seven miles; and it was a little over three miles in its widest part. Altogether it contained not less than nine thousand acres of land, the rough and unpromising character of a large proportion of which has been noticed. That which had just been acquired from Charlestown was of the best which the town afforded; but its acquisition was unfavorable to peace and prosperity. The quarrel which it introduced raged fiercely many years, rending the town and dividing the church, and scattering enmities and law suits broadcast upon the little community. Its brands were hardly extinguished at the beginning of a new century.

We shall not underestimate the population of the territory then comprised in the town of Malden if we fix it at six hundred souls. Out of this territory, with its scattered farms and scanty population, has come in the space of a little more than a century and a half two growing cities and a thriving town, with a population of about sixty-seven thousand souls, without including the villages of Greenwood and Wellington, which are now joined to the neighboring towns of Wakefield and Medford.

There was at this time, at the northern extremity of the town, a little community of farmers, who, living from four to five miles from the meeting house at Bell Rock, became attendants on religious services in the nearer house at Reading; and some of them enjoyed church privileges there. Of these, seven were numbered by the Reading church in 1729¹ as "members of our Church in our Maulden neighborhood."²⁵ At a meeting, held May 15, 1722, it was recorded that:—

near the Medford Road at the Malden line and ran in a northwesterly direction, separated the towns of Medford and Stoneham many years. Most of this territory is now embraced within the limits of Medford.

²⁵ In "a catalogue of the brethren and sisters in full communion in the first church in Reading, Jan. 3, 1729¹," may be found the names of the following "members of our Church in our Maulden neighborhood: Thomas Up-

John Green Att y^e farms Sam^l Green Jonathan barritt And seueral othars y^t petision^d with Them : doe desier : Abatement on Ther ministrars Reates : by Reson as they say They doe liue more conuenant To Go [to] Reding meting Then To malden meting :

It was putt To vote To see whethar y^e Town will abate Those petitionars The one half of There ministrars Reates
And jt past on y^e negitiue :

Whatever uneasiness may have been felt by the brethren at the north end, who certainly had some reason for dissatisfaction, they apparently remained quiet until the winter of 1726, when, with the approbation of the town of Reading, the heads of ten families, living north of the line between the fourth and fifth ranges of the first division of the allotment of 1695, petitioned the General Court for a separation. Some attempt appears to have been made to obtain such an action of the town as would reconcile them, but the voters refused to act in accordance. At a meeting, March 10, 1726/7,

it was put to vote whether the Town will have two meating houses in this Town and y^e vote was past in y^e negative. it was put to vote whether y^e Town will Allow y^e people in y^e north Eand of this Town some money to help them to provid themselfe with preaching in y^e winter sesons and it past in y^e negative

voted that this Town will Build A new meetinghouse upon the Towns land neare y^e place whear the Old meetinghouse now Stands. A vote was caled for to Chose A Committy to Act in y^e Towns behalf with Refferance to : ro : of y^e inhabitants of this Town that desier to be sett of to y^e Town of Reeding, and it past in y^e negative.

It was seemingly the wish of a portion of the townsfolk to give the new house a more northerly location, which was not acceptable to the recently annexed "Charlestown neighbors," although it would remove it nearer to the centre of the town. If placed on the spot proposed, a little north of Lewis's Bridge where the house of the First Parish now stands, it would still be far south of the centre of a line connecting the extremities of the town, which would fall near the southern boundary of the present town of Melrose. It is not improbable that the wish

ham and his wife, Elizabeth Upham, y^e and his wife, y^e wife of James Taylor."
wife of Richard Upham, Thomas Green Eaton, *History of Reading*, 140.

to retain the meeting house on its southern location induced the favorable action which was soon after taken in reference to the inhabitants at the north end. At a meeting, held March 27, 1727, it was voted

that the new meeting hous shall be set upon the knole on y^e north-west of m^r Emersons Orchard.

voted that John willson, John Hutchenson, Richard Dexter, Thomas burdit, juner, Thomas parker & mosses hill be A Committy to treat with those men of this Town that Desier to be set of to the Town of Reeding Conserving y^t mater and to know y^e bounds by which they desier to be sett off.

At a later meeting, May 22, it was voted "that y^e tenn fame-lys y^t have petioned to be Laid off from this Town, unto y^e Town of Reding, have Liberty to goe to Reding with there Estates Acording to their petion." The application of the petitioners, and the action taken by the General Court appear in the following extract:—

A Petition of Thomas Bancroft & Timothy Goodwin in Behalf of the Town of Reading, & William Green for him self & Thomas Upham, Richard Upham, Nathaniel Evans, David Green, John Walton, Samuel Evans, John Evans, Samuel Howard & Thomas Green, all of Malden, Shewing that the said ten Persons of Malden with their Families live so remote from the Middle of the Town, that they are under great Inconveniences & Difficulties to attend the publick Worship there, & their Civil & Military Duties in the Said Town & that they ly much nearer to Reading; And therefore Praying that they may be set off from Malden & annexed to the Town of Reading, & that they may have & enjoy equal Privileges & Jmmunities with the present Jnhabitants of the said Town; The Line by which they would be set off to be as follows; viz, Easterly on Boston & Reading Bounds, Southerly upon the fifth Range Line between the fourth & fifth Division Lots in the first Division, Westerly upon the Town of Stoneham & Northerly on Reading within Half a Mile or less of Reading Meeting House.²⁶

²⁶ I hardly think that Malden ever included the whole eastern shore of Smith's Pond; although if the north-eastern line of the town was extended without deviation it must have touched the pond at or near its northern end. Even then it would have been consider-

ably over half a mile from the Reading meeting house. If the text is correct, the whole of the pond was in Malden but all the land evidences which I have seen tend to disprove it. The petitioners may have been anxious to help their case by shortening the distance.

In the House of Represent^{ves} Decem^r 23. 1726, Read &

Ordered that this Petition be refer'd to the next May Session for further Consideration, & that in the mean Time the Petitioners of the Town of Malden serve the said Town with a Copy of this Petition that they may then shew Cause, if they have any, why the Prayer thereof should not be granted

In the House of Represent^{ves} June 3. 1727; Read together with the Answer of the Town of Malden thereto, who have signified their Willingness to part with the said ten Families: And in Answer thereto,

Resolved that the Prayer of the Petition be granted, & that the said ten Families & their Estates be annexed to & accounted as Part of the Town of Reading for the future, according to the Line set forth in the Petition; Any Law, Usage or Custom to the Contrary Notwithstanding.

In Council; Read & Concur'd
Consented to, W^m DUMMER.²⁷

The section thus lost to Malden shortened the town more than a mile, and carried with it some of the wealthiest inhabitants. It is to this addition to the limits of the old town of Reading that the town of Wakefield owes the peculiar configuration of its southerly portion embracing the present village of Greenwood.²⁸

²⁷ *General Court Records*, xiii. 322.

²⁸ It is possible that a controversy between Reading and Malden was caused by a portion of the ministry land, which had been reserved in the allotment of 1695, being included in the territory which was annexed to the former town. The order of the Court which made the fifth range line a dividing line would seem to be sufficiently definite; but in 1744 it appears that Malden had "refused to run their Line with Reading" and had claimed "more than their due." Reading petitioned for an order defining the line; and a committee of both houses having reported, "That the Line between the fourth and fifth ranges of Lots in the first Division is and ought to be the Dividing Line," the boundary was confirmed by the General Court, January 5, 1744/5. *Ibid.*, xvii. (4), 536, 619-620.

This settlement, however, interfered in some way with the rights of the Greens, who had been set off to Stoneham in 1734; and a committee of Malden

and Stoneham petitioned the General Court "that no other lands or estate be set off or annexed to the Town of Reading than those belonging to the Ten Petitioners living within the Bounds mentioned in the Petition, that were set off by the Great and General Court in the year 1727." A committee reported in favor of the petitioners, "Upon which divers Votes were pass'd by each House, but no Agreement of both Houses thereon." *Ibid.*, xvii. (5), 496. The matter remained, a bone of contention, until January 15, 1754, when Joseph Lynde and Ezra Green, in behalf of Malden, and a committee of Reading "a Greed and seteled the Line Betwene sd towns in the foloing mauer Begening att a Black oake tree Standing By the Road Leding from Reading to Maldin a Bout twelve Poals northerd of Jonas Greens Barn marked with R and M then Roning Esterly with a Straight Line to a heepe of stons Round a petch Pine still Esterly the same Corse to a Stak and heepe of Stons in Chelcea

In the meantime the townspeople had again changed their minds in relation to the site of the new meeting house. The meeting of March 27 had been held upon "an excessive Stormy Day;" and when

it was objected by Some of both Parties of the Town that the meeting was very Slender, the business of the Meeting important (there was but 35 Voters, & but 20 for having it on the Knowl) by Reason of this Vote a number of the Southerly Inhabitants petitioned the Selectmen to call a Town meeting to reconsider s^d Vote & about the Same Time Some of the north side desired that all the Votes might be reconsidered, and then a Town meeting was called.²⁹

In this uncertainty a meeting was held, May 22, at which the town refused to fix the dimensions of the new house; and "A Vote was called for to see if y^e Town would Rais money for y^e building y^e new meeting hous & it past in y^e negative." Eleven days later it was

Voted That y^e Town will reconsider all the votes that were past at both y^e Town meetings in malden last march Refering to y^e placeing the new meeting house.

& a vote was Called for to see where y^e new meetinghous shall stand & the modderrator Declared y^t in his Opinnion there was A vote for the sd meeting hous being sett between y^e old meetinghous and the Bell Rock.

Voted that the new meeting hous shall be built fifty-five feet in length and forty fouer feet wide.

Votd that the Town will Rais five hundred pounds money towards y^e building y^e new meeting hous.

So far, those who favored a southerly location appear to have been in the majority; but at a meeting held June 28, it was

Voted that y^e Town have reconsidered y^e former votes that have been passed in this Town Referring to the placeing the new meeting house.

Voted that the new meetinghouse shall be sett between Leweses bridge and the pound, on the west side of the Contry Roade upon A pece of Land now Steaked out.

Line s^d Stak Being marked with R M rose and Wakefield, east of Main and C." *Mass. Archives*, cxvi. 573. Street.
This line was confirmed by the Court, ²⁹ MS. in the possession of Artemas and still marks the boundaries of Mel- Barrett, 1866.

Voted Jonathan Barrett, Benjemin Hills, Cap^t Samuëll Wayte, Samuëll Bucknam, Thomas Oakes, Thomas Lynds, & Daniell floyd, were chosen A committee to treete, and Agree with a workman for the building and Compleat funnishing of y^e sd meetinghouse in time and manner as may be voted and Agreed upon by this Town.

This was the beginning of the "Wearing and fatiguing Difficulties" — the "Tossing and Shakings" and "the unhappy Divisions by which this poor Town and Church were rent and wounded withal." ⁸⁰ Thirty-four dissentients at once appeared and the following paper was entered upon the record.

Malden June 28th 1727: the persons whose names are here under written Did openly protest Against the Reconsidering any votes that have been passed relateing to the placing y^e new meeting house in malden, and Espechally against y^e Reconsidering the vote that was passed y^e 2^d of June 1727 and did Acordingly enter their desent against the pasing of any vote concerning the placing the new meetinghouse and did then desire that their decent might be Recorded, and did Resolve to Stand by y^e vote that was passed y^e 2^d of June instant, Relateing to the placing the meetinghouse.

Josses Bucknam,
Thomas Burditt,
Daniell Whittemore,
Samuëll Sweetser,
James hovey,
John Whittemore,
Daniel Whittemore, Jun^r,
Richard Dexter,
James upham,
Ebenezer upham,
Josses Bucknam, Jun^r,
Thomas Burditt, Jun^r,
Stower Sprague,
James moulton,
John mudge, Jun^r,
James Whittemore,
Samuëll Bucknam,

James Barrett,
John Marrable,
Thomas Wayte,
William Pain,
Jsac Wheler,
Ebenezer pratt,
Stephen paine,
Samuëll Stower,
John paine,
Samuëll Blanchard,
Joseph Sargeant,
Benjemin Sweetser,
William Paine, Juner,
John Shute,
Nathanell nickols,
Nathanel upham,
Thomas pratt.

It must be said that, throughout the contest which had now begun, the people of the north side showed a spirit of

⁸⁰ Emerson, *Meat out of the Eater*, 7, et seq.

fairness which was far from being imitated by those of the other section. Although at this time they were apparently in the majority upon the vexing question of the location of the meeting house and had passed a vote which the other side seems not to have been able to reconsider, they allowed the matter to be submitted to arbitration, thinking, no doubt, that the south side would quietly acquiesce in the decision of arbiters whom they had, themselves, joined in choosing. A committee of the town afterwards said: —

In our Intercourses with one another the Southerly Inhabitants were Something uneasy, and said, they thought as the matter was weighty, and the Vote not So unanimous: they Said if they could have a Committee of wise indifferent men to determine the matter they should be intirely easy: and at last a number of both Parts of the Town went to the Select men and desired the Town might be called to See whether they would leave it to a Committee, Whether the meeting House Should Stand upon a Knowl in M^r Emerson's Orchard, or between Bell Rock & the old meeting House, or between Lewis's Bridge & the Pound, which the north side notwithstanding the former Vote readily consented to, accordingly the Town met & there was a peaceable meeting, and a General Agreement.³¹

At this meeting, which was held November 17, 1727, the town passed the following votes: —

Voted that the Town will chuse A committee for to place y^e new meetinghouse in Malden, Either upon y^e Land between y^e bell-rock & y^e Old meeting-hous, Or on y^e Knowel on y^e Northwest End of m^r Emersons orchard, Or on y^e Land between Leweses bridg & y^e pound on y^e westside of y^e Roade.

Voted y^t y^e Town will chuse five men for y^e sd Committee.

Voted that their shall be 10: men chosen by y^e Town: 5 on y^e north side & 5: on y^e south side of y^e Town, to Nomminate y^e sd: 5 gentle men To y^e Town, & Jonathan Sprague, Samuel Sprague, Juner, Jonathan barrett, Capt wayte, & Samuel Newhall, were chosen for y^e north side, And Joses bucknam, James barrett, Samuel Sweetser, Samuell Green & Richard Dexter, wear chosen for y^e south side to nommint y^e sd Committe, and they Did nominate & y^e Town Did — vote and Chuse y^e Hon^{ble} Docter Cook, Judg Lynds, Judg Davenport, Judg Quinsey, & Col. Turner, Esq^{rs}, to be a committe to place y^e new meeting house in Malden, Either on y^e Land between •

³¹ MS. in the possession of Artemas Barrett, 1866.

y^e bell Rock and y^e Old meetinghouse Or on y^e knowel on y^e north-west End of m^r Emersons orchard, Or on y^e Land between Leweses bridge & y^e pound on y^e west side of y^e Roade.

Voted that Jonathan Sprague, Jonathan Barrett, John Willson, Josses Bucknam, James Barrett, & Samuell Green, be A Committe to goe & invite y^e Abouesd Gentlemen to Com, & to treete with them, when they shall com, that are chosen to be A committe to Detirmine which of the three places that the Town have voted for y^e setting y^e new meeting hous upon Shall be y^e place for y^e setting y^e sd hous upon.

While these things were in progress, on the night of Sunday, October 29, 1727, New England was visited by an earthquake which carried terror to the hearts of the guilty and nearly convinced the righteous that the great Day of Doom, whose coming Michael Wigglesworth had sung, was at hand.⁸² The

⁸² This was known as the Great Earthquake. The Rev. Benjamin Colman of the Brattle Square Church in Boston looked upon it as "a loud call to y^e whole land to repent, fear, and give glory to God." He and his family arose from their beds "and sat up till two in y^e morning, spending y^e time in humble cries to God for our selves and our neibours, and in fervent praises to him for our singular preservations."

The Rev. Samuel Dexter, son of Deacon John Dexter of Malden, who was then settled at Dedham, thus describes it in his diary:—

"Oct^{br} 29th 1727. Sabbath Day Evening—a Night never to be forgotten—att y^e hour of Ten—y^e L^d arose & shook terribly y^e Earth—y^r was a Mighty Earthquake for y^s parts of y^e world—I suppose beyound w^t was ever known in y^s Land. It shook y^e houses as if y^e w^d have fell down for y^e space, I suppose, of a Minute or two, & then y^e shaking ceased, & it seem'd to pass away with a great Noise, & y^r was repeated Rumbings & lesser shakes y^t night, some say 8 times. I think I heard fue or six, & severall times since, persons have Affirmed y^t y^e have heard it, & I think I was once very sensible of it y^t I did, on y^e fryday following, a little before Night, as I sat in my study, to y^t Degree y^t it Jarr'd the Windows. People were put into a very great sur-

prize by it, both in Boston & in y^e Country.—Upon y^e Monday Morning after, y^e People met at y^e old North, in Boston. In y^e Evening y^e met at y^e old South and y^e old Brick,—y^e next Thursday was a Fast kept thro' y^e Town upon y^t Account, & severall were kept in Country Towns, & y^e stroke of prayer is still going on. Oh y^t y^e Impressions of y^t Terrible shake may not presently wear of." *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, xiv. 202.

The Rev. Thomas Prince of the Old South Church in Boston, says:—

"On the Night after the Lord's Day, Octob. 29, about 40 Minutes past X, in a calm & serene Hour, the Town of Boston was on a sudden extreamly surpriz'd with the most violent Shock of an *Earthquake* that has been known among us. It came on with a loud hollow Noise like the Roaring of a Great fired Chimney, but incomparably more fierce & terrible. In about half a Minute the Earth began to heave and tremble: The Shock increasing, rose to the Hight in about a Minute more, when the Moveables, Doors, Windows, Walls, especially in the upper Chambers, made a very fearful Clattering, and the Houses rock'd & crackl'd, as if they were all dissolving and falling to pieces." Prince, *Earthquakes the Works of God, &c.*

The Rev. Mr. Colman, just mentioned, said:—"Sixty-five years are now passing

church of Malden, as many others in the Province, received it as a rebuke for past sins and a warning against those of the future. "On a Day of Publick Fasting and Prayer," December 21, they acknowledged themselves "many ways guilty of breaking Covenant with GOD and with one another, and that we have not Walked answerably to our Profession and Engagement; for which we desire to take Shame to our selves, and Repent as in Dust and Ashes." Setting themselves "in the Awful Presence of the Holy LORD, the All-seeing and Heart-searching GOD," they solemnly renewed their "Covenant with GOD, and one another." Nor did they forget their shortcomings in the past nor their strivings in that present time. They promised:—

That we will endeavour faithfully to perform the Duties of our several Relations. That we will endeavour to love our Neighbour as our selves: That we will be tender of his Life, Chastity, Interest, Reputation.—That we will endeavour to keep our Hearts with all Diligence, and be very Prayerful that we enter not into Temptation. That we will Watch over one another (and be Watched over by one another) with a Spirit of Meekness, Love, and Tenderness; and walk together as Members of the same Body in the holy and diligent Observance of, and humble Submission to the Ordinances, and Discipline He hath appointed in His Church.

BECAUSE a Spirit of Division and Contention has to a Criminal Degree prevail'd in one Place and in another in the Land, and in Times past in this Place, we desire to be humbled before God and

since the Land was shook much as it was now: The *pewter* fell off the shelves, the *joice* wro't in and out of the mortices as the houses rock'd, the *lids* of warming-pans were flung up; *passengers* on the way were unable to keep their feet and sat down while the ground *heav'd* them; Something also of the like noise and *rore* of the earth accompanied *that* shake." Colman, *The Judgments of Providence in the hand of Christ*.

Sailors along the coast, feeling the shock, supposed their vessels had struck upon shoals. It extended to the West Indies, where it did great damage, especially in the island of Martinique. It produced a sudden religious awakening in New England, which is said to have

fallen away as quickly as it began. Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts-Bay*, ii. 327, says:—"There was a general apprehension of danger of destruction and death, and many, who had very little sense of religion before, appeared to be very serious and devout penitents, but, too generally, as the fears of another earthquake went off, the religious impressions went with them and they, who had been the subjects of both, returned to their former course of life."

The *Bi-Centennial Book of Malden*, 161, on the authority, probably, of the lost diary of Mr. Emerson, says that forty persons were admitted to full communion in the Malden church within two months.

to be more Watchful for the future, that we may live in Peace; and so have the GOD of Love & Peace to dwell with us.⁸³

How sincere were a part, at least, of those who subscribed this solemn Confession and Covenant may soon be seen. Hardly were the sheets which contained their professions dry from the press before they had broken their voluntary engagements with their brethren and townsmen. Six days after the Fast, the committee, that had been chosen by mutual agreement, made its report. Its members had been to Malden, where "a full Hearing was had of the matter from the 6 men that were chosen to Speak in Behalf of each Part of the Town, at which Time the Town seemed to be generally Satisfied." The decision was as follows: —

We the within named Committee have unanimously agreed that the new meeting house shall be set or placed between Lewiss bridge & the pound on the west side of the Countrey road on a peice of land lately staked out in Malden. Witness our hands the 27th December 1727

BENJ^A LYNDE

ADDINGTON DAVENPORT

EDMUND QUINCY

ELISHA COOKE

JOHN TURNER⁸⁴

This decision, being sent to Malden, fell into the hands of those of the selectmen who were of the south side,⁸⁵ who refused to allow it to be entered upon the record of the town, upon which a petition was preferred by the inhabitants of the other section to "the Great & General Court to redress them in this affair." After hearing the petition and the accompanying papers, the Court passed the following order: —

Jn Council Feb'y 21st 1727

Ordered That the Determination of the Committee therein mentioned respecting the place for erecting a new Meeting house in Malden dated the 27th of December last, directed and delivered to the Selectmen, or some of them, or another of the same tenour signed and

⁸³ An imperfect print in the possession of Artemas Barrett, with the following heading: — *On a Day of Publick Fasting and Prayer (December 21, 1727) Occasioned by a Terrible Earthquake on Lord's-Day-Night, October 29th. 1727.* This fragment may be unique. I know of no other copy.

⁸⁴ MS. in the possession of Artemas Barrett, 1866.

⁸⁵ The selectmen this year were Joses Bucknam, James Barrett, Samuel Bucknam, Samuel Sprague, Jr., and Samuel Waite. The first three were south side men.

attested by the same committee January 12th 1727 be received and recorded in the Town Book of the s^d Town of Malden, and be to [all] Intents and purposes obligatory on the s^d Town pursuant to their Vote bearing date the 17th of Novr last.

Sent down for Concurrence

J. WILLARD *Sec^y*

In th House of Representatives Feby 21 1727 Read & Concurr'd

W^m DUDLEY *Spr*

Consented to.

W^m DUMMER.³⁶

The southern factionists were so obstinately intent on their purpose that they had no mind to obey the mandate of the Court, although by their former action they were fully bound in honor to record and recognize the decision of the committee. At the annual meeting, in March, 1728, they recovered the ascendancy; and the moderator, Jonathan Sargeant, three at least of the five selectmen, the town clerk, and the treasurer were of their party. The report of the committee being still unrecorded, the selectmen now proceeded to call "a Town meeting to See if s^d Result Should be put on Record, the Proposal whereof the north side thought to be a manifest Contempt of Authority."³⁷ At this meeting sixty voters entered the following protest and refrained from participation in any action relating to the meeting house: —

Malden Aprill y^e third: 1728: we y^e Inhabitants in Malden on y^e north side of y^e River being warned to meet at y^e meetinghouse y^e third day of Aprill instant to see if the Town will Except of y^e Report or Result of the Honorable commite, conserning placeing of y^e new meetinghous in Malden, by pasing of A vote for y^e Triall of it, we hold it very improper so to Do it being allreddy Established by the Great and Generall Court and athourity of the same that it shall be Received and Recorded in the Town Book in Malden that it may stand good and firm to all intents and purposes as has bin all Ready by the Town Agreed upon, and therefore we shall not proseed to pass a farther vote upon it but do Expect that it be entered in the Town Book According to y^e order of y^e Great and Generall Court: we y^e subscribers Dezir that for y^e Resons abovementioned our desents may be Recorded Against y^e vote that has bin past for not Recording y^e Report Refering

³⁶ MS. in the possession of Artemas Barrett, 1866.

³⁷ MS. in the possession of Artemas Barrett, 1866.

to y^e placeing [y^e] new meeting [house] in malden, as by y^e honerable committy chosen for that servis.

Jonathan barrett,
 Samuell Sprague,
 Thomas pratt,
 John upham,
 Samuell Wayte,
 Lemuell Jenkins,
 Jonathan howard, Juner,
 Ebenezer harden 2,
 Ezekiel jenkins,
 John Willson,
 John Lynds,
 Samuell Newhall,
 Samuell Tufts,
 John Barrett,
 Samuell Green, Jun^r,
 Samuell mower,
 Joseph Lynds,
 William Sprague,
 Benjemin Wayte,
 Daniel floyd, Juner,
 David upham,
 Jonathan howard y^e 2,
 Nathaniel Jenkins,
 Nathanell Wayte,
 Daniell newhall,
 John pratt,
 Richard pratt,
 Abraham hill,
 Timothy Sprague,
 Joseph Green, Juner,

Joseph Wayte,
 Ebenezer harnden,
 Sam^l Sprague, Juner,
 William pratt,
 Samuell howard,
 Danill floyd,
 Benj^a Hills,
 Jonathan Howard ye 3,
 John Sprague,
 Jonathan Sprague,
 Thomas Lynds,
 Edward Wayte,
 Isac Green,
 John Green,
 Samuell Green,
 John pratt,
 Jabez Wayte,
 Joseph Chadwick,
 Thomas Wayte,
 Joseph Lynds, Juner,
 Samuell Grover,
 Samuell upham,
 Joseph Jenkins,
 Timothy Wayte,
 John Collman,
 Phinehes Sprague,
 Phinehes Sprague, Juner,
 Richard pratt, Juner,
 Joseph Green,
 Thomas Tufts.

The faction, which must have been a minority of the voters of the town, proceeded, however, to the transaction of business ; and

a vote was called for to see whether y^e Town would so farr Accept of y^e Report or Result of y^e Hon^rble Committe, Refering to y^e placeing y^e new meetinghous in malden, as to order y^e same to be Recorded in y^e Townbook, and y^e vote did pass unanimously Against y^e Recording y^e same.

“ Our Charlestown neighbours,” who seem to have been the impelling force in these “ unhappy Things,” appear now to

have ordered everything to their own satisfaction; and at a meeting held April 17, all votes passed in the preceding year relating to the meeting house were reconsidered, "so as to make them all utterly null, and void to all intents and purposes as if they never had been voted." A committee was chosen to lay out a piece of land "upon y^e Towns Land in Malden near y^e old meetinghous, to Build A new meeting hous upon." At the same time, a vote was passed in favor of the inhabitants at the farms in the north-western part of the town.

voted: that y^e inhabitants of y^e north Eand of this Town shall have tenn pounds ayear Alowed them to help them to have preching among them in y^e wintter sesons after a new meetinghous shall be built and finished upon y^e Towns Land near y^e old meetinghous.

This looks very much like a price paid by the south side men, at the expense of the town, for the assistance or forbearance of their more distant townsmen. Sixty-one inhabitants entered a protest against the holding of this meeting and the consideration of the several articles in the warrant,

Which things we y^e subscribers do think to be very presumtuuous in any man to dezier, or y^e selectmen to Grant knowing that y^e Town Did vote and Chuse a committee to place y^e new meeting hous in malden and they have don it Acordingly, and the General Court has confirmed y^e Reportt or Result of y^e sd committee and made it obligatory to all intents and purposes.

It has been stated that most of the leading officers of the town were south side men; and it is worthy of note that their party seems by some means to have had an almost complete control of affairs at this time. Jonathan Sargeant, one of the most influential of their number and a leading citizen of the town, was representative to the General Court, 1724-1728, and moderator of most of the meetings while the question which divided the town was being considered.

There seems to have been no intention on the part of the now apparently dominant party to regard the behests of authority any more than they had heeded their own honor in the matter of the committee and its decision; for they not only neglected to enter the report upon the record, but they pro-

ceeded towards the erection of the new house upon the Bell Rock land. The committee, which had been recently chosen, now made the following report: —

Malden April y^e 24th: 1728: wee y^e Subscribers being Chosen A Committee By this Town, to Stake out a peace of Land upon y^e Towns Land near y^e old meetinghous, to Buld a new meetinghous upon, we have this Day bin upon the sd Land, and have Staked out apeace of land, on y^e Towns Lands Northwest of y^e old meetinghous and near unto the same of 56 feet square for y^e Above said Service: Returned to y^e Town Clerk to be Recorced: in y^e Town Book on y^e Day abouesaid by us.

THOMAS OAKES

LEF^T SAMULL GREEN

THOMAS WAYTE

RICHARD DEXTER

JAMES UPHAM.

At a meeting held May 15 John Green, Jr., Richard Dexter, Ebenezer Pratt, Thomas Burditt, Jr., Ebenezer Upham, Samuel Waite, Thomas Lynde, Samuel Newhall, and Samuel Blanchard were chosen "for A Committee to treete and Agree with A workman, or men, for y^e Building and Compleate finnishng a new meeting hous in this Town." Of this committee but three, Waite, Lynde, and Newhall, were north side men. Thirty-seven voters entered their dissent against this action and they appear to have been as persistent as their opponents in their endeavors. A few days later William Sprague and Dorothy, his wife, conveyed to the town by a deed of gift, dated May 21, 1728, the land which had been designated by the arbiters. It was described as

a Certain peice of land purely and intirely for the building and placing a new meeting house upon the said Land lying in the Town of Malden and County abovesaid between Luises Bridge and the Pound on the West side of y^e Road staked out which the Hon^{ble} Committee chose by the Town of Malden for the ordering the place for the new meeting house to stand have unanimously agreed on the said ground given by the abovesaid William Sprague to the Town of Malden if they build a new meeting house on it this s^d Land is fifteen Rods long and six rod wide the length northerly and southerly and bounded as followeth Easterly on the Road Westerly on the Land of William Sprague northerly and southerly on William Spragues Land with all the Rights

Profits and Privileges thereunto belonging unto the Town of Malden forever if they will build a new meeting house on the said Land.⁸⁸

About the same time, "Cpt. Samuel Wayt, John Sprague & a great number of others" invoked the interposition of the General Court,

Complaining against the Select men, Town Clerk and Moderator of Some of the late Meetings of the Town of Malden for not only neglecting to see that the Result of the Committee referring to the Place for building their Meeting house on (confirmed by the General Court) be recorded, but also for their obstructing the Putting the same on Record, & acting in Disobedience to the Authority of this Court, And Praying that they may have the benefit of the said Report; & that this Court would grant them such Relief herein as to their Wisdom & Justice shall seem fit.⁸⁹

In this petition the Council and House of Representatives, who were not at this time in the best accord, found matter for a difference of opinion. The Council, after due notice and consideration of the answer of the selectmen and other officers,

And it fully appearing that as well the Select men as Town Clerk of Malden, together with Jonathan Sergeant Moderator of a late Meeting held in said Town have not complied with an Order of this Court pass'd the 21st of Febry. last, Ratifying, & enforcing the Result of a Committee for placing a new Meeting house in Malden & recording said Result, but have acted contrary thereto & in great Contempt thereof;

Ordered that Joses Bucknam, Phineas Upham, James Barret, Samuel Sweetsir & Thomas Parker, Select men of Malden together with William Sergeant Town Clerk be committed to the common Goal in Middlesex until they find Sureties for their Good Behaviour & their Appearance at the next General Sessions of the Peace to be holden at Concord for the said County;

It is further *Ordered* that the Attorney General (or such Person as the said Sessions shall appoint) bring forward an Information at the said Court, as well against the Select men & Town Clerk above named, as against Jonathan Sergeant, Moderator of the late Meeting there (more especially in April last) accordingly; — And It is likewise *Ordered* that the Town Clerk above named on his Peril forthwith record the Result of the said Committee for placing the Meeting house in the Town Book of Malden; and that the Inhabitants of the said Town

⁸⁸ *Midd. Co. Deeds*, xxviii. 275.

⁸⁹ *General Court Records*, xiv. 62 [June 5, 1728].

proceed to erect & build their new Meeting house in the Place agreed to and confirmed by this Court.⁴⁰

When this order was brought into the House, that body promptly non-concurred, taking 'the action indicated in the following extract, which would probably have satisfied the petitioners had it not been in its turn rendered of no effect by the action of the Council.

[June 18, 1728.] On the Vote of the Council on Malden Affair, as enter'd last Saturday ;

Jn the House of Represent^{ves} Read & Unanimously Non Concur'd ; & Voted that the Town Clerk of Malden be & hereby is ordered & directed to record the Result of the Committee mentioned in the within Petition for placing the Meeting house in the Town Book of Malden And that the Jnhabitants of the said Town proceed to erect & build their new Meeting house in the Place agreed on by the said Committee, Unless the Town of Malden shall agree among them selves upon some other Place, between that reported by the Committee, as above, & Bell Rock so called ; & lay their Votes and Agreement, before this Court at their next Session for Confirmation, & the same be accepted & confirmed by the Court.

Jn Council ; Read & Non Concur'd, And the Board adherd to their Vote with their own Amendments. — Jn the House of Represent^{ves} Read & Non Conr^d, & the House insist on their own Vote. & Ordered that the further Consideration of this Petition be refer'd that so the Town of Malden may have an Opportunity of accomodating their Differences in the mean time.

Jn Council ; Read & Non Concur'd.⁴¹

And so the matter seemed to rest for a while. It appears, however, that the north side soon returned to the field and preferred another petition to the General Court in August ; for at a meeting, October 29, the selectmen were instructed by the town "to make Answer to y^e 63: north side petetioners to y^e Generall Court, last August Referring to y^e placing y^e new meeting hous in malden." I can find no trace of any other action at this time ; and if any were begun or intended, it was probably stifled in the quarrel which prevailed between Governor Burnet and the General Court.

⁴⁰ *General Court Records*, xiv. 85. [June 15, 1728.]

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 89

Meanwhile the southern faction persisted in its purpose; and the committee that had been chosen in May made a contract with Lieutenant Aaron Cleaveland of Charlestown to build the new house, which the town accepted, January 14, 1728⁸/₉. Fifty-one north side men protested against any action, saying that "y^e meetinghouse has been placet Elsewhere by an Hon^l Com-mitty Chosen by y^e Town for that purpose." At the same time "a vote was cald for to see if theyr should be a steple to y^e s^d hous and it passed in y^e negative." Thirteen days later, although fifty-four inhabitants entered a dissent against the meeting, it was voted "that y^e Town will have A tarrett upon y^e new meetinghouse to hangg y^e Bell in;" and "that the Town will Raise money to Defray y^e Charges of Building y^e newmeetinghouse Acording as y^e Com-mitty have Agreed."

The work of building, which had been delayed, was now begun, and materials were collected upon the proposed site; but during the spring there was a change in affairs, and the party of the north side either became strengthened in members, or began to work with more vigor. At the meeting in May the town not only superseded Jonathan Sargeant by the choice of Samuel Bucknam, but refused to raise money for his services in 1728, as well as for town expenses.

Soon after the action of the town officers in ignoring the order of the General Court was brought to the notice of the Justices of the Superior Court of Judicature, three of whom, including the Chief Justice, Benjamin Lynde, had been members of the committee of arbitration, who

On the 27th day of June directed his Majestys Writ of Mandamus to the aforesaid Committee [of the town], requiring them to desist from erecting a Meeting house in the Town of Malden at any other Place than that agreed upon & directed to by the General Court at their utmost Peril, & to remove the Materials for building the said Meeting house to the aforesaid Place assigned by the General Court, & Commanded William Sergeant Town Clerk to record the said Determination respecting the Situation of the said Meeting house in the Town Book of Malden, Which was to be done without delay; or signify their Reason to the contrary at the next Superior Court of Judicature, Court of Assize & General Goal Delivery to be holden at

Cambridge within & for the County of Middlesex on the last Tuesday of July.⁴²

At the appointed time both parties appeared before the Court, and, after they were heard,

The Temporary Writ of Mandamus was made final & peremptory, & the aforesaid Committee required to erect a Meeting house without delay at the Place aforesaid, Pursuant to the Order of the General Court, the Materials to be removed, & the Determination respecting the situation of the Meeting house to be recorded as above.⁴³

This order was issued August 4, and no time was lost in removing the materials to the new site north of Lewis's Bridge. Here, upon the spot now occupied by the First Parish for nearly one hundred and seventy years, the frame of the new house was raised, August 28, 1729, no doubt with liberal computations and a prayer by Mr. Emerson, to the utmost satisfaction of the inhabitants of the north side.

Finding the Courts in favor of their opponents, the south side men were now willing to compromise; and at a meeting, held August 15, the town voted to "Agree to place y^e new meeting house Half way between y^e old meeting house & y^e place Reported by y^e Hon^{ble} Committee." It was further

Voted that y^e Town will preferr ap^etetion to y^e Generall Court that the order of y^e sd Court. may be seet aside, Refering to y^e placing y^e new meeting house, & that y^e Town of malden may order y^e setting y^e sd House by amajor vote, Or that y^e Generall Court will send a Committe of Both Houses to state y^e plac of y^e s^d House to stand upon:

Voted that mesurs: Josses Bucknam, Sam^l Sweetser & Jonathan Sargeant are Chosen A Committe to Act as Agents for y^e Town at y^e Generall Court with Referrance to y^e petetion above mentioned.

Sixty-three "inhabitants on y^e north side of y^e River" protested against the consideration of the articles contained in the warrant for this meeting, "which Artckles," said they, "are very unjust & unreasonable for y^t y^e inhabitants of this Town on y^e north side of y^e River, & y^e inhabitants on y^e South side of y^e River being Two partys Did agree to Chuse an Hon^{ble} Committee to place y^e new meeting house in malden."

⁴² *General Court Records*, xiv. 298.

⁴³ *Ibid*

Nothing came from the appointment of this committee of south side men; but at the next session of the General Court, Samuel Blanchard and Ebenezer Upham, acting as a committee of the town, complained of the action of the Superior Court, "for as much as the Major Part of the said Town are averse to the Meeting house being placed there, Therefore Praying for Redress from this Court." The lower branch of the General Court, having considered the petition, reviewed the action of the Justices of the Superior Court, which they declared "to be very extraordinary & not warranted by Law," and not to "be supported by any Law of this Province." "We therefore," said the Representatives,

think it incumbent on this Court to signify their Disapprobation of such a Practice, or being any ways countenanced, lest in a short time the Courts established here assume to them selves Powers in Prejudice to the Rights, Properties & Estates of his Maj^{ty}s good Subjects within this Jurisdi[ct]ion & the known & well approved Trials by Verdicts of Jurors in a great measure [be] rendered useless: For prevention whereof,

The afore Writ of Madamus & all the Proceedings of the Justices had thereon be by the Authorty of this Great & General Court & hereby are declared to be set aside & made null & void to all Intents & Purposes whatsoever.

The Council, being composed of better lawyers than the other House, saw clearly through the sophistry which the Representatives had thrown around the subject and quickly cleared it of difficulties by a unanimous non-concurrence. "The Board," said they,

having enter'd into the Consideration of the Petition of the Committee of Malden referring to the Mandamus granted by the Judges of the Superior Court & the Vote of the Hon^{ble} House thereon, & having Unanimously Non Concur'd the said Vote think it proper to inform the House thereof, that so the People of Malden may not be kept longer in suspence, but go on to build or finish the Meeting house in the Place where it is now ordered according to the Order of the General Court.⁴⁴

This ended the matter so far as Malden was concerned and the meeting house was finished on the spot where it had been

⁴⁴ *General Court Records*, xiv. 298-299.

begun; ⁴⁵ but the dignity of the House of Representatives had been wounded and its wisdom impeached, and for seven days, a wordy passage at arms prevailed between the upper and lower branches of the Great and General Court.

The House looked upon "the Reasons given by the Hon^{ble} Board" as "very surprizing," and declared that "the House suppose the Malden Committee or any other Persons are no ways obliged to observe the Orders & Determinations of the Superior Court in the aforesaid Writ of Mandamus." The Council in return regarded

it as an extraordinary & unwarrantable Proceeding & of dangerous Consequence for the House to declare their Opinion that the Malden Committee or any other Persons are not obliged to follow the Orders & Determinations of the Justices of the Superior Court in the aforesaid Writ of Mandamus: And it seems very strange to the Board that when the Writ of Mandamus was designed only to enforce Obedience to an Order of the General Court that the House should suggest that the Persons were at their Liberty, & thereby encourage their Disobedience to an Order of the Great & General Court or Assembly of this Province.

The House was "constrained shortly to reply," and affirmed "that the Pains taken by the Board to prevent the sincere good Design of the House in acting as they did in that Affair, cannot be accounted for," and that the "Insinuation that the House had encouraged Disobedience to an Order of the General Court is extremely injurious & bears hard upon the Integrity of the House." The Council retorted that

The Board had very good reason to hope from the Message they sent down to the Hon^{ble} House the twentieth current [September] referring to Malden new Meeting house & the Mandamus of the Judges thereupon, & in answer to the Message of the House dated the day before, to have heard no more of that affair, And what it is that has constrained the House to send up their Reply they know best themselves.

They insisted firmly upon the maintenance of the authority of the Superior Court, and arraigned the House for its inter-

⁴⁵ Although the committee was forced to proceed with the building of the house on the spot approved by the Court, the town clerk remained contumacious to the last; and the report of the committee was never entered upon the town record.

ference. In conclusion they went directly to the heart of the whole matter in a manner which showed that they understood the condition of Malden as well as the constitutional bearings of the question under consideration.

The House indeed seem very jealous of the Liberty & Property of the Subject so far as to protect them from Writs issuing out of the Superior Court; but then in the same Breath they draw the Jurisdiction to themselves, when certainly it is most agreeable to the Constitution of the English Governm^t so it is best upon all accounts for Matters of Liberty & Property to be determined by the Courts of Justice & not by the General Court. Nor can the Board think it proper for this Court upon this Occasion especially to inquire into the Power of the Superior Court as to Writs of Mandamus Prohibitions &c; It may be time enough to do that when there may be just matter of Complaint, & not when the Mandamus in question was founded on & designed to inforce an Order of this Court, & not in any Affair of private or personal Liberty or Property that might be proper for a Jury to try, but a Matter of great Concern to the Interests of Religion and the Peace of the Town of Malden.⁴⁶

The House made no reply; and as other quarrels were available this one was tacitly abandoned and the town of Malden was left in the care of the Superior Court and its writ of Mandamus, now "made final & peremptory."

The south side men, although defeated, were still defiant and factious. At a meeting held May 11, 1730, they influenced and passed a vote by which the committee in charge of the building of the new house was authorized "to stand a tryall in y^e Law against Aaron Cleveland of Charlestown who hath sued y^e s^d committee for money to pay for a house which he has sit up in this Town, which y^e s^d Committe think is not sit to y^e satisfaction of y^e Town, they have therefore Deziered that this might be put in this warrant." Sixty-four "inhabitants of Malden on y^e north side of y^e River quallified to vote in Town affairs," protested against this vote,

which artickel, [said they,] we think to be very unreasonable to set a man to work and not to pay him his wages but bring him under a

⁴⁶ *General Court Records*, xiv. 300-308.

nessety to sue for his money which y^e sd Committee did agree to give him for building & finnishng a new meeting house in malden. . . . we are willing to pay our proportion.

No intermediate vote appears in relation to this matter; but the selectmen made a rate, June 30, of six hundred and seventy-one pounds, nine shillings, and fivepence, "for y^e Defraying the charges of building a new meetinghouse in and for this Town." The committee was cast in the suit; and at a meeting, August 7, it was voted "That the Town will pay unto m^r Aaron Cleveland all the money that he hath Recovered against y^e Committe by a judgment of Court and to meet in the new meetinghouse to Carry on y^e worship of God for the futuer." Ten days later the selectmen laid a rate of two hundred and twenty-six pounds and one shilling for the balance required to carry out the vote of the town. It appears that the town officers, being mostly south side men, were in no haste to pay the builder with the money which the town had raised for that purpose; and in December the committee was obliged to settle the claim, as appears by the following receipt, which was afterwards entered upon the town record:—

A Coppe off a Receipt from Aaron Cleveland of Charlstown

Charlstown December y^e 21 : 1730 : then Received of m^r John Green & of the Rest of the Committy for y^e Building maldin meting house y^e Sum of Eight hundred and Eighty two pounds in full for a Judgment obtained Per me

AARON CLEVELAND.

Judgment for	870 : 00 : 00	} Entered by order of y ^e Selectmen.
Bill Cost	12 : 00 : 00	
	<hr/> £882 : 00 : 00	

But the end was not yet, for the town, either sullen because of the enforced payment or willing to punish them for their evident leaning to the party of the south side, or perhaps from a combination of both reasons, refused to reimburse the committee either for the sum which had been recovered from them or for their expenses. At a town meeting held April 14, 1731, the following votes were passed:—

voated y^e Town dont alow or except y^e bills granted to y^e Comitty that went in to y^e Law with m^r Aaron Cleveland.

voat. wather y^e Town wont Rais money to pay y^e sd Comitty and thay would not.

In May a committee, composed of the following north side men, John Wilson, Captain Samuel Waite, Daniel Floyd, Ensign Joseph Lynde, and Samuel Mower, was chosen to "stand a triall or trialls in y^e Law" with the unfortunate building committee, "for money which thay say is due to them from y^e town at y^e next enferiour court to be holden at Cambridge." It was not until the payment was forced that the town did what should have been done at the outset, and the claim of the committee was satisfied.⁴⁷ They received, March 3, 173½, the sum which Cleaveland had recovered and forty-nine pounds for their trouble.

The last sermon was preached in the old house, Sunday, August 9, 1730, by Mr. Emerson from Revelation iii. 3 — "Remember how thou hast received and heard."⁴⁸ During the sermon, the house of John Hutchinson was set on fire and burned to the ground.⁴⁹ An effort was made to preserve the

⁴⁷ "At apublick Town meeting in malden January y^e 21 day 1731² Cap^t wait was chosen modorator of sd meeting.

"voted, cap^t Sam^l wait John willson Lef^t Sam^l Bucknam were chosen Agents in behalf of y^e Town to make afinall Jssue of y^e wholl matter between y^e committy and y^e Town thay haueing sued y^e town for money which thay say is due to them from y^e Town voted wather y^e town would forgiue Ambros Blaneys Rates jn Sam^l Stowerses Lists and it past in y^e negitiue."

There is no record of another meeting until March 23; but in the *Middlesex Court Files* [March, 173½] is a petition of the selectmen referring to a stormy attempt to hold a meeting, February 21. In it they say that, while voting for a moderator,

"So it was y^t sundry persons brought in Votes y^t were not qualified = Which occasioned some disquiet & contreuarsy amongst the people assembl^d and sun-

drey times the Votes were Swept off the Table. & much disturbance & disorder was ocasioned thereby so that the Worke and buisness of the day was Retarded and Wholly Preuented . . . and we can see no likelihood to obtain a regular meeting (vnder our Present Circumstances) to carry on our affairs Without help or direction from some Superior Power."

⁴⁸ *Bi-Centennial Book of Malden*, 128.

⁴⁹ "We are informed, That on Wednesday, July 30, a desireable Youth and the only Son of his Parents at MALDEN, being sent with an Horse, was found Dead by the side of a Rock close by the Road; It being concluded the Horse threw him against it and beat the Breath out of his Body and kill'd him immediately." *New England Weekly Journal*, August 18, 1729.

This was the son of John Hutchinson. I was informed by the late Benjamin A. Tufts that the horse was purposely frightened by a negro slave, who was

old house for religious purposes. At a meeting held November 27,

A vote was Called for to see if y^e Town will have preching in y^e old meeting house for this wintte seson and it past on y^e negative.

voted that y^e Town will sell y^e old meetinghouse unto him that will Give most mony for it within Twenty days from this meeting.

The house was soon after sold for fifty pounds and the proceeds supplied the means for the payment of the salary of Mr. Emerson for six months. It does not appear whether it was demolished or removed, and the sacred edifice may still exist in the walls of a building now standing.

On Sunday, August 16, the church and congregation, removing from their old home, worshipped with apparent unanimity for the first time in the house which had cost them too much of perplexity and ill temper and had evoked a quarrel which lasted many years with little diminution of its bitterness.

The new building, standing on the site of the present house of the First Parish on the land given by William and Dorothy Sprague, sheltered the worshippers of the North Parish for nearly three-quarters of a century, until it was demolished in 1802. Of its outward appearance there is little known. If the vote of June 2, 1727, was followed, it was not large; but though its dimensions of forty-four feet by fifty-five feet seem strait and mean, it was probably commodious for the congregation which occupied it. It had a turret, or at least a small belfry, for it was "*Voted* — that y^e Towns Bell shall be Hanged up in y^e new meeting house." ⁵⁰ Clapboarded it doubtless was, but it was

afterwards sold by Hutchinson and carried to Salem. Some time after he returned to Malden on a Sunday, when the people were likely to be at the meeting house, expecting to find considerable money in the house. He found only about a shilling and departed, after setting fire to the house, which was destroyed. He had been seen skulking in a corn-field by some one at the Parker house, who had remained at home; was arrested; confessed the crime; and was hanged at Cambridge.

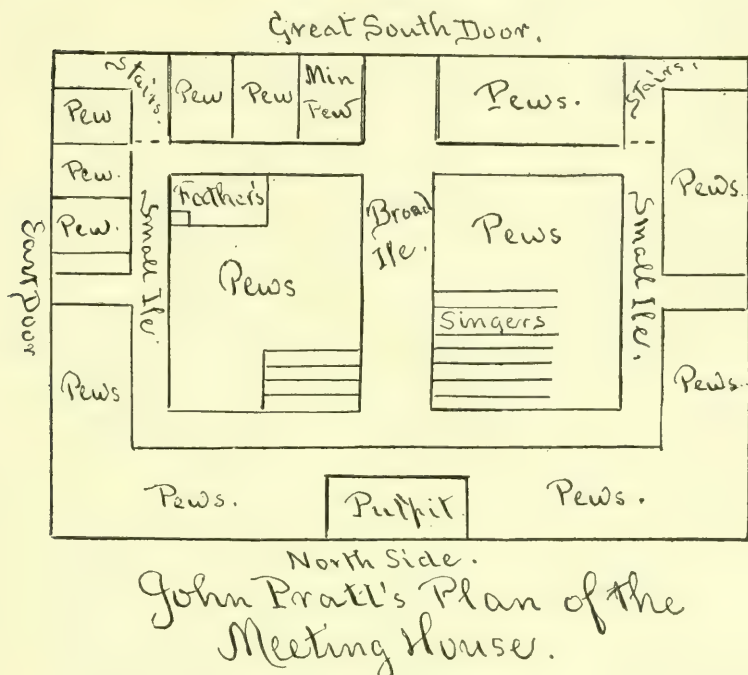
Hutchinson cut trees on the land for

a frame; and a new house was built on the site of the old one and occupied within six weeks after the fire. This was the house which was long known as the Peter Tufts house and stood on the northerly side of Cross Street, on the brow of the hill east of High Street. When it was demolished in 1883, the immense chimney, which was that of the first house and showed marks of the fire, was an object of much interest.

⁵⁰ March 1, 173³/₄. There is a tradition that the bell was hidden for a time in the parsonage well, for fear that

unpainted both outside and inside, and such was its condition to the last.

A rude ground plan was made a number of years ago by one who had known it in its later years.⁵¹ The pulpit stood on the



north side opposite the great south door, which was the principal entrance. A smaller door on the easterly side gave additional facilities for ingress and egress. It was built at first with one row of galleries on three sides, but others were afterwards built above them. These were furnished with plank seats and railings. The galleries were divided by a partition, or railing, in the middle of the south gallery; and the easterly portion was appropriated to the use of the women, while the remainder, or

the south side men would remove it. Its subsequent history is related in chap. vii., note 37.

⁵¹ The late John Pratt, who died October 13, 1863, at the age of eighty

years. To his *Genealogy of the Pratt Family* in MS., I am indebted for several interesting facts connected with my subject.

the westerly side, was occupied by the men. Middle-aged men usually sat in the front seats and young men and boys in the back seats, while the old men sat in the front of the south gallery, opposite the minister. In two corners of the house, stairways gave access to the galleries; and the description quaintly adds, "The east stair was for women and the west stair for men, and they could not get together in the gallery without getting over the railing."⁵²

The floor was occupied by pews, except a limited space before the pulpit where there were a few plank seats or benches, which were formerly used by old men and women on their respective sides. At a later day some of the seats of the old men, on the westerly side of the large aisle, were taken away and a place made for the singers, who sat around a slanting table or rack. When they sung, those of the front rank turned their backs to the pulpit and faced their fellows on the other side of the table. The women or treble singers sat next to the aisle and the men at the farther end.

Most of the pews were nearly square and a few, perhaps from the necessities of their position, were smaller than the others; but all were wide enough to allow chairs being placed in front, in which the women sat. The men sat on a seat or bench at the back of the pew, the younger men being nearest the door. The small children frequently sat on stools, literally at the feet of their elders; and as the walls of the pews were high, they had little exercise of aught but the sense of hearing. The singers' seats and those in the pews were made to raise during prayers, when the people stood in their places. At the end the amen was drowned in a clatter as the seats fell down. "There was a great clapping through the house," says my honest authority.

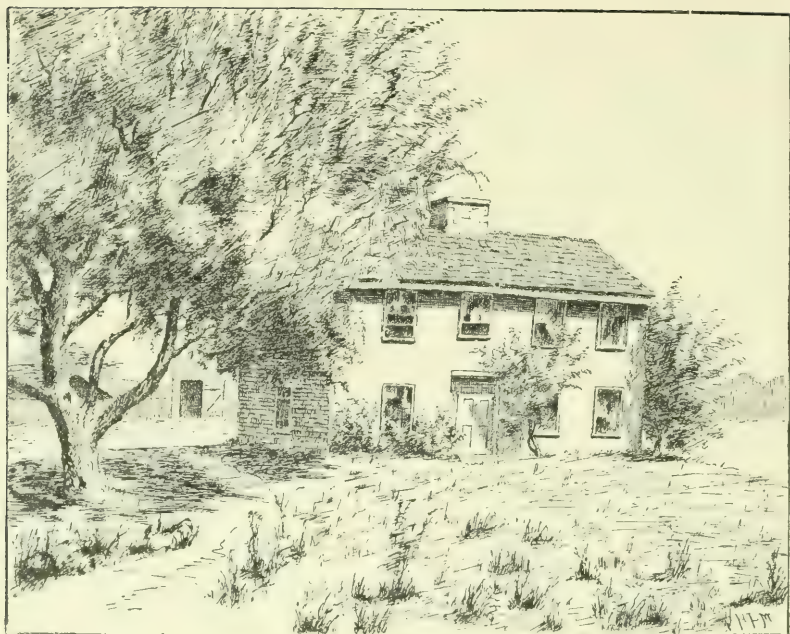
When the length of the services, stretching sometimes to two hours or even more, is considered, and the absence of all that makes our modern places of worship comfortable, it may be

⁵² In its earlier years one or more stairways gave access to the galleries from the north side of the house. This appears from a vote, passed in 1763, to take down "the mens and womens north Stair."

realized that there were great possibilities of discomfort in the meeting houses of the old time. "The house had no cushions," says our informant, "nor fire-place or stove for any fire; and it was just as good for worship as any house that we have now — if it had been warmed." In cold weather women carried to the meeting house foot-stoves filled with hardwood coals, which they who came from a distance and remained all day replenished before the afternoon service at the tavern or at a neighboring house.

Much has been written and said of the discomforts and bodily pains which our fathers and mothers sustained or enjoyed, with a grim sense of a duty performed, in the old New England meeting houses. It may be questioned how much the approbation of their sincere hearts and the joys of the spiritual man mitigated the disquiet of their material frames; and yet they could sing with spirit, and doubtless with the understanding, such inspiring words as these, from their rude version of the Psalms: —

I joy'd in them that said to me,
 let 's at the Lord's house meet.
 O thou Jerusalem within
 thy gates shall stand our feet
 Jerusalem is builded up
 into a city frame:
 In 't self together uniform,
 compacted is the same.



CHAPTER XVI.

THE SOUTH PRECINCT.

WHILE the people of the south side freely acquiesced in the unanimous vote by which the town agreed "to meet in the new meetinghouse to Carry on y^e worship of God for the futuer," their pacification was far from being real; and they were secretly working to divide the town.¹ The first sermon, as we have seen, was preached in the new house by Mr. Emerson, August 16, 1730. The dissatisfied members of the church and congregation had made arrangements for a meeting of their own at the same time, but by some means they were disappointed. Four Sabbaths later they were more successful and

¹ Twenty-five years later the south side men said of this vote:—"We say that the s^d vote was not so freely come into as represented, but obtained in conjunction with another [in favor of Aaron Cleaveland, the builder] y^e reason of which as we have been inform'd was this: y^e southwardly part of y^e Town were concern'd for their neighbours of y^e s^d Com^{tee}, & y^e northwardly equally so to worship in s^d House; we were affraid that they would not raise y^e money, & therefore y^e vote was put as represented." *Mass. Archives*, xiii. 692.

held their first service by themselves.² The place of their meeting is now unknown. It was probably in the house of some one of their number. After this their meetings were frequent, and attempts to maintain stated preaching appear to have been made; but an organization was not effected for several years. Matters were rapidly tending towards the separation for which they were earnestly striving. As early as July 6, 1731, a petition was presented to the General Court asking its interference in view of the threatened rupture.

A Petition of Samuel Wait & a great number of Others Inhabitants of the Town of Malden *Shewing* that after long Contention among the Inhabitants of the s^d Town about placing their new Meeting House the Contending parties agreed to leave the decision thereof to five Gentlemen in the Governm^t Who unanimously determined upon the most proper Place for setting the Meeting House & their determination was Confirmed by the Order of the General Court, notwithstanding which a party in the said Town did a long Time oppose the Meeting House being set up in that place & Joses Bucknam & others are about Building another Meeting House within a Mile of that already built, which will make such a Division in the Town as will be ruinous to it & Therefore praying an Order of this Court to forbid their proceeding in the said Affair.

In Council Read & *Ordered* that the Petitioners serve Joses Bucknam James Barret & Jonathan Sergeant with a Copy of this Petition, that so they may shew cause if any they have, on Fryday the ninth Instant, why the Prayer thereof should not be granted & that no further proceedings be had as to the Building a new Meeting House in Malden in the mean Time.

In the House of Representatives Read & non concur'd, & the Question put whether the prayer of the petition be granted? & it pass'd in the negative. In Council read & unanimously non Concur'd.³

From the intimation contained in this petition and from other indications, it seems probable that they began about this time to build a meeting house upon the hill in Everett known at various times as Sargeant's, Nelson's, or Belmont Hill. Here, on a spot near the present easterly corner of High Street and Broadway, Jonathan Sargeant had set apart a piece of land near the centre of the farm which had descended from

² *Bi-Centennial Book of Malden*, 128.

³ *General Court Records*, xv. 121.

his grandfather, William Sargeant, the "godly Christian" who first preached the word to the infant church of Malden. His deed of gift, bearing date August 6, 1731, is not without interest.

To all People to whome these presents shall come Jonathan Sargeant of Malden in the County of Middlesex in New England Yeoman sendeth Greeting &c. Know ye that I the said Jonathan Sargeant for and in Consideration of the Love good will and affection that I have for and do bear towards all the Christian People that Inhabit In the Southerly part of Malden and for the propagation of the Gospel among them have given and granted and do by these presents fully freely clearly and absolutely Give and grant unto Stower Sprague Ebenezer Upham John Mudge Jun^r and John Green Jun^r all of the Town of Malden Yeoman and to their associates heirs and assigns for ever a certain Tract or parcel of Land Situate lying and being in the Southerly part of Malden aforesaid containing one Quarter of Acre being part of my homestead or home-dwelling whereon now I dwell for the erecting of a new Meeting House on in order to the Worshipping of God in the Congregational way which quarter of an Acre is bounded as followeth beginning at the Corner where the Stone Wall meeteth with Ebenezer Seargeants Land at a heap of Stones in the Corner and from thence running about Southwest as the Wall now stands Six Poles and an half to an heap of Stones and from thence running about South East Six poles and an half to a heap of stones and from thence running about North East Six Poles and an half to a heap of Stones by the Wall side and then bounded by the Stone Wall about Northwest Six Pole and an half to the bound first mentioned . . . together with a Road from said Land Twenty and six feet wide where or nigh where it is now trodden down to the Gate and then from the Gate the same weadth that it is already Laid out down to the highway they fencing said highway if they would have it an open road.⁴

For a while both parties remained quiet, although the meetings in the southern district were continued and there was apparently no intention on the part of the seceders to return. There was presented to the General Court, in December, 1732, "A Petition of Ioses Bucknam & sundry others Inhabitants of the Southerly part of the Town of Malden, Praying that they with their Estates may be set off a Separate Precinct."⁵ This petition was referred to the session beginning in the following

⁴ *Midd. Co. Deeds*, xxxvii. 227.

⁵ *General Court Records*, xv. 349.

May, when the parties were heard and the answer of the town considered. The town was represented by Jonathan Barrett, John Wilson, and Samuel Bucknam; but as the latter was a south side man, his name was not affixed to the answer of the agents, which was a strong and straightforward statement of the case.

To His Excellency Jonathan Belcher Esq and to the Hon^{ble} His majesty's Council & honoured House of Represent^{vs} in General Court now Sitting the 6th June 1733

The Answer of Jonathan Barrett, John Wilson and Samuel Bucknam (agents chosen by & for the Town of Maldon) to a Petition of the Inhabitants of the southerly Part of Maldon.
Humbly Sheweth,

Inasmuch as Sundry Inhabitants on the Southerly Part of our Town have Set forth in their Petition that there hath been for many Years past an uncomfortable Difference among us, which after all Endeavours for Peace still remains, We humbly crave leave to Say & doubt not to make it clear & evident to this Great & General Court, That the Sole Reason of our Difference hath principally arose from their own unreasonable Contrariety to the Votes of the Town, the Result of a wise and hono^{ble} Committee, and to the Order of the Great and General Court, relating to the Situation of our new Meeting House, and We humbly beg Leave to remonstrate our Proceedings from time to time with the Reasons thereof.⁶

And whereas said Petitioners have addressed the Great and General Court to set them off into a distinct Township or Precinct by certain Bounds described in their Petition, and have served the Town with a Copy of their Petition according to order of Court to Shew Cause why their Prayer should not be granted, We humbly beg leave in behalf of the Town to declare the same, Viz:

1: The Towns meeting House was by Vote of the Town agreed on to accommodate the whole Town.

2: Where the meeting House now Stands was determined on by a wise & Hono^{ble} Com^{tee} mutually chosen by both Parts of the Town.

3^{ly} It is Seated much nearer the Southerly part of the Town & is much more convenient for the Jnhabitants thereof than those on the north Side, both by Reason of the nearness of the House & Goodness of the Roads.

⁶ Here follows in the document an beginning, which has been used in the account of the controversy from its preparation of the preceding chapter.

4: As it now Stands, it is by reason of a Road that leads to the South east Part of the Town as accomodable for near half the south Part of the Town within 40 Roods as the old meeting House was.

5. The meeting House as it now Stands is not 30 Roods from Lewis's Bridge, and the Creek by which they propose the Town to be divided,⁷ So that there will not be one House on the north Side of Said Bounds to the Southward of the meeting House.

6. After the Town voted they would not have 2 meeting Houses Sundry Inhabitants on the northside (about 10 Families and some of the wealthiest) petitioned the Great and General Court to be set off to Reading and were accordingly, which hath Shortened the Town a mile. Here we would observe said Families were uneasy, & living at the remotest Part of the Town were desirous of having preaching in the Winter Season, or to be Set off to Reading, and the Town chose rather to Set them off.

7. The Common Wood Lots belonging to both Parts of the Town lies on y^e N: Side, & a great Part being mountainous & Rocks must for the most Part lye for Woods, and a great Part fit for nothing else.

8. The greatest Part of the marish & Some upland belonging to the north Side Inhabitants lies within the Bounds mentioned in their Petition.

9: Near 30 Families of the South side constantly attend the publick Worship in the Towns meeting House, and some of them included in the Petition, and Some of them live near as far from the Towns meeting House as the greatest Part of the South Side do.

10: Some Families within the Limits described in their Petition⁸ as they are cut off by a River must come by the Towns meeting House unless in Winter Seasons when the River is froze & even then they are nearer to the Towns meeting House than to the other.

11. There are many of the Petit^{ts} that pay little or nothing to the Tax except their Polls, and Some of them have left the Town Since their Petition was preferred.

12. Our Rev^d Pastor hath many Times set forth the great Difficulties he hath been under by Reason of the Value of the money, and that he hath been hardly put to it, to Support his Family, but considering the Circumstances of the Town at the present luncture he hath Sat easy & wav'd any further motions for a addition to his Salary,⁹ the

⁷ Pemberton's, or Harvell's Brook was the northern line proposed by the petitioners. This was certainly taking a liberal division of the town; but it failed, and the line of the new precinct was fixed as stated in note 19.

⁸ The families at Wilson's, or Blanchard's Point [Wellington].

⁹ The settled salary of Mr. Emerson was, as has been stated, one hundred pounds. In 1734 the town added to it fifty pounds, "passable monny yearly

Consideration whereof hath moved particular Persons willingly to contribute every Sabbath Day towards his Relief, which must needs be an Increase of Charge to the north Side mostly, Here we beg leave to observe how hard it will prove for the north Side, who live at so much greater Distance than the South to have a double Charge fall on them necessarily on Dividing the Town.

If our Town be divided, We beg leave to query, Whether it will be for the Peace of the Town in General, or whether it will not occasion great & lasting contentions in the Town especially in the north Part, for then the meeting House will Stand on the extreamest Part of the north side Southward whereas now it Stands pretty near the Centre of the Town.

We humbly pray this Hon^d Court to take our Case into their Serious Consideration & compassionate our Sad & distressed Circumstances, and for the above mentioned Reasons, which we are able to attest to the Truth of and many more of Weight (too tedious to be inserted) we are ready to offer, if this great & Hon^d Court See cause in their Wisdom to admit us personally to speak to, which we don't doubt will Set things in so clear & manifest Light as that this Hon^d Court will be induced to Iudge that the dividing our Town will necessarily tend to the impoverishing the Town (especially the north Part) and bring them into the utmost Difficulty, Confusion, and Laying Such Burdens as will be grievous to us & our Posterity. From the consideration whereof we hope & intreat this Hon^d Court will in their great Wisdom See cause to dismiss their Petition which will engage us, as in Duty bound ever to pray &c.

JONATHAN BARRATT,
JOHN WILSON.¹⁰

The petition came before the Court, June 12, when it was dismissed by the concurrent action of both branches.¹¹

Failing in their efforts to divide the town, sixteen male members of the old church withdrew from Mr. Emerson's communion the next spring, and called a council of three churches by which they were constituted a separate body under the name of the South Church, April 18, 1734. At a meeting of the new church, September 4, Jonathan Sargeant

for the term of three years." The parish voted an additional one hundred pounds, O. T., in 1745; and in 1747, and again in 1749, "The Parish added three hundred Pounds old tennor for this Present Year to the Revnd Mr Ioseph Emerson

Salerry." The addition in 1752 was fifty-two pounds, lawful money.

¹⁰ Official copy in the possession of Artemas Barrett, 1866. The original is not to be found in the *Mass. Archives*.

¹¹ *General Court Records*, xv. 400, 401.

and Ebenezer Upham were chosen ruling elders, and John Mudge, deacon.¹²

Although their former petition had failed, the malcontents doubtless felt strengthened, for they had succeeded in obtaining a church organization; and after a little respite they renewed their endeavors for a separation. At the General Court, December 3, 1734, there was presented

A Petition of Jonathan Sergent and Ioses Bucknam in behalf of the Inhabitants of the Southerly part of the Town of Malden *Shewing* That in the Year 1732 they preferr'd their petition to be set off a separte precinct which the Court were pleased to Dismiss and for as much as the Pet^{rs}. still Labour under the Difficultys they then Represented Therefore praying that they may be made a separte precinct or that a Com^{tee} may be appointed to view them and Consider their Circumstances and Report their Opinion thereon to this Court.¹³

With this prayer the representatives sympathized and ordered a committee, with such as the Council might add, to proceed to Malden and consider the circumstances of the town. In this order the Council, however, non-concurred and the business was ended for that session. The petitioners were, nevertheless, far from being discouraged and preferred a third petition in April, 1735, which met the fate of its predecessors.

Maldon Southerly Petition & Order. April, 1735.

To His Excellency Jonathan Belcher, Esq. Captain General & Commander in Chief in & over His majesty's Province of the massachusetts Bay in New England, and to the Hono^{ble} His majesty's Council & Hono^d House of Represent^{rs} in General Court assembled April 9: 1735.

The Petition of the South Church with the Inhabitants of the South Part of Malden

Humbly sheweth,

That Whereas they have been at the charge of building a meeting House for the publick Worship of God and for Several Years past maintained a Gospel Minister amongst them for the Comfort and Conveniency of them and their Families and at the Same Time paid their proportionate Part towards the Maintenance of the minister of the

¹² *Bi-Centennial Book of Malden*, 129.

¹³ *General Court Records*, xvi. 73.

north Part of the Town, notwithstanding those of the north Part are as able to Support the ministry of themselves without our Help as we are without their Help ; and the whole Town being, as we humbly conceive (either together or apart if actually divided) Sufficiently qualified honourably to maintain two ministers, and their having been in the year past a Church embodied according to the order of the Gospel, and agreeable to the Platform of Church Discipline and being desirous that we may have a Gospel minister Settled with us, that so the Ordinances of the Gospel may be administered amongst us, our humble Request to this Great & Hono^{ble} Court is that in your great Wisdom and Goodness you would compassionate our Circumstances, and exert your Legislative Power, and form us into a distinct Township, Parish or Precinct (with our Perquisites and proportionable Part of all the Rights of the ministerial Lands belonging to the Town) according to the Bounds mentioned in our former Petition, or as in your great Wisdom you Shall think best ; that So we may be capacitated to call & Settle an orthodox minister and afford him a Suitable maintenance ; or if in your great Wisdom you should think best that you would first Send a Committee to view the Situation of the Town at our Cost ; and in answer to the Reasons exhibited to the Hono^{ble} Court by the Town against our being Set off from them,¹⁴ we would beg leave to reply in General that a Great Part of your humble Petitioners were formerly belonging to Charlestown, and the great motive which inclined them to be set off to Malden was the greater Conveniency of attending that meeting, at which Time we were encouraged the meeting House should not be carried further from us, whereas now it is removed from us almost half a mile in a bad Road, and altho' to Some few it may not be much further than the old meeting House was, yet most of those finding the great Conveniency of Having the meeting House near them, and being Sensible by the Blessing of God they Shall be able to Support the ministry to their & their Families greater Comfort and Conveniency and at the Same time leave their neighbours of the north Part of the Town under as good Circumstances to Support the ministry as themselves on the South Part of the Town we therefore pray this Hono^{ble} Court to take our Case into your wise Consideration, and retrieve us from our Difficulties, and your humble Petitioners as in Duty bound Shall ever pray.

Joses Bucknam Jun^r :

John marable

John Pain

Phinehas Sargeant

Joseph Sargeant

William Pain

Joses Bucknam

James Barret

Jonathan Sargeant

John Mudge

¹⁴ This refers to the town's answer to the former petition.

Phillip Sweetser	Eben ^r Upham
Thomas Pratt	John Burditt
Solomon Townsend	Jabez Sargeant
Thomas Wheeler	John Sargeant
Richard Dexter	James Moulton
Joseph Burditt	Jon ^a Oakes
Peletiah Whittemore	Joshua Whittemore
Thomas Richardson	Sam ^l Sweetser Jun ^r
John Winslow	John Warren
James Barrett jun ^r	Jacob Winslow
John Green	Jacob Burdett
John Nicholls	Joseph Caswell
Benj ^s Sweetser	Thomas Burditt
Nathaniel Upham	John Green Jun ^r
Simon Grover	Stower Sprague
Eben ^r Barrett	Daniel Whittemore
Elias Whittemore	Eben ^r Pratt
Adam Knox	Daniel Whittemore Jun ^r
Jabez Burdett	Jonathan Whittemore

In Council April 9 : 1735. Read & *Ordered* That the Petitioners Serve the Town of Malden or the Congregation usually attending the Ministry of the Rev^d M^r Emerson with a Copy of this Petition that so they give in their answer on the first Tuesday of the next May Session.

Sent down for Concurrence.

J: WILLARD *Sec^y*

In the House of Represent^{ves} April 18: 1735.

Read & Concurred

J. QUINCY *Spk^r*:

Consented to J. BELCHER.¹⁵

The determination of this prayer was made, June 4, 1735, when the answer of the north side was read before the Council, "as also the Petition of Thomas Wayt and Sixteen other Inhabitants of the Southerly part of said Malden Praying that this petition may not be Granted and the matter being fully Considered," the question was passed in the negative and the petition was dismissed by a concurrent vote of both the Council and the House.¹⁶

The south side people had pluck at least, if they lacked some of the more Christian qualities. Thrice rebuffed, they

¹⁵ Official copy in the possession of Artemas Barrett, 1866. Also, *General Court Records*, xvi. 134.

¹⁶ *General Court Records*, xvi. 148.

lost nothing of their persistency. If they might not have a separate precinct, they already had a separate church. Stated preaching they might have; but it would be at a double cost, as they were taxed for the support of the town's ministry, which, under the existing state of affairs, was that of the church of their north side neighbors. It may have been argued that a ministry of their own would add strength to their position in the event of a future attempt for a separation. However this may have been, they proceeded to call a Council composed of "the Churches of the Old & New North in Boston, of Charlestown, the first Church in Maldon the 2^d Church in Brantry, the Churches of Scituate, Pembroke, & Hannover to Assist in the ordination of the Rev^d Mr. Joseph Stimson to the Pastoral office over them." The proceedings of the Council were entered upon his own church records by the venerable Thomas Cheever of Rumney Marsh, the former pastor of the Malden church.

[September 24, 1735.] This day the Elders and Messengers of the Churches mett in Council at Maldon, and after their Covenant was read; and the Result of the Council of three Churches by whom they were imbodyed into a distinct Church state was read, & after the Consideration & Debate upon what was Offered by the Rev^d Mr. Emerson & a Committee of his Church in Objection to the Proceedings to ordination, The Council Voted that they were a Church of Christ, & to be acknowledged as such, and that what had been Objected was not Sufficient to hinder the Proceeding to Ordination, Accordingly they immediately went to y^e Meetinghouse, where y^e Rev^d Mr. Stimson was Ordained after y^e usual manner.¹⁷

Joseph Stimson, the first pastor of the South Church, was a son of Andrew and Abigail (Sweetser) Stimson of Charles-

¹⁷ *Rumny-marish Church Book, in loco.* Mr. Emerson, in his sermon preached four days later, warned his hearers against "Party-Councils." It is, he says, the business of the church to call ecclesiastical councils, "and not the Business of a few *particular Persons*. And such Men, as are at the Beck of a disaffected Party, and are ready at the Invitation of such a Party to come and form themselves into an Ecclesiastical Council, when the Church at the

same time, are free to submit Matters in Controversy to the Consideration of a proper Council; I say, such Men discover too much of a busy, forward, and party Disposition. . . . Party-Councils, and Anti-Councils, tend to the confusion, and not to the peace and Edification of Churches: And my Brethren, the less you are concern'd with *such Councils*, the better. Emerson, *Meat out of the Eater*, 9, 10.

town, where he was born February 7, $\frac{1699}{1700}$. His mother was a daughter of that Benjamin Sweetser, a prominent Baptist, whose wife Abigail is supposed to have been the only sister of Michael Wigglesworth. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1720, and taught school a few years in his native town. Malden seems to have been his first and only place of settlement as a minister and he appears to have preached here some time before his ordination. Of his abilities as a preacher nothing is known. At college he appears nearly at the foot of his class. If his piety covered the paucity of his attainments, it was well. Even that, if the other were wanting, might have entitled him to some consideration at the hands of his quarrelsome parishioners. His salary was long in arrears; and if poverty were his portion, sickness seems to have been present with it.

The course of Mr. Emerson during this time was one of steadiness and courage tempered by prudence and moderation. No part of the movement was occasioned by dissatisfaction with him; and he so lived "that he was not reproached by any as being the cause," although he keenly felt the division and was much distressed by the crooked ways of his former parishioners. His son says of him: —

In his younger days, his courage, wisdom, prudence and steadiness were very much tried, and were very conspicuous, when so considerable a part of the church and congregation rent themselves off from him and their brethren. Tho' it was not from any disgust at, or uneasiness with him as their minister, yet it caused him no little trouble and uneasiness. He behaved with prudence, sobriety and patience, and managed the intricate and difficult affairs of that day, as far as he was concerned as the pastor of the church, with that impartiality, as to obtain the approbation of some of the wisest and best men in the country, assembled in council; and I doubt not, of God, and his own conscience. Some later trials which greatly exercised his patience, and made very deep impression upon him, I believe were found *to praise, and honor and glory*; his ripening for heaven was very apparent.¹⁸

Mr. Stimpson was ordained on Wednesday. On the following Sunday, Mr. Emerson preached a sermon to his church

¹⁸ Emerson, *Extract from a late Sermon, etc.*, 9.

and congregation, "the Design whereof," he said, "is to lead to such an Improvement of some unhappy Things that have been among us, as that God may be honour'd." This sermon

Meat out of the Eater,

AND

Sweetness out of the Strong

A

S E R M O N

Preach'd at *MALDEN*,

September 28th. 1735.

By JOSEPH EMERSON, A.M.

Pastor of a Church in said Town.

Gen. 50. 20 --- *God meant it unto Good.*

Psal. 76. 10. *Surely the Wrath of Man shall praise Thee; --*

Psal. 119. 71. *It is good for me that I have been afflicted: that I might learn thy Statutes.*

Phil. 1. 12. --- *I would that ye should understand, that the Things which happened -- have fallen out rather unto the Furtherance of the Gospel.*

B O S T O N :

Printed by S. KNEELAN. & T. GREEN, for D. HENCHMAN,
in Corn-hill. 1735.

was printed under the title of *Meat out of the Eater, and Sweetness out of the Strong*. In the dedication, the reverend author pays a compliment to his people, which may have covered a thrust at his southern brethren. "I cannot but rejoyce," says he, "in the remarkable Sobriety, Temperance, and Industry, that so generally prevails among you: That there are so few, idle, rude, extravagant, drinking Persons among us." The following extracts give a lively picture of the condition of the church and town during the long contention; and the author's reflections upon the course of the seceders, though severe, seem to have been just.

You cannot be insensible, my Brethren & Neighbours, that in several of the Years past, there have been those unhappy Things among us, that have *eaten* and devour'd (in a great measure) our Time, our Interest, our Comfort, our Love and Charity, &c. It has been a long, long Day of Temptation with us, a long and a dark Day of Affliction. Wearisom and fatiguing Difficulties have we had to pass through, sore Temptations to conflict with. Our own and others Corruptions, what sorrowful Work have they made us! How much Time, precious Time, has been consumed to no purpose, or to that which is worse than none in the Day of our unhappy Difficulties! What Labour, what Difficulty, what Expençe, what Grief and Vexation have our Divisions Occasion'd us! And, which is worse than all, what Wounds have we given to our precious Souls! How have we griev'd the good Spirit of God! What Guilt have we contracted! What spiritual Comfort have we depriv'd our selves of, by the Sin and Folly of Contention!

Meat will come forth out of the Eater, and Sweetness out of the Strong, if a well established Peace should be Consequent upon the Divisions and Confusions that have been among us. If after the *Tossings* and *Shakings* we have had, we should for the future be the more *settled* and *composed*. Oh that it might be so! May the God of Peace give you Peace! May we become a quiet Habitation, and no longer a Seat of Contention! Let us pray, let us plead, that a long lasting Peace may be establish'd in the midst of us. Let us *pray*, let us *plead*, that our dear Children that are rising up, may never see in this Place such Disorders and Contentions as we their unhappy Fathers have seen.

We have seen a *Meeting-House* built, some of our *Members embodied*, &c. And we are (some of us at least) ready to think that those *Ends* have not been gain'd by proper and regular Means. . . . People may for the present prosper in unlawful, irregular Ways; but they must ex-

pect, God will take a time to make them know and see, that He is *not a God that hath Pleasure in Iniquity.*

And God forbid ! that we should cease to pray for our Brethren and Neighbours in the *other part of the Town.* Let us pray, that what *they know not, God would teach them, and wherein they have done Iniquity,* that He would make them sensible of it, and truly humble them for it; and so prepare them for the Smiles of His Countenance, and the Favours of His Providence. . . . Tho' Things have been *bad* among us, yet we have reason to bless God that they have not been *worse.* That there have not been *more* gross Disorders, *more* dismal Confusions among us, God has permitted just so much *Wrath* to break forth, as to get Himself Glory from it, *and the Remainder He has restrained.*

At a town meeting held in May, 1736, the South Church and congregation made a movement to induce the town to assume the salary of Mr. Stimpson. It is evident from other indications that they were not enjoying that ease in financial matters which they had assumed would attend them. The motion which they raised was artfully coupled with one in favor of the inhabitants of the extreme north end, but it failed to be acceptable to the town.

[May 17, 1736,] It was put to vote to see if the town will pay the two ministers (viz)m^r Emerson and m^r Stimson there salleries Equelly alike by a town rate: and to see if the town will abate all the north side inhabitants that live more then two mills from the towns meeting-hous one quarter of the ministers rate and it past in the negetive.

At the same time the town refused to grant the petition of Jonathan Sargeant and other south side inhabitants for a "Distinct township or parrish." But the petitioners were far from being disheartened or inclined to rest with what they had gained, which, however, was of little real advantage, as they were still held for rates made in the support of Mr. Emerson and his ministry, and would be so held until a division of the town could be attained. Accordingly, at the winter session of the General Court, in 1737, they made a fourth attempt for a separation.

[December 7, 1737,] A Petition of Nathaniel Upham, Joseph Wilson and other Inhabitants of the Southerly Part of Malden *Shewing*

that they have erected a Meeting House and by the advice of a Council of Churches they have settled a learned orthodox Minister among them, but can not obtain a Vote of the Town for their being set off from them ; and therefore Praying that this Court would set them off a separate Town or Precinct, by the following bounds viz: Beginning at a Stake and Heap of Stones in the Marsh by Moultons Island, which is the Station Line between Boston & Malden and so as Boston Line runs to the Creek where Boston Line crosses the Creek in Cpt. Olivers Farm, and from thence on a strait Line to Pemberton's Brook at the Bridge,¹⁹ and from the said Bridge South and Southwestwardly as the Lane runs to the end of Hutchinsons Lane and from the end of the said Lane to the corner of the Towns Pasture at the end of the said Lane due West to Sandy Bank River, and then as the said River runs to the Mouth of it, and from thence South Easterly as the great River runs to Wormwood Point formerly so called, and from thence as the River runs to the first Station ; and that the Petitioners may have their proportionable part of the ministerial Lands in Worcester, Shrewsbury, and else where.²⁰

This petition was referred to December 16, and due notice was ordered to be given to the town. At the appointed time, not only the agents chosen by the town appeared, but also a remonstrating petition of Samuel Bucknam and others living within the limits of the proposed new parish. Upon further consideration, the Court appointed " a committee to repair to *Malden* and view the Town, and hear the Parties to this Petition, as well as the abovementioned Petition of *Samuel Bucknam* and others, and upon the whole to consider and report what is proper for this Court to do thereon." ²¹ The committee performed its duties at once, and soon made the following report, which may be regarded as the charter of the South Precinct.

The Committee appointed to repair to *Malden*, &c. do report, That they have thoroughly viewed said Town, and fully heard the several Parties, and it appears to the Committee that there has been a long Dissention in said Town, particularly about the Place of publick Worship ;

¹⁹ This was the bridge over Harvell's Brook at Cross Street. Cross Street from the bridge to Main Street, as it now runs, nearly represents the line between the parishes.

²⁰ *General Court Records*, xvii. (1), 61, 62.

²¹ *Journal House of Reps.*, December 19, 1737.

That about ten Years ago, a Meeting-House was built at the Charge of the Town, and placed so as to suit the northwardly Part of the Town, some Years after another Meeting-House was built by the southwardly Part of said Town, and in that Part of the Town a Minister has been settled and ordained, and there seems no Prospect that the Town will again unite in one Place of Worship. It likewise appears by the Consent of the Parties, that the Division of the Town by the Lines proposed by the Petitioners is an equal Division of said Town. It also appears by the Consent of Parties that the Town's Meeting-House (as 'tis called) is so situate as best to accommodate the northern Part of the Town, and that the south Meeting-House is situate so as well to accommodate the People in the southern Part of the Town.

The Committee do further represent, that the principal Objection made by the northern Part of the Town against their being divided into two Towns or Parishes, is their Inability to maintain two Ministers. The Committee to satisfy themselves examined some of their Tax-Bills, by which it appears that there are about two hundred and ten Polls in said Town, and that the Inhabitants of the Town generally pay to Mr. *Emerson* very small Rates, so that there seems no Reason to question the Ability of the Town to maintain two Ministers.

Therefore the Committee are of Opinion, for the Promotion of Religion and the Peace of the Town, that the Town of *Malden* be divided into two Precincts, and that the southern Precinct be bounded by the Lines described in their Petition, and that all the Polls on the southwardly Side of the divisional Line, together with their Estates lying and being in the Town of *Malden*, be taxed in the south Precinct, saving that *Samuel Bucknam, John Shute, James Hovey, James Green, Obadiah Jenkins, Isaac Wheeler, Isaac Wait, and Jonathan Knower*, be allowed for the present to continue to the north Precinct, and that their Polls and Estates be taxed there,²² so long as they with their Families shall generally attend the publick Worship of God in the northwardly Parish, and that the Polls on the northwardly side of the division Line with their Estates, lying and being in the Town of *Malden*, shall be taxed in the northwardly Precinct.

And whereas there is a considerable Estate (lying partly in the Town of Malden and partly in other Towns) devoted to the Support of the Ministry in the Town of *Malden*: The Committee are of Opinion that the Profits and Income of all such Estate shall be equally divided to the two Precincts, and applied to the Support of their respective Ministers; saving that the Reverend Mr. *Emerson* have the Improve-

²² The persons exempted were inhabitants of the northern and eastern portions of the territory south of Har-

vell's Brook and a line drawn east to Pines River.

ment and Profit of the Parsonage House and Land in *Malden*, during his Life, or continuance in the Ministry there. All which is humbly submitted.

In the Name and by Order of the Committee.

JOHN STODDARD.

*Boston, Decemb. 24th. 1737*²³

This report was accepted by the Council, December 24, and by the Representatives, in concurrence, three days later; and this action received the indorsement of Governor Belcher soon after. No other action appears to have been taken; and although the acceptance of a report is not now an evidence of its adoption, it seems to have been otherwise in the days of the provincial Legislature; and the South Precinct in Malden was created without a further vote.²⁴

The records of the precinct are extant from the beginning.²⁵ The first meeting was held January 23, 1737½, when Captain Samuel Green was moderator and Thomas Waite, 3rd, was clerk. A temporary committee of five was chosen "to call Prec^t meetings for y^e future." A regular meeting for the election of officers was held March 13, at which Elder Jonathan Sargeant was moderator, and the following officers were chosen: Thomas Waite, 3rd, *Clerk*; James Barrett, Captain Samuel Green, Nathaniel Upham, John Burditt, and Joseph Wilson, *Precinct Committee*; Lieutenant Thomas Burditt, Thomas Waite, 3rd, Stower Sprague, Benjamin Blaney, and John Winslow,²⁶ *Assessors*; Joses Bucknam, *Treasurer*; and Phineas Sargeant, *Collector*.

At a meeting held a few days later, Captain Samuel Green, Benjamin Blaney, and Lieutenant Thomas Burditt were chosen "agents, to assert y^e s^d Prec^t rights of y^e ministeriall Lands

²³ *Journal House of Reps.*, December 27, 1737. *General Court Records*, xvii. (1), 112-114.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 114.

²⁵ The volume containing these records, which are complete to the dissolution of the precinct, is now in the possession of the city of Everett. It also contains the records of the South School District from its formation in 1800 to the year 1853, when the school

district system was abolished. It was formerly in the possession of Charles D. Adams, the last clerk of the district, by whom it was presented to the town. In writing of the South Precinct I shall frequently quote from its records without reference, when the authority is obvious.

²⁶ John Winslow refused the office of assessor and Samuel Stower was chosen in his stead at a meeting in March.

Lying in Reading, Malden, and any other Lands belonging to y^e Ministry in Malden, Sett of to them by the Great and Generall Court in Decemb^r. 1737, as not yet Subdivided." The new precinct appears never to have enjoyed any portion of the income or principal of the ministerial lands, which remained in the possession of the old parish, although its right was often assailed. In the attempt to secure it the people of the south side wasted their energies and their money and were finally forced to forego the rights which they doubtless imagined they possessed.

Three rates were laid during the year, of which two of seventy-five pounds each were for the support of the ministry and one of fifty pounds to meet precinct charges. The other public acts of the precinct in the first year of its existence were connected with its meeting house, which appears in an unfinished condition, a state out of which it never wholly passed.²⁷

²⁷ Many entries, characteristic of the times, appear in the precinct records in relation to the meeting house.

The following votes were passed March 22, 1737⁸:—"To grant y^e request of m^r Benjⁿ Brintnall and others to buld a sete behind y^e forth Seat in y^e mens side Gallery, and to have it for thear own, without any Disturbance."—"To grant y^e request of m^r John Burduitt and others to cutt up y^e two hind Seats on y^e mens Side below, and buld three pews in thear place, for y^e price Sett forth in thear Petition, which was fifteen pounds in Bills of Credit, to be paid to s^d Prec^t,"—"To buld two Seats more in y^e mens Side Gallery and one Seat in y^e womens Side gallery."—"To grant y^e Desire of y^e Rev^d m^r Io^h Stimson m^r Sam^l Sweetcer Cap^t Sam^l Green m^r Benjⁿ Blaney, to buld Stables on y^e line between y^e gate and y^e School hous."

"[May 26, 1738] The Proprietors of y^e Meeting hous in y^e South Prec^t in Malden, did then agree and voted y^e s^d house to be a Prec^t Hous, they reserving their rights allredy granted; and also y^e Prec^t voted to pay m^r Tho^s Richardson ten pounds for what he has

done to y^e meeting hous, besides what he has allready had."—"To finish y^e front door of y^e meeting hous, with the Steps belonging to it."—Elder Ebenezer Upham, Jabez Sargeant, and John Winslow were chosen "to trete with such Parsons belonging to s^d Prec^t as shall appear to buy pews Granted to be built."

It was voted, July 3, 1738, "That there shall be Six Pillers Sett up to Support y^e mens and womens Galleryes." At the same time a committee reported that Captain Samuel Green had bought the right to a pew, four feet and four inches long and five feet wide, "in womens hinder seets," for ten pounds; and Phillips Sweetser was given leave to build a pew or pews "in y^e wemens hinder part of y^e front Gallery."

March 30, 173⁸/₉, it was voted, "To finish y^e Carpenters and masons work in y^e Inside of the meeting house;" and in the following May, "To finish y^e oute side of the Meeting house, namely y^e pentis over the womens Door, and make and putt up the back side gutter, and make and put up y^e Trunks, and Culler the trunks, and windows, and fore Door and gutters." At the same

It is said that at this time the South Church was at the height of its prosperity, if prosperity that may be called which was only comparative and was still far short of that state of perfect comfort and ease, either in temporal or spiritual things, which attends true prosperity. There was still a lack of means for the support of the ministry and their house was unfinished. There was a lack of Christian harmony in the church, and there was a constant cause for disquiet from without. In the midst of their hardly acquired precinct were persons and estates which remained to the North Parish, and others, unwillingly set off, were ready to join them.

The members of the new church and precinct had attained some measure of success; but it was conducive neither to comfort nor to peace. As a body they had sinned; and as they had sowed in deceit, bearing ill-will to their brethren, so they reaped, not a whirlwind, but a season of petty strife, of apathy and weakness, of spiritual decay and ruin. Before the first year was at an end, the authority of the General Court was invoked to cancel the act of separation or to modify its terms.

A Petition of Joseph Lynde and others Inhabitants of the Town of Malden; *Shewing* that altho' the General Court have been pleased to erect a new Precinct in the South Part of the said Town, yet the Inhabitants of the whole Town are not capable of supporting more than one Minister; and therefore Praying that they may be again united into one Precinct, or if that be thought not proper, that the first or Northern Precinct may enjoy the whole benefit of the Ministerial Lands belonging to said Town.²⁸

This petition was doubtless made under the pressure of an attempt made by the committee of the South Precinct to obtain a portion of the income of the ministerial lands. It was unsuccessful, but was renewed in another form the next year. The struggle which then took place over the petition of Stephen Paine and that of the North Parish, although it produced no immediate results, showed the weakness of the new precinct

time the precinct granted "To m^r Nath^l Paine liberty to build a pew in y^e Corner of the Meeting house over-
head going up y^e womens Gallery

Stairs." He was to pay three pounds "for s^d Spoot."

²⁸ *General Court Records*, xvii. (1), 325, 326. December 13, 1738.

and the dangers which beset it from the first. It began to decay at the beginning. The papers in the case are interesting as showing the condition of affairs and the authority by which the members of the North Parish withheld from their sister precinct a portion of the ministerial lands, an authority which they steadily maintained until it was confirmed twenty years later. Stephen Paine, whose petition claims a place in this connection, had come into the possession of the Carrington farm by purchase, or otherwise, of his father William Paine. This land, since known as the Simon Tufts farm in Everett, lay but a short distance from the meeting house, and its loss, aside from its effect upon the rates, might have led to a speedy disintegration of the precinct.

Province of the } To his Excellency Jonathan Belcher Esq^r
Massachusetts Bay } Captain General and Governor in Chief . . .
. . . in General Court assembled at Boston
December y^e 5th 1739.

The petition of Stephen Pain of the Town of Malden Most humbly *Sheweth*: That in the year 1737 This Honored Court in their great wisdom were pleased (after repeated Petitions from a number of the Inhabitants of the Southerly part of Malden) to lay them off and made them a Precinct by them selves, not only those who ware the petitioners but also Sundry others of y^e Inhabitants of the Southerly part of said Town, who did not desier to belaid off with them: Your Petitioner in perticuler, who with Eight others of the Freeholders of the south part of s^d Town Petitioned this Honored Court that neither they nor their Estats might be laid off with our neighbours but that we might be referred to pay to the Reverend M^r Emerson as formerly. the Prayer of s^d Petition was so far granted by this Honoured Court that Eight of the petitioners were referred to pay boath for their Pools and Estats to y^e north Parish so long as they with their families shall generally attend said meeting, your Petitioner onely out of nine was then laid off, and have since ben Calld upon to pay where neither I my self nor famely do attend y^e Publick worship, neither is it for my edification so to do; and in as much as your Excelency and Hono^rs being the only Resort for persons under the like dificulty for relief I would therefore most humbly pray that for the promoting of my spiritual and best good you would be pleased to take my Case & Circumstance into your most wise and serious Consideration and lay me with my Estate off back again to the north Parish, in asmuch as I can with my family attend the Publick

worship of God there with great Convenience. I submit my Case To your Excelencys and Honors most wise Consideration hoping that inasmuch as I am perswaded that It is your great Concern to seek the promotion of Religion; you will readily grant me my Request, which will oblige your Petitioner as in duty bound to ever pray, &c.

STEPHEN PAINE.

We the subscribers would signify to your Exelency and Honors that it is our earnest desier that the Prayer of the within written Petition may be granted

SAMUEL BUCKNAM	{ <i>Commy of The North Parrish.</i>	THOMAS WAITE	{ <i>Inhabitants of y^e South Preceint.</i>
DANEL NEWHALL		WILLIAM PAIN	
WILLIAM SPRAGUE		THOMAS RICHARDSON	
JOHN DEXTER		JOHN PAINE	
SAMUEL WAITE JUNER.		JOSEPH CASWELL	
	JOSEPH BURDITT JUNR		
	STEPHEN SWEETSER		
		EBENEZER VPHAM	
		THOMAS WAITE y ^e 3.	

In the House of Rept^{ves} Dec^r 19th 1739 Read. and *Ordered* that the Pet^r serve the south Parish in Malden with a Copy of this Petⁿ that they shew cause (if any they have) on thirsdays the 27th Instant if the Court be then sitting if not on the first thirsdays of the next sitting of this Court why the prayer thereof should not be granted.

Sent up for concurrence

J QUINCY *Sp^{kr}*

In Council December 20, 1739

Read & Concur'd

SIMON FROST *Dep^y Sec^{ry}*

21: Consented to

J BELCHER ²⁹

To his Excellency Jonathan Belcher Esq^r Captain General & Governour in Chief the honble the Council and house of representatives in Gen^l Court assembled 18 Dec^r 1739.

The Petition of the North Parish of Malden *Humbly Sheweth*

That when the Honble the Great & Gen^l Court in December 1737 sent the honble Col Stoddard & others a Comittee to inspect the circumstances of the Town of malden & report what they thought proper to be done as to the creating of the South Parish, they among other things report, that whereas there is a considerable estate partly in malden & partly in other Towns devoted to the support of the ministry in the Town of Malden the Comittee are of opinion that the profits & incomes of all such estates shall be equally divided to the two pre-

cincts & applied to the support of their respective ministers saving that the Rev^d M^r Emmerson have the improvement & profits of the parsonage house & Land in Malden during his life or Continuance in the ministry there, which with the rest of their report was accepted by that honble Court.

Now may it please y^r Excellency touching this particular article we most humbly pray this honble Court reconsideration of it and that for these following reasons viz.

1. Because the right to these ministerial lands the fee simple of the whole doth always in Law vest in the minister, was actually vested in m^r Emerson before the making of the South Parish or ordination of any minister for it. therefore in such like cases the several ministers have brought the action from time to time & made the defence. So it was in that famous case of D^r m^cSparan & M^r Torrey in the Narragansett Country.⁸⁰ So the action was brought in the County of Plimouth by the ministers of the glebe lands in [blank.] So was it in the case of the Worcester & Shrewsbury lands belonging to the ministry of Malden. M^r Emerson brought his action of Ejectmt against Wheler & Crosby & had final judgmt upon review for them at the Sup^r Court: in Sept (?) 1737 & was then actually Seised of them when this report was made, and if the minister of the South Parish had thought he had right to any part of them & brought his action he must have lost in the Paralel case between m^r James Bailey minister of the second Parish in Weymouth and William Smith minister of the first Parish. M^r Bailey lost by verdict of y^e Jury & Judgment of y^e Sup^r Court in august 1736 as well as by the concurring Opinion of the whole barr.

2. It is most equitable that the minister of the first Parish should hold that whole estate so lawfully vested in him. for the members of any new Parish generally come to be remote by their removing from the old Parish Ch^h for their own Convenience, & in this Case are near about one half of them Originally of other Towns added to this Town for their own Convenience are as Conveniently Scituated to the old parish Ch^h as the Parishioners of the old Parish themselves are, wherefore if they will seek to be created into a parish for their own Convenience tis enough for the old Parish to lose the assistance of their taxes, but tis a plain Jnjury for them to carry off the glebe lands of the old Parish with them.

⁸⁰ The case of the Rev. James McSparran, a missionary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, who entered upon certain glebe lands in Narragansett, was a famous one in the provincial days. Dr. McSparran was ejected by the Rev. Joseph Torrey, a Presbyterian minister. In one form or another the

contest excited great interest for thirty years. A voluminous account of the resulting suits may be found in Updike, *Narragansett Church*, 70-82; and much manuscript material relating to the same case is preserved in the Prince Library in the Boston Public Library.

3. The very matter of this article in the report afores^d was given against them entirely upon a Surprise for they were never heard one word upon it, nor was there any reasons or arguments ever moved or given for it before the Committee that the Committee of y^e north Parish ever heard of and therefore at least they humbly pray they may be heard upon this before this honble Court to answer all such reasons as the South Parish can possibly give for this article, that so they may not lose their plain right against reason & Equity & all upon a Surprise without being heard upon it, or at least they may be allowed to prove their right at y^e Com Law against any persons that shall claim the same lands or any part of them the report afores^d notwithstanding ; because we cannot Imagine this honble Court intended by an Extrajudicial act to strip them of their rights & disinherit their minister without any trial or lawful Judgment at Law.

Wherefore they humbly pray the Consideration of this honble Court upon the premises & that they may be relieved as the wisdom Justice & Goodness of this Court Shall best direct & y^r pet^s as in duty bound shall ever pray &c.

SAMUEL BUCKNAM

TIMOTHY SPRAGUE

JONATHAN BARRETT

JOHN DEXTER

SAMUEL WAIT JUNER

Comtee for y^e North Parish of Malden.

In the House of Rep^{tes} Dec^r 19th 1739 Read and *Ordered* that the Pet^s serve the South Parish of Malden with a Copy of this Petition that they Shew cause (if any they have) on Thursday the 27th Currant if the Court be then sitting if not on the first thirsdays of the next sitting of this Court why the prayer thereof should not be granted. Sent up for Concurrence. J. QUINCY *Spk^r*

In Council Decem^r 20. 1739.

Read & Concur'd

SIMON FROST *Dep^t Sec^y*

21: Consented to

J. BELCHER.³¹

At a Publick Meeting of the South Prec^t in Malden Dec^r the 22^d 1739: first voted Eld^r Jonⁿ Sargeant moderator for said meeting.

Voted. To Chuse a Com^{tee} of five men, to make answer to a petition of the north Parish of Malden at y^e great and Generall Court on Thursday y^e 27th Currant if the Court be then sitting, if not, on y^e first Thursday of y^e next Sitting of the Court.

Voted. Eld^r Jonⁿ Sargeant, m^r Benjⁿ Hills, Lieu^t Tho^s Burditt, m^r Benj^a Blaney, m^r John Burditt, To be a Com^{tee} to make answer to y^e afores^d petition.

³¹ *Mass. Archives*, xii. III.

Voted, the afores^d Com^{tee} to make answer to a petition of m^r Stephen Paine at y^e Great and Generall Court on Thursday y^e 27 Currant,
a true Coppy atest^r

THO^s WAYTE Y^E 3^D: *Prec Clerk.*⁸²

To his Excellency Jonathan Belcher Esq Captain Generall & Governour in Chief in & over the province of the Massachusetts Bay & to the hono^{ble} the Council & House of Representatives in general Court assembled

The petition of the South parish of Malden — *Humbly Sheweth*

That the north parish of s^d Malden have exhibited their petition to this great & hono^{ble} Court pray^g. the reconsideration of a former order & Determination of this Court respecting the Division of the s^d Town of Malden into two parishes & of the Ministerial lands of that Town and on the 21st Instant the Inhab^s of the south parish were serv'd with a Copy of s^d petition to make Answer thereto on the 27th Instant the End of this petition is to Deprive the south parish of their share being the half part of the ministerial Lands belonging to the s^d Town & which are of the Value of several Thousand pounds & to accomplish that End the petitioners have not only made an artfull & unfair representation of their Case but urged false facts as the present petitioners Doubt not they will make plainly to appear on suff^t time being allowed them to prepare their Defence But may it please y^r Excellency & this hono^{ble} Court the time allowed for the South parish to give in their answer is so short that it is utterly impracticable for them to Do it by the time Appointed with Justice to themselves It is a very valuable Interest the p^sent petitioners have at Stake & the thing aimed at by the north parish is to revoke the order & Determination of this Hono^{ble} Court & that after they had faild on a petition w^{ch} they made last year for the same purpose w^{ch} the p^sent pet^{rs} Conceive to be an Extraordinary attempt But to Defend the former order & Determination of this Hono^{ble} Court which is in Effect to Defend the Justice of the Court it is needfull to Gett & produce Copyes of Divers records & other Evidences which cannot be Had & an answer prepared by the time now sett by this hono^{ble} Court.

It is therefore humbly pray'd that y^r Excellency & this Court will be pleasd to appoint some further Day for the p^sent petitioners to give in their answer so that y^r pet^{rs} may have reasonable & Sufficient Time to Defend their Cause w^{ch} they Doubt not will finally appear to be just — And y^r petitioners have been also on the 22^d Instant serv'd with a Copy of a petition of Stephen paine praying that he may be Sett off to the north parish with his Estate & as this very much De-

⁸² *Mass. Archives*, xii. 122; also *South Precinct Records*, *in loco*.

pende on the other petition or at least will be much better understood as y^r pet^{rs} Conceive by the Consideration of that other it is pray'd that the same future Day may be Appointed for Answering this as the other or some other future Day as y^r Ex^{cy} & this hono^{ble} Court shall Judge meet — And your petitioners as in Duty Bound Shall ever pray &c.

JONATHAN SARGEANT
BENJAMIN HILLS
THOMAS BURDIT
BENJAMIN BLANY
JOHN BURDITT

} *Com^{tee} for the
South Precinct.³³*

*To his Excellency Jonathan Belcher Esq^r Cap^t Gen^l & Gov^r in
Chief the hon^{ble} the Council & Representatives in Gen^l Court assembled
26 Decr 1739*

The memorial of the Inhabitants of the north Parish of Malden

WHEREAS y^r memorialists have a petition depending before this Great & Gen^l Court Touching the parsonage lands of their parish and are deeply concerned about it as of a matter wherein they have Suffered beyond any precedent they have ever heard of Now therefore they humbly pray they may be publickly heard before the whole Court upon that matter by their Council that so the matter may be fully understood & they may obtain reasonable relief & y^r pet^{rs} as in duty bound

SAMUEL BUCKNAM
JOHN DEXTER
TIMOTHY SPRAGUE
SAMUEL WAIT JUNER
*Comm^{rs} of the North
Parish Jn Malden.*

In Council Decem^r 26, 1739

Read & *Ordered* that the Prayer of the Petition be granted. and that a Hearing be had before this Court on the Petition of the North Parish in Malden on Fryday the fourth of January next at ten o'Clock in the Forenoon if the Court be then Sitting if not on the first Fryday of the next Sitting of the Court. and that the Petition^{rs} forthwith notify the South Parish in Malden of this Order that so they may attend accordingly. Sent down for Concurrence.

SIMON FROST *Dep^y Sec^y*

In the House of Rep^{ives} Dec^r 27th 1739.

Read and Concur'd
Consented to.

J QUINCY *Spk^r*

J BELCHER ³⁴

³³ *Mass. Archives*, xii. 123.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 125.

*Pro. of y^e Massachusetts
Bay New-Eng^d*

*To his Excellency Jonathan Belcher
Esq^r Captain Gen^l & Governour
in Chief in & over his Majesties*

*Province of the Massachusetts Bay To the Hon^{ble} his Majesties Council
& House of Representatives in General Court Assembled 27th of
December A.D. 1739.*

WHEREAS One Stephen Pain put in a Petition to your Excellency & Honours Praying that he with his Estate might be laid off to the North Parish in Malden bearing Date the 5th of this Instant December And whereas we whose Names are here under written did Subscribe said Petition desiring the prayer thereof might be granted ; Now these are to Acquaint your Excellency & Honours That we since understand that the s^d Stephen has got a Deed well Executed of all his Fathers Estate which then we knew or thought nothing of but only of his having about Six or Seven Acres of Land We therefore desire that our subscribing s^d Petition may be looked upon in this View & No Other And as in Duty bound shall ever Pray &c.

THOMAS WAYTE
THO^s WAYTE Y^e 3^d

EBENEZER UPHAM
THOMAS RICHARDSON.⁸⁵

*Province of y^e
Massachusetts
Bay in New
England S s.*

*To his Excellency Jonathan Belcher
Esq^r Capt^l Generall, etc. . . in Gen-
eral Court assembled this Eighth day
of January in the Thirteenth Year
of his majestys Reign Annoque Domini 1739.*

The Answer of the South Precinct in Malden in the County of Middlesex to Stephen Pain of said Malden his Petition to your Excellency & Honours bearing date the Fifth of December Last. *Humbly Shews* That your Respondents humbly Conceive the Prayer of the Petition of the said Stephen ought not to be granted for the Following Reasons.

1^t The welfare of the said South Precinct much depends on the Peaceable Settlement thereof. In the year 1737 ; and the Respondents humbly Conceive, that if upon the accidental uneasiness of any of the Inhabitants of the said Precinct, this Honourable Court should upon their Request (tho. Gloss'd over with the Specious Pretence and Coulour of their greater Edification and best Spiritual Good) set such persons, and their Estates, off to the North Precinct of said Town, it wou'd have been much Better as the Respondents Conceive, that the South part had never been made a precinct, Considering the well known Disposition of the Generality of the Inhabitants of said Town to find matter of Offence.

⁸⁵ *Mass. Archives*, xii. 126.

2^{dly} The petition of Stephen Pain seems to have much less Reason to Support it than a petition for the Same thing wou'd have from any other Inhabitants of our Precinct because when the Honour^{ble} Col^o Stoddard & others the Honourable Committee from this Honour^{able} Court to Inspect and Report upon the State and Circumstances of the said Town to this Honourable Court on the petition of the South part of said Town to be a precinct then the petitioner by Said Committee was fully heard on his desire to be sett off with some others belonging to the south part of said Town and that Honourable Committee with good Reason as the Respondents Presume utterly Refus'd the same.

3^{dly} The Petitioner sometime before the Rev^d Mr Stimpson was Ordain'd over us left our assembly where he with his Family Had Formerly attended on the Lords days and For no other Reason that the Respondents can learn than a trifling difference which happen'd between him and one of his neighbours of the South Church upon which he Immediately left us without using as we know of any Christian measures of Reconciliation and with Submission we are well assured your Excellency & Honours will not give Countenance to such a Disposition of mind which runs so Counter to the Generall good of the Town and of the Small South Precinct and of himself in particular.

4^{thly} Our Meeting is a mile nearer to the Petitioner than the meeting of the North Precinct and though as we understand Upon his becoming bound in large sums to his Father his Father has made him Deeds of his Estate; Yet his Father as great a Friend as any to our Precinct is in the Joynt Possession thereof with his son the Petitioner and the Situation of said Estate as Long as our Precinct Remains will, Ceteris paribus, be best accomodated with our Meeting And whatever his said Father may have been persuaded into yet Considering how much he has done from first to Last for the said South Precinct & Church of which he is a Member we Cant think that he Really desires said Estate should be Transfer'd to the North Precinct in said Malden.

And the Respondents humbly beg leave to add that they are well Assured that nothing will have so great a Tendency to Ruin said Precinct and to Raise the Hottest Contentions in said Town as the alteration and unsettling of the original Establishment of the said Precinct already made by Your Excellency & Honours with the assistance of so wise and prudent a Committee as that above mention'd who took so great pains to accomodate every thing to the mutual advantage and Conveniency of both parts of the Town in General and of every Individual in particular as far as possible.

Lastly. The Petitioner obtained the Subscription of Four persons of very Considerable Estates in the South Precinct who have since Re-

canted their said Subscription to his said Petition because he had Conceald from them the Purchase he had made of his Fathers Estate and the other Subscribers to his said Petition Excepting his aged Father have not Ten acres of Land amongst them all and unless their private Interest had been concern'd the Respondents presume they never would have been Concern'd at all in the Subscription.

And with Submission this seems to Savour more of Craft & Cunning than his best Spiritual Good. all which with what may be offer'd is humbly Submitted to the Wisdom and Iustice of your Excellency & Honours by the Respondents praying for the Reasons aforesaid that said Petition may be Dismiss'd and your Respondents be allow'd their Costs

BENJAMIN HILLS	} <i>Comtee for the</i>
BENJAMIN BLANY	
THOMAS BURDIT	
JOHN BURDITT	

*South Precinct.*³⁶

*Province of the
Massachusetts Bay.*

*To His Excellency Jonathan Belcher, Esq^r.
Gouverour, etc in Generall Court
assembled.*

The Answer of the Inhabitants of the South Parish in malden to the Petition of the Inhabitants of the north Parish in s^d Town.

Humbly sheweth.

That the Hon^{ble} Col^o Stoddard, & others being appointed by the Great & General Court in Decemb^r 1737 a Committee to Inspect the Circumstances of the said Town of Malden, & Report what They Thought Proper to be Done as to the Erecting of the s^d South Parish. They (among other Things) Reported it as Their Opinion for the Reasons by Them Renderd in Their Report. That the s^d Town Should be Divided into Two Precincts by Certain Lines making an Equall Division of s^d Town, & That all the Estate devoted to the Support of the ministry in That Town should be Equally Divided to the Two Precincts with Such Saving as the Petitioners mention. Which Report was afterwards in the Same month accepted, & Confirmed by the s^d Great & Generall Court. and the Petitioners now Pray that what Relates to the Division of the Lands Devoted to the Support of the ministry be Reconsidered, & Reversd, And in Order to prevail Therein They have adventured to alledge that the Great & Generall Courts acceptance, & Confirmation of the s^d Committees Report was an Extra-judicial act not Consonant to Justice, & Equity But obtained without due Hearing of the Parties. Which as your Respondents Conceive is a very Extraordinary Proceeding of the Peti^{rs} Greatly derogatory to the

³⁶ *Mass. Archives*, xii. 128.

Honour of the Great, and Generall Court which Judgd upon This matter, & made the Determination afores^d such a Proceeding that brot into Practice (& countenancing of it in any measure will Soon bring it into Practice) that will Cause the Orders & Determinations of Every Generall Court to be Complained of, & the Justice Thereof Impeached before future assemblys to the Great Dishonour of Those Courts, the Disquiet of the Partys whose Interests are Judgd upon, & the Continuance of Every Controversy without having any Certain Limitation. than which your Respondents Conceive a Greater Evil can scarce happen to any People & The Petitioners Have taken large Steps towards beginning such a Fatal Practice⁸⁷ For instead of Submitting to the Determination of the Generall Court in 1737. They the Last year Ehibited their Petition to the Generall Court praying that Both Parishes might be United again or (which was Their Principall aim) that That part of the Order which relates to the s^d Precinct having one half of the Benefit of the Estate Sequestered for the support of the ministry might be Superseded, & Sett aside, & the northerly Precinct might Enjoy the whole Profits Thereof. The Present Respondents were Cited to answer That Petition. They gave in Their answer at Large & the Subject matter of the s^d Petition being fully Considered it was ordered that the Same should be Dismissd as by the Records of This Honourable Court fully appears, & the Petitioners now again move This matter. & Labour to overthrow what was thus determind But to Barr Them herein your Respondents beg Leave to rest upon it that the Order, & Government, & the necessary Course of Proceedings in all such matters require an acquiescance of all Partys — Under such Determinations as have been already made in This Case, & will not permit Them again, & again to be Considered. For This your Respondents humbly Conceive must certainly work the overthrow of all Certainty, & order which are necessary in Every Court from the Highest to the Lowest (and will doubtless be Preservd by This Honble Court) & perpetuate Strife without End. And what the Petit^{rs} Urge for This purpose. Namely That They were never heard one Word before the Committee touching This matter But This article was given against Them Entirely upon a Surprize is very wonderfull. When the Inhabitants of the South Part of s^d Town now made the South Parish in Their very Petition on which That Hon'ble Committee was appointed by the Great & Generall Court actually petitiond for Their Proportionable part of the ministeriall Lands, & without which a Great Part of Them would never have sought to have been made a Distinct Parish. and when in fact the Petitioners Were fully Heard before the Committee touching

⁸⁷ There is a notable contrast between the sentiments of the committee at this time and the actions of the south side people a few years earlier.

Their Right in These Lands as will manifestly appear upon Examining the Gentlemen who were upon that Committee if this honorable Court shall think fit to Examine them thereupon tho till there be an order of This Honourable Court for it your Respondents cannot but Think it would be a very uncommon Enquiry, & Contrary to all Rule. For the Generall Presumption of all Courts is That Every Court before They proceed to Judgment duly Hear the Partys Touching the Substance of the Controversy Judg'd upon the making This Enquiry your Respondents Conceive must proceed upon a Supposition no wise Consistent with the Honour of the Generall Court which passd upon This matter. But This your Respondents altogether Submit to the Wisdom of This Honourable Court. But Let This matter be Enquired into, or not, your Respondents Conceive the merits of This Petition ought not to be now Enquired into, & again passd upon the same having regularly pass'd into judgmt in manner afores^d and Tho your Respondents are ready to Shew that the former Order & Determination of the Generall Court is altogether agreeable to Justice, & Equity whenever This Hon'ble Court shall Think fit to Enter into Consideration of the merits of the Petition. yet y^r Respondents at present Waive the Same apprehending it altogether needless. and for the Reasons abovementioned Pray the s^d Petition may be Dismist with Costs. And your Respondents as in Duty Bound will Ever pray.

BENJ ^a HILLS	} Committee of the South Parish in Malden ⁸⁸
BENJAMIN BLANY	
JOHN BURDITT	

*Province of the Massachusetts Bay Jn
New England. Suffolk. Ss.*

To his Excellency Jonathan Belcher Esq^r Captain Generall and Governour in Chief . . . in Generall Court assembled.

The Answer of the Jnhabitants of the South Precinct of Maldron to the Petition of the Jnhabitants of the North Precinct.

Humbly Sheweth.

Your Respond^{ts} were in great hopes the Long & expensive differences between the northern and Southern parts of the Town of Malden were by the just and wise Interposition of your Excellency and Honours happily ended but now preceive such is the restless Spirit of Some that rather then the tranquillity and peace of their Neighbours should not be disturbed they will even presume to arraign the equal Justice and known Wisdom of this great and Generall Court for Establisng so great a Blessing amongs them for the Petitioners in their said Petition Virtually Jnsinuate that the reports made to and accepted by the Great

⁸⁸ *Mass. Archives*, xii. 115.

and Generall Court in 1737 whereby your Respond^{ts} are formed into a distinct precinct with the Enjoyment of one half of the Proffitts and Incomes of such a real Estate formerly granted for y^e support of the ministry in said Town is altogether unjust unequatable and Effected by surprize but your Respond^{ts} Humbly beg pardon when they in this their answer take upon themselves to vindicate the justice & Equaty of that Court in such their proceedings their own acts sufficiently declaring the Same but as the Petitioners are striking at the rights & Priviledges of your Respond^{ts} they therefore defend the same in the following manner. and first —

Jn Point of meer Right and Justice the Petitioners on this Head say that the Fee Simple of the Lands so granted Vests in the minister and the Same were actually Vested in M^r Emerson before the making of the South Parish or ordination of any minister for it. herein the Petitioners are mistakin Jn Point of Law for the Grant was not made to M^r Emerson and his successors but a Grant made Long before M^r Emerson was born and as the Govern^t were y^e Grantors the Town of Maldren were the Grantees for there must be Two partys to the Grant and the Grant was made to the Jnhabitants of malding for the use of the ministry in the Town Jndifinately and when the South Precinct was lawfully formed and the Reverend M^r Stimpson ordained according to Law the minister of it Can it be denied but that the Generall work of the ministry of that Town is as well carried on by the one as by the other and therefore the use of such Grant made to the Town for the ministry by Law results as much to the one as to the other Besides one principall design of that grant to malden was in some messure to ease the Jnhabitans of the Charge of carrying on [the] work of the ministry in that Town wherein Every Jndividual of that Community has his Special right and when the work of the ministry is conducted by one alone the personall Charge of each Jnhabitant is lessened by the Proffitts that arise by such a Donation and consequently in Process of time when the Great and Generall Court discover in their wisdom that by the Jncrease of the Jnhabitants which necessarily begitts remote settlements that the work of the ministry can't well be carried on by one alone therefore make Two Parishes so that the Generall work of the ministry in that Town is thereby ordered to be Conducted by Two then ought the use of that Grant to result to both for by what Law without Exerting an absolute power ought the fountain of Justice to take from such an Jnhabitant the Ease or Right that he and his ancestors have been Seised off for 60 years & this the Generall Court would virtually do by first making Such Jnhabitants to be of another Parish & thereby charging them with the whole Burthen of carrying on the ministry as your Excell^y and Hon^{rs} can best expoun^d Your own

private Donations & the true design and meaning of them Your Respond^{ts} are well assured you will never by an Act. Ex post. facto. take from them such their Lawfull Rights more especially since your Excell^y. & Hon^{rs} have already Enacted therein y^t which is just & right. As to the Presidents used by the Petitioners your Respond^{ts} dont pretend to be masters of y^e state of them but apprehend the Dispute in the Case between D^r McSparron and Torry was who of them Two in respect to orthodoxy should hold the Grant according to the Will of the Donors & it must be observed that was a Donation flowing from Private persons all Dead Incapable of explaining their said Grant but this is a Grant made by y^e Govorn^{mt} which is to be hoped will never Dye made to the Town of malding for the use of the ministry Indefinately in malding and if ever it wanted Explanation is by a Subsequent Act of the Legeslature who is the Power y^t Granted that Same fully settled and that according to Law and Justice. It is Granted m^r Emerson alone brought the action against Shrewsbury for at y^e Commensing of that action y^e work of the ministry in s^d Town of Malding was by him alone carried on your Respond^{ts} not then formed into a distinct Parash, and it is Conceded in all such Grants made to Towns for the use of the ministry when Ever one is appointed and no other the right of action appertains to him but if there were two ministers Legally ordained in such Towns your Respond^{ts} deny that one only could maintain Such an action. It is true on the reveiw of y^t action there were two ministers in Malding but that Witt being Grafted on the first the Parties still remained the same but it's very observable your Respond^{ts} as well as the Petitioners bore their preportionable part of the Charges of that Suit and as to the Case of Baily and Smith as your Respond^{ts} are altogether Strangers to it but are well Informed in its Creation is not a Simuler Case neither was y^e Judg^t ther-in on a Special Verdict & it's well known the Verdicts of Jurys are fluctuating and can't be imagined Equall to the Stability of the Great & Generall Court whereof also most of the Judges of y^e Land are members And it is astonishing that the Petitioners should imagine a Verdict of a Jury in a Private action should so Influence the whole Legislature as to repeal their own Act which is of a Publick nature

Then 2^{dy} as to the Equaty of the Case the Peti^{ts} apprehend that were a new parish is formed at y^e request and perticular Convenience of many of y^e Inhabitants of the Town that they then drew half the Proffitts of such Grants is unequatable for it's Enough the old parish to Loose the assistance of their Taxes now as to this the Peti^{ts} unfarely state the fact for it is the Act of the Legislature who regulates and makes all Towns and Parishes for the Interest of Religion & good of the People that formed your Respond^{ts} into a Parish. Now much

more in Equaty as well as in Law their Act ought not to work any wrong and if your Excell^y and Honou^r by forming your Respond^{ts} into a distinct Parish truly Jntended to advance Religion and the Interest and Ease of the Respond^{ts} as must with Great thanks [be] Granted should your Honours repeal your own act in part and apply the whole of those proffitts granted to the Town for the use of the ministry to one branch only of the ministry of the Town then are your Respond^{ts} left in a worse Condition then they were before & where is the Jntended Benevolence.

Besides your Respond^{ts} bore their proportionable part of the Charges with the Peti^{rs} in the Case of those Lands & supporting their Grant of them thro the Law and now the Title is settled and some proffitts begin to be reaped where is the Equaty where is the justice they should be excluded from sharing the Same is beause the Generall Court in their Wisdom thro them a nother Precinct are they not Still of the same Town do they not still remain the Grantees for such use Jf both Churches were void & Trepasses committed must not the Action be maintained by the whole Town to whom y^e Grant was made in Case both Churches were void But it is Jnsinuated that it is Enough for the Old Parish to lose the assistance of their Taxes Jn answer if the Old Parish conceives it Heavy to bare the Charge of supporting their minister with one Half of the Proffitts of such Lands how much heavier must they themselves imagin [it] to be on your Respond^{ts} to support their minister without any part of the Proffits and where is the Equity and Equilty in this way of y^e Peti^{rs} reasoning. But thro the blessing of God in the Jncrease of y^e Town your Respond^{ts} verily believe y^e Peti^{rs} have y^e same ability if they have y^e same Hearts to support their minister with one Half of said Proffits as y^e whole Town had when such Grants were made Besides in Equaty & Justice y^e Peti^{rs} ought to consider y^e your Respond^{ts} but a few years agoe bore their proportionable Charges & were at great Cost in Erecting as it now turns out for y^e Peti^{rs} a fine substantial meeting house & scarcely had your Respond^{ts} waded thro' so great a Charge but were oblidged without one farthing from the Peti^{rs} to Erect a nother & for y^e Petitioners to Endeavour to take from your Respond^{ts} their real right & what this Court has established to them to Enable them chearfully to go thro so religious & publick a Work is not treating your Respond^{ts} as Brothers & with the Equaty & Equality they might reasonable expect.

And lastly as to the pretended Surprise it appears by y^e Respond^{ts} Petition & y^e report of the Committee that there is no colour for such an Jnsinuation which carries such Indecency with it that your Respond^{ts} submitts to your Excellency & Honours whether it deserves a further answer.³⁹

³⁹ *Mass. Archives*, xii. 118. This document is unsigned.

Martis 8. Die Januarij, A. D. 1739.

Ezekiel Lewis, Esq; came down with a Message from the honourable Board, to inform the House they are now ready to attend the Hearing appointed to be had this Day before the whole Court on the Affair of *Malden*, and to move the House they would come up to the Council Chamber to attend the same.

Mr. Speaker and the House went up accordingly, and being seated there, the Parties were admitted in, and being fully heard by their Council learned in the Law, to make their Pleas and Allegations for and against the Prayer of the Petition, they withdrew. After which, Mr. Speaker with the House returned to their own Chamber.

Mercurij 9. Die Januarij, A. D. 1739.

John Jeffries, Esq; brought down the following Vote of Council upon the Petition of the Inhabitants of the North Parish in *Malden*, viz. In Council *January* 9th 1739. A Hearing having been had on this Petition yesterday before the whole Court, and the Matter being fully considered, the Question was put, *Whether the Prayer of the Petition be granted?*

It pass'd in the Negative. Nevertheless it is hereby *Ordered*, That nothing contained in any Votes or Orders of this Court relating to the ministerial Lands belonging to the Town of *Malden* or for dividing the said Town into Precincts, shall be construed to affect any Right that the Rev. Mr. *Emmerson* may have by virtue of his Contract with the People there, or any Votes of the Town referring to his Support.

Sent down for Concurrence.

Read and Concur'd.

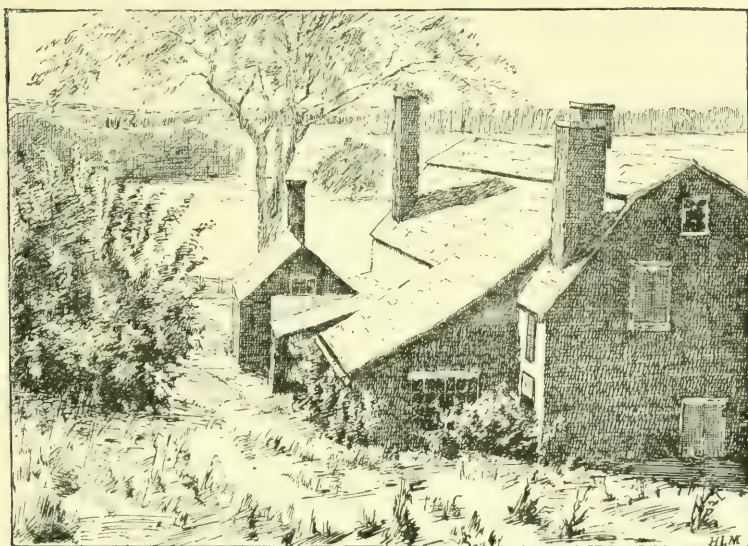
Also a Vote of Council on the Petition of *Stephen Paine*, as entred the 19th *December* last, viz. In Council *January* 9th 1739. Read again, together with the Answer of the South Parish in *Malden*, and the Matter being fully considered the Question was put, *Whether the Prayer of the Petition be granted?* And it passed in the Negative, and therefore *Ordered*, That the Petition be dismiss'd. Sent down for Concurrence.

Read and Concur'd.⁴⁰

Thus ended the struggle of the winter of 1738/9, which revived and perpetuated old animosities and widened the breach between the old parish and the new precinct. It must be owned that the position of the south side men was far from being creditable, whether their obsequiousness before the Court or

⁴⁰ *Journal House of Reps., in loco.*

their distortion of facts be considered. Their solicitude for the honor of the Court and their interest in the "Equaty of the Case" are somewhat amusing and furnish a strong contrast to the stubbornness with which the same men refused to recognize the order of the Court in 1728. As to the matters in question, although the petitioners of the North Parish were dismissed, they were practically victorious; for the order of the Court, which protected the interest of Mr. Emerson during his life, gave them the aid of the entire profits of the ministerial lands, both in Malden and elsewhere, during the term for which they had been granted to their pastor by the town at the time of his settlement. Before the death of Mr. Emerson, the right of the North Parish had been confirmed by the authority of the courts, and the South Precinct, exhausted in the struggle, had abandoned its claim. Stephen Paine remained an uneasy and somewhat troublesome member of the precinct about sixteen years, although he continued his connection with the congregation which met at the meeting house near Lewis's Bridge and refused to participate in the religious privileges of his neighbors. He was treasurer of the precinct in 1749; and, after several endeavors, he was finally annexed with his estate to the old parish.



CHAPTER XVII.

THE SOUTH PRECINCT DECADENT.

RESTING for a while in its quarrel with the North Parish, the South Precinct had now a little leisure to attend to its own internal affairs, which were far from being in a state of prosperity. It appears that in 1739 no settlement had been made with Mr. Stimpson for his services before the formation of the precinct. Nor were his claims fully understood; for at a precinct meeting held March 30, in that year, it was voted "To pay unto the Rev^d m^r Ioseph Stimpson y^e money due to him before we ware in a Prec^t," and a committee was chosen "to see what his Demands are." Later the bodily infirmities of the pastor began to interfere with the performance of his duties and the following vote was passed:—

[November 17, 1740.] *voted* To pay the Rev^d m^r Io^h Stimson the loose money that Comes into The Box a Sabbath Days, when he is able to carry on the work of the Ministry, But when he is not able to Carry on s^d work among us; Then the said money Shall goe towards paying the Minister that Shall then Prech with us.

Although it is evident that Mr. Stimpson's duties were not fully performed, he continued to be the pastor of the precinct, in which, despite its poverty, there was an ever-present spirit of disquiet. Its unsettled condition is fully illustrated in the record of a meeting held March 8, 174½.

It was put to vote to see if the Prec^t would Raise money and it passed in the Negative. *Voted*—That the Com^{tee} agree with a man to take Care of the meeting house for the Ensuing year:—The Vote was put to See if the Prec^t will put in a Petition to the General Court to be made a Town Ship, According to the Bounds Mentioned in the warrant and it passed in the Affirmative—Put to vote, to See if the Prec^t will Choose a Com^{tee} to put in a petition to the General Court and it passed in the negative—Put to vote to See if the Prec^t will fence the Road to the Meeting house and it passed in the negative—The Meeting is adjourned to Friday next at Six of 'Clock afternoon at the house of m^r Benj^a Blaneys.

In the periods of Mr. Stimpson's disability such uncertain supplies were procured as offered from time to time until December 27, 1743, when an attempt was made to ensure a regular service and a committee was chosen "to Supply the Pulpit till the first of March next after this Date Provided the Rev^d M^r Stimpson is not able to Preach himself." In the following March another committee was appointed "to reckon with y^e Rev^d m^r Stimpson respecting his salarye from the time that we were set of into a Prec^t." The impecunious precinct soon found that reckoning was not settling; and seven months later still another committee was chosen "to treat with y^e Rev^d M^r Jos^h Stimpson Concerning the Ballance due to him." The outcome of this treaty appeared in the following vote:—

[November 5, 1744.] *Voted* to except of the Settlement which m^r Seth Sweetcher of Charlestown & M^r Joshua Blanchard of Boston have made between y^e Rev^d m^r Jos^h Stimpson & his church & parish; they being y^e men Chosen by both parties for that purpos.

The assessors soon after made a rate of two hundred and twelve pounds, nine shillings, and fourpence, old tenor, "to pay the Ballance Due to y^e Rev^d M^r Jos^h Stimpson, untill the first of Novemb^r last past;" and an entry made in the pre-

cinct record about the same time shows that a portion of the award was settled by an interest-bearing bond, "that the Precinct Can not pay down, untill they are inabled to pay the whole," which it is to be hoped was taken up in time.

Meanwhile the church was considering charges against the pastor, the character of which cannot be ascertained from any sources of information which are at present known to us.¹ At a meeting held, August 6, 1744, it was

Voted that the Chh will enquire into the Truth of the Charge, which is brought to them against the Rev^d M^r Joseph Stimpson by M^r Nath^l Upham, and M^r Jabez Sargeant, Members of this Chh. —

At the same time a committee was appointed to carry a copy of the charge to Mr. Stimpson and to request him to make an answer at an adjourned meeting. The pastor did not meet the church at the appointed time and the following vote was passed: —

[Aug^t 17, 1744.] *Voted*, That the Chh is Aggrieved at the Conduct of the Rev^d M^r Joseph Stimpson, their Rev^d Pastor, in his not making any Satisfaction to the Chh concerning a Charge laid against him by Mess^{rs} Nath^l Upham and Jabez Sargeant; and they also forbid him administring any of the Ordinances amongst them, until S^d Chh is Satisfied by y^e S^d Rev^d M^r Stimpson —

Voted That the Chh make the Rev^d M^r Stimpson an offer of joyning with them in calling a Council to consult and advise upon the Charge brought against the S^d Rev^d M^r Stimpson by Mess^{rs} Nath^l Upham and Jabez Sargeant —

Thereafter frequent meetings of the church were held; but although Mr. Stimpson wrote "signifying that he would make

¹ The MS. which is the source of my information in relation to the troubles of the church and Mr. Stimpson, is now in the possession of the First Church, and contains a record of the affairs of the South Church from August 6, 1744, to the installation of Mr. Cleaveland. It may have been a private record, as it was given, in 1753, by Elder Ebenezer Upham to his son, afterwards the Rev. Caleb Upham of Truro. Besides the Malden church matters, it contains records relating to the Upham family and the church at Truro. It was in the

hands of one Daniel T. Upham in 1805, and was sent to the clerk of the First Church by the Rev. Louis H. Bähler of Malden, N. Y., who received it from an unknown source in 1894. Mr. Bähler wrote: "I presume it was sent by the minister or clerk of a Reformed Church in Cairo [Greene Co., N. Y.], or near there, who knew of only this church by the name of Malden."

Half of a leaf, which has been carefully torn from this book, may have contained a statement of the charges against Mr. Stimpson.

some Proposals of Agreement," his answer was withheld. After waiting three months the church proceeded to call a council of five churches; but appointed a committee to wait upon Mr. Stimpson

and to acquaint him that if he will give from under his Hand unto this Chh that his Salary shall cease from the time of the Settlement made with him the S^d Rev^d M^r Stimpson the Chh and Parish, by Mess^{rs} Seth Sweetsher and Joshua Blanchard to the last day of Oct^r one Thousand Seven Hundred and forty four that this Chh will wait on him one two or three months if he thinks he is not able to wait on a Council sooner.—

The latter part of this vote may imply that some bodily weakness still afflicted the pastor. Mr. Stimpson still remaining silent, nine days later the council was appointed to meet at the house of Deacon Joses Bucknam, December 19; but a few days before the time it was

Voted that the Rev^d Counsell that was desired to sit on the 19 of Desember aer desired to desist till a further desier

At length the church received a letter from Mr. Stimpson, dated December 25, 1744, in which he wrote: —

Whereas by the Sovereign Providence of GOD, my bodily Health and Strength is so much impaired and weakened that I am utterly unable to carry on the publick Work of the Ministry among you; and being desirous that you should enjoy all the Ordinances of the Gospel, I have thought it most for GOD's Glory and your good, which I sincerely desire and aim at, to ask a Dismission from you, as to my Relation as your Pastor. — I do therefore now in the Fear of GOD desire the Chh to vote me a Dismission, and give me a Letter of Recommendation, that so I may be received to Communion with such Chh's of our Lord, where the Providence of God shall place me. And I now humbly beg Pardon of Almighty God for the Sins I have been guilty of, & since I have been your Pastor in particular and desire your Christian Forgiveness of the Failings you have seen in me, and beg your Prayers for me.—

With the wish that he might "in the coming World shine among the Stars in Glory," and as his "affectionate Brethren," the church, by its ruling elder, Ebenezer Upham, gave their pastor a letter of dismission and recommended him to other

churches. In Christian charity one may be pardoned if in the letters of the pastor and the church he sees aught that has a color of devious ways and worldly insincerity.

Mr. Stimpson appears to have remained in the precinct after he ceased to be its pastor; for in March, 1747/8, the abatement of his rates was refused, as it was again in March, 175½. He died, March 28, 1752, and lies buried in Charlestown.²

There was now an opportunity for a union of the rival parishes, which it is said the people of the old parish would have welcomed and were the first to propose. So desirable seemed such a motion that it was brought before the town; and at a meeting, held January 22, 1744/5, it was voted: —

That Ens: Joseph Lynds Edward Wayte and En^s John Dexter of y^e north Parish Benjamin Hills Elder Upham and Thomas Wayte Ju^r of the south Parish shall be a committee to discours together and to consider what may be don that might be thought to be a proper means to unight both parishes so as that they might be one again and carry on the publick worship of god together.

The staying qualities of the south end men were strong, and they refused the proffered settlement. There is evidence that the financial affairs, if not the spiritual concerns, of the precinct were at a low mark. At a meeting held August 5, 1745, it was refused to raise money for precinct charges; but at the same time it was voted "that y^e Prec^t. will Defend there Collecters Jn Distraining for there Raites as the Law Directes." The next year, the collector, Pelatiah Whittemore, or Pallintiah Whittemore, as he is elsewhere called, was engaged in a lawsuit with Isaac Waite; and a committee was chosen to assist him. About the same time the restless Stephen Paine and others renewed their endeavors for separation.

After the dismissal of Mr. Stimpson preaching was maintained by committees appointed for limited terms and the ap-

² It does not appear that Mr. Stimpson was ever married. I am indebted to Ethan N. Coburn of Charlestown for the following copy of the inscription on his gravestone:—

Here lyes the Body of
Joseph Stimpson, A. M.

who was for some Years
a Pastor of the 2. Church in
Maldon, but not being able by
Weakness of Body to Preach;
he left his People by agree-
ment, & liv'd in Retirement till
March 28th Anno Domi 1752 when
he departed this Life /Ætat 52

propriation of small sums from time to time; and no movement towards the settlement of a pastor appears to have been made until a year had passed.

Feb: 16: 1745 $\frac{1}{2}$. at a Chh meeting *Voted* that March 6. be observed by this Chh as a Day of Humiliation and Prayer to God for his Direction in the weighty Affair of settling a minister

March 16: 1745 $\frac{1}{2}$. *Voted* that the Chh meet next Friday to advise with the Parish on such methods as they shall then think proper to be taken in Order to their choosing a minister: as also *Voted* to invite the Rev. M^r Cheever of Lyn to come and administer the Lords Supper unto us as soon as he can conveniently attend it.

Several candidates were now heard "upon probation;" and negotiations were had in the summer and fall with Daniel Shute and Joseph Emerson, Jr., respectively. These young men, who were both natives of the North Parish, had been graduated together at Harvard College in the class of 1743. They had probably preached as supplies in the meeting house on Sargeant's Hill; and they may be supposed to have had some acquaintance with the people and their circumstances. Although both church and precinct concurred in the respective calls, the negotiations failed in each case; and the young men were reserved for long and honorable pastorates in other towns.³

At length, April 2, 1747, the precinct concurred with the

³ DANIEL SHUTE, son of John and Mary (Waite) Shute, was born in Malden, July 19, 1722. He inherited good Puritan blood of the stanchest strain; for his father was a grandson of Deacon John Greenland, and his mother a granddaughter of Captain John Wayte. He was ordained to the pastoral charge of the church connected with the Second Parish in Hingham, now Cohasset, December 10, 1746, where his ministrations covered the long period of nearly fifty-six years. In 1758 he was commissioned as chaplain of a regiment commanded by Colonel Joseph Williams, and took part in the expedition which was designed to accomplish the invasion of Canada. His journal gives interesting details of the campaign, in which, for a while, he was sick at Schenectady. He preached the *Artillery Election Sermon*,

1767; the *Election Sermon*, 1768; and a *Sermon on the death of the Rev. Ebenezer Gay, D. D.*, 1787, all of which were printed.

He was zealous in the cause of freedom, which he advocated with all his powers; and he took a leading part in the convention which formed the constitution of Massachusetts, as well as in that which adopted the constitution of the United States. In the latter his argument on the question of a religious test attracted attention. His attainments and character were honored by the degree of Doctor of Divinity, which was conferred by Harvard College in 1790. The failure of his sight caused him to cease from his public duties in 1799; but he retained his pastoral relation, the emoluments of which he voluntarily relinquished. He was visited

church in the choice of the Rev. Aaron Cleaveland and voted him a settlement of three hundred pounds, old tenor. It was further voted that he should have the sum of three hundred and fifty pounds, old tenor, yearly,

for a Support & maintenance so long as he shall Continue in the work of the ministry in the foresd south precinct, and that he shall have the Loose money that is poot in to the Boox so long as he Carries on the work of the Ministry in this prec^t:

Soon after the sum of twelve hundred pounds, old tenor, was raised "for to buy a Parsonage for the use of this precinct;" and it was voted: —

with a paralytic shock and died August 30, 1802, when he was in his eighty-first year. Of his talents and character as a minister it is said: —

"By the great strength of mind and clearness of perception, with which the God of Nature had distinguished him, cultivated by study and improved by accurate scholarship, he became eminent in his profession for public performances, which combined good sense, sound judgment, and extent of thought, with perspicuity of style, and a correct taste.

"A firm believer in the Gospel, he had talents to give it an able support; and the same clearness of intellect, liberality of mind, and patience of investigation, which gave him a rational view of its doctrines and principles, enabled him also to explain them with clearness, and inculcate them with success. Nor was it only by his public labours he endeavoured to promote the cause of religion; he gave it also the support of an exemplary life. Liberal but not loose in his sentiments, he was equally displeased with that austerity, which covers religion with a perpetual gloom, and with that licentiousness, which strips her of her fairest ornaments. His religious opinions he formed with deliberation and adopted with caution; but when once adopted, they were not lightly abandoned. He adhered to them tenaciously, and maintained them with firmness, till further light, to which his mind was always open, produced a different conviction. "Ware, *Sermon at the Interment of the Rev. Daniel Shute, D. D.*, 26, 27.

JOSEPH EMERSON, eldest son of the Rev. Joseph and Mary (Moody) Emerson, was born in Malden, August 25, 1724. After his graduation he was engaged as a chaplain in the expedition to Cape Breton in 1745; and the service which he then performed is said to have colored his whole life and character. Having declined the call to the South Precinct, he was ordained, February 25, 1746, and became the first pastor of the West Parish in Groton, afterwards Pepperell. His father preached the ordination sermon from the text: "Thou, therefore, my son, be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus." 2 *Tim.*, ii. 1.

The military ardor and patriotic spirit of the pastor were infused into the people of his charge; and the men of Pepperell were among the first to protest against the arbitrary acts of the British government, as they were among the earliest to take up arms to enforce their rights. Mr. Emerson was with the army at Cambridge, where he is said to have made the first prayer in the American camp. There he took a cold and, returning to Pepperell, he died, October 29, 1775. He left the reputation of an able and faithful minister, in whose teachings Christian charity and liberality were conspicuous. His published writings were: *A Sermon to Capt. Thomas Lawrence and his Company*, 1758; *A Thanksgiving Sermon for the Repeal of the Stamp Act*, 1766; *An Extract from a Sermon on the Death of Rev. Joseph Emerson, Malden*, 1767.

That y^e Rev^d m^r Aaron Cleaveland shall have the use & improvement of the fores^d house & parsonage so longe as he shall Contineor in the work of the ministry in this Precinct.

The Rev. Aaron Cleaveland, towards whom the inclinations



of the people of the South Precinct were now set, was born in

Cambridge, October 29, 1715. He was a son of Captain Aaron Cleaveland, a carpenter, whose troubles in connection with the building of the Malden meeting house have been related. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1735, and was ordained as pastor over the church at Haddam, Conn., July, 1739, where he continued seven years. His wife, Susanna, was a daughter of the Rev. Aaron Porter of Medford and a niece of Judge Stephen Sewall. The offers of the Malden people proved acceptable, and the following notice of his coming may be found in the precinct records: —

may y^e 23^d 1747 Then the Rev^d m^r Aaron Cleaveland Came with his Family to y^e south Precinct in malden, & undertook the work of the ministry in the fores^d precinct; and y^e precinct com^l have agreed that his salary shall begin from that day.

The precinct raised thirty pounds, old tenor, "to pay the Charges of the Jnstalement," which took place July 15. The following extracts in relation to this and other doings of the church are from the first page of "A Book of C^h Records," which was begun at this time. In the original they are in the handwriting of Mr. Cleaveland.⁴

Mr Aaron Cleaveland Jnstall^d July 15 1747. The Rev^d m^r Mather began with Prayer, m^r Cleaveland preached from 1 Cor: 4: 2^d more-over it is required in Stewards y^t a man be found faithfull: the Rev^d m^r Webb gave the charge & the Rev^d m^r Appleton gave the right hand of fellowship.

⁴ The volume containing the records of the South Church from the installation of Mr. Cleaveland until the union with the First, or North Church, in 1792, was missing many years, having been taken from Malden in 1837. It is now in the possession of the family of the late George W. Wilson, to whom

it was given by the widow of the late Rev. Sylvanus Cobb, D. D. By the courtesy of Miss Maria P. Wilson, its custodian, this volume, which is now in an extremely bad condition, was placed in my hands, and has been of much service in elucidating the history of the unfortunate church.

At a chh meeting on Aug^t 6. the following votes were Past: (1) y^e the chh will buy a book to keep these Records in. (2) y^t Eben^r Brown by a letter of Recomⁿ be admitted to the Spetial commⁿ of this chh (3) y^t it is the desire of the chh to have a lecture previous to the holy Sacrim^t (4) y^t the Sacrim^t be admin^d Every Six weeks.

Sept. 13. y^e chh voted not to insist upon Relations being made upon the admission of communicants.⁵

In March, 1748⁹, it was voted "that this Precinct will allow y^e Rev^d m^r Aaron Cleveland for the Necessaries of Life; being Dearer then they wear when he setled in y^e ministry with us." This allowance was fixed at seventy pounds, old tenor. The new pastor seems to have made as little impression upon the affairs of the church and precinct as Mr. Stimpson. In the days of long pastorates, he appears as an exception to the general rule; and his brief sojourn at Haddam was rivalled by a briefer term in Malden. Indeed, there appears to have been some element of unsoundness in his teachings or belief, which shortened his labors, if it did not impair their efficiency.⁶ His entries in the church records cease abruptly, March 25, 1750. About that time, it may be supposed, some breach occurred; but neither the church nor the precinct records throw any light upon the matter. Dr. McClure, perhaps upon the authority of the lost diary of Mr. Emerson, says he was dismissed.⁷ A committee was appointed by the precinct, October 19, "to Reckon & Settle all affairs with y^e Rev^d m^r Aaron Cleaveland that Cornsarns y^e foresaid Precinct."

Nothing more is heard of Mr. Cleaveland in Malden. Of his character as a preacher nothing is certainly known. Mr. Allen, who is not the best of authorities, says: "In early life he was an admirer of Whitefield, and a zealous as well as able

⁵ The primitive practice of the New England churches in requiring written relations as a preliminary to full communion began to decline previous to the middle of the last century, although it was retained in a few churches until after the Revolution. Many of these "experiences" have been preserved. He who reads them will not be strong to believe that sincerity pervades them all, so uniform are they in their form

and so general in their spirit. At a loss will he be whether most to admire the faith which accepted them all alike as genuine heart-utterances, or the simplicity which gave to a few conventional expressions the dignity of humility and contrition.

⁶ It is said that he was dismissed by the Haddam congregation for heterodoxy. *MS. letter of Edmund J. Cleveland.*

⁷ *Bi-Centennial Book of Malden*, 129.

preacher," and "he was a prodigy of physical strength and agility."⁸ From Malden he went to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where he preached awhile until his presumed natural unsteadiness of mind affected him and he became an Episcopalian.⁹ In 1755 he went to England, where he received holy orders, and after some delay was appointed to take charge of a mission church at Newcastle, in the extreme western portion of the province of Pennsylvania. On the way to his new field, he stopped at the house of Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia, where he was taken sick, and died August 11, 1757. He was buried in Christ Church in that city. Franklin wrote the following notice of his death:—

On Thursday last, died here the Rev. Mr. Cleveland, lately appointed to the mission at Newcastle, by the society for propagating the Gospel.

As he was a gentleman of humane and pious disposition, indefatigable in his ministry, easy and affable in his conversation, open and sincere to his friends, and above every species of meanness and dissimulation, his death is greatly lamented by all who knew him, as a loss to the public, a loss to the Church of Christ in general, and in particular to that congregation who had proposed to themselves so much satisfaction from his late appointment among them agreeably to their own earnest request.¹⁰

⁸ Allen, *Biographical Dictionary* (3d ed.), 234.

⁹ Mather's church, of which Mr. Cleaveland was the first pastor, worshipped in a house which was built at the charge of Governor Edward Cornwallis. It is now the home of a Presbyterian congregation, and its name has been changed to St. Matthew's. Here Mr. Cleaveland founded a church library, which is still in existence, many of its volumes bearing the autograph of the founder. *Harper's New Monthly*, lxxi. 484; *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, xlii. 76. The latter article is unduly eulogistic.

Some dissatisfaction or uneasiness existed as early as October 5, 1751, at which time Benjamin Green, writing from Halifax to Josiah Willard at Boston, says:—

"The Religious Cause of the Dissenters and their Independency, is what I

am very hearty, and warm in, and hitherto We have been much favoured. The Difficulty at present is, the unhappy backwardness of many, to Support Mr Cleaveland honourably, who were forward in calling him to the Work of the Ministry among them." *Mass. Archives*, liv. 61.

¹⁰ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 18, 1757. While in England Mr. Cleaveland was led by his researches to change the spelling of his name to Cleveland, which form is in general use among his descendants. The births of none of his children appear in the Malden town records; but the baptisms of George, July 19, 1747, Margaret, June 26, 1748, and Lucy, August 20, 1749, were recorded by their father in the records of the South Church. He had ten children, and many of his descendants have been remarkable for ability in the various walks of life.

After the departure of Mr. Cleaveland the sacrament appears to have been abandoned, its last observance having taken place March 18, 1750; nor was its celebration renewed until January 21, 1753, under the ministration of Mr. Willis. The pulpit service again became irregular, being imperfectly supplied by committees chosen from time to time, until the fall of 1751, when the following entry was made upon the church record:—

Att a church meeting in the south meeting hous in the south parish in malden on the third day of october one thousand seven hundred and fifty one the church being timely notified and voted mr Eliakim willis to be the churches paster in said parish

THOMAS BURDIT } Eldrs.
EBENEZER PRATT }

Thirteen days later the precinct concurred “with the Churches Cois of m^r Eliakim Willis to be the Prec^{ct} minister,” and voted him a salary of fifty-three pounds, six shillings, and eightpence, lawful money, or one hundred and sixty ounces of silver,

His eldest son, Stephen, went to sea at the early age of fourteen, and two years later was pressed into the British navy, in which he served seven years. In 1776, being commissioned by Congress, he made a voyage to France, and returned with a valuable cargo of military supplies. He died at Salem in 1801. His son, Richard Jaffrey Cleaveland of Salem, and his grandson, Henry Russell Cleaveland of Boston, were authors of some merit. The latter, who died in 1843 at the early age of thirty-four years, produced “many pieces of much excellence, both of style and thought.”

Aaron, the second son of the Rev. Aaron Cleaveland, being but thirteen years old when his father died, received but a slight education, a disadvantage which he nearly overcame by his natural abilities. He was for many years a hatter in Connecticut, and was an active member of the legislature of that state. Embracing the doctrines of the Universalists, he became a prominent local leader in that denomination; but he afterwards became an ardent Calvinist,

and resolved to enter the ministry. He preached in Vermont and Connecticut with ability, but was never settled. As a poet he gained some reputation, and the merit of his works obtained him a place in *The Poets of Connecticut*, where may be found his memoir, written by his grandson, the Right Rev. Arthur Cleveland Coxe, Bishop of the Diocese of Western New York. He died at New Haven, September 21, 1815, æ. 71. He was the great-grandfather of President Grover Cleveland.

Among other descendants of Mr. Cleaveland, living and dead, may be noticed the Rev. Stephen Higginson Tyng, D. D.; Hon. William Earl Dodge of New York; the Rev. Charles Cleaveland, the venerable “Father Cleaveland” of Boston; Professor Charles Dexter Cleaveland, a well-known author and scholar; and Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson of Cambridge.

After the death of Mr. Cleaveland, his widow opened a shop in Salem, where she died at the house of her daughter, Mrs. Margaret Hiller, March 28, 1788.

a year and Euery year so Long as he Continuees in the work of the ministry a mong us with the Jmprovement of the Parsonag hous and land with luse money that is put into the boox solong as he Continuees & Caries on the work of the ministry a mong us in this Prec^t

A yearly supply of eighteen cords of wood was soon after added as a farther inducement to the settlement of Mr. Willis, "if he Setels with us & tacks the work of the ministry upon him;"¹¹ and it was voted "to buld a Backsid lenter the length of the Pasneg hous with a Chimney in the same," and to "put the out sid fenc of the Pasneg land in good repair." Mr. Willis did not accept the call until January 25, 175½, when he wrote a long letter "To the 2nd Ch^h of Christ in malden & y^e Society usually meeting with them," which is preserved in the records of the church, in which he hailed the voice of God in that of the people, and saw the direction of Heaven in the invitation which he had received.

It appears that, after the call had been extended and accepted, some dissatisfaction existed in the precinct, and that "great pains" were taken to bring about a reunion with the old parish, which had "Unanomusly voted that the north meeting house mite be pulled down and Set up at the old spot."¹² At a meeting of the precinct held June 1, 1752: —

it was Put to Vote to see if the south Parish will Vote to met at the old Place when the north meting hous is Puled Down and set up in the old Place whair the old meting hous formerly stood if Particular Persons Do Subscribe money Enough to Pay for Puling down said hous and mouing and Seting up said hous in the old Place whare the old meting hous formerly stood and their to Carry on the Publick worship of god for the futer and to Prefer a petition to great and general Court humbly Praying that they may be younighited in to one parish a gain if

¹¹ The supply was at first fixed at twelve cords, "wh^h I presume none of you Jmagine to be sufficient for my Families use," wrote Mr. Willis. *South Church Records*. The addition of six cords almost produced a breach at the ordination. But Benjamin Hills said "that he would be entirely easy, if the Rev^d m^r Willis would recede from his request of six Cord . . . which request of s^d m^r Hills, our Rev^d Pastor com-

ply'd with, by a publick declaration, at our first Parish meeting, after his Ordination, of his receding therefrom." *Mass. Archives*, xiv. 38.

¹² See Petition of Samuel and Ezra Green in *Green Family Papers*; also *First Parish Records*, April 9, 1752. James and Joseph Barrett and Samuel Grover "Entered their Desentes against the Perseding of said Meeting."

money Enough is Subscribed in one month from the Dait heir of and this about Saide artical Past in the negative.

Finally the new pastor was ordained, and the following record of the event was placed upon the church book by the hand of Mr. Willis himself: —

Oct^r 25th 1752 N.S. Eliakim Willis Ordain'd

The Rev^d m^r Shaw began with Prayer, y^e Rev^d m^r Perkins preach'd from 1 Corin: 11, 1 be y^e followers of me as J also am of Christ — y^e Rev^d m^r Turill gave y^e Charge & y^e Rev^d m^r Mather gave y^e Right-hand of Fellowship & y^e Rev^d m^r Eliot concluded with Prayer.

Several members of the precinct appeared before the ordaining council and protested against the settlement of a pastor, "on account of their Inability to support him and the Prospect of the two Parishes being united," urging the action of the North Parish in making the proposition which had just been rejected by the p^recinct. It was afterwards claimed that Mr. Willis was informed of the situation, not only by this protest, but "also by a Letter signed by fifteen Persons signifying their Disapprobation of his settling with them; many of whose Estates were as large as any in the Parish, and likewise by other Ways."¹³ He was blamed as one who had been "hasty in settling, & as the faulty cause of the two Parish's not uniting;" although his ordination had been deferred "above a Year after the Churches Call of him."¹⁴ In justice to Mr. Willis, it must be said that there are reasons for believing that he was ready to withdraw his acceptance of the call if there were any certain prospects of a union of the parishes.

Soon after the ordination, the church adopted a Confession of Faith, which is interesting as being the earliest existing covenant of a Malden church.

[1752] Decem^{br} 28th at a C^{hh} meeting voted (after pray^r) y^e following Confession of Faith or C^{hh} Covenant to be propounded to y^e Candidates for admission into y^e C^{hh}

You do believe y^e Existance of y^e one Supreme Being, who is possesst of all possible Perfections & Glory; & y^t this Being is distinguish'd into, & subsists in 3 glorious & undivided Persons viz y^e Fath^r S. &

¹³ *Mass. Archives*, xiv. 34.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, xiv. 38.

H. G. & y^t in y^e fulness of time, God sent forth his Son J. X to take upon him the nature of man, y^t consisting of, & subsisting in 2 nat^{rs} & one Person y^t he might be a fit mediator between God & man : & you do now in an Everlasting Covenant, give up your self to y^s God in J. X : you do humbly & penitently ask of God, forgiveness thro' y^e blood of X, for your original sins, as also, for all your actual transgressions ; & with all your Heart you do accept of J. X for your Redeemer & only Sav^r, as he is offerd to poor Sin^{rs} in y^e gospel ; & y^e H. G for your Sanctifier ; & you do Solemnly Promise before God, y^e holy angels, & in y^e presence of y^s assembly, y^t being assisted by y^e H. G. you will forsake y^e vanities of y^s evil world, & approve yourself a true disciple of J. X in all good carriage both towards God & man. you do believe y^t there are 2 Sacraments, Baptism & y^e L^{ds} Supper ; y^e 1st a Sacrament of Jnnissation, & seals our admission into y^e vissible c^{hh} of X, & is to be administer'd to those & only those together with their seed, y^t are taught & discipled to X, & submit to y^e orders of y^e Gospel : & y^e other a Sacra^t of growth, & y^t is to be administrd to such as have been before Baptizd, of understanding to discern y^e L^{ds} Body, of blameless lives & conversations, & accompanied with a manifest desire & hungering after X — you believe y^t we are bound to hold communion of C^{hhs}, & acknowledge us to be a true c^{hh} of X ; & Promise so long as God shall continue your abode with us, that you will walk in Communion with y^e C^h of X in this place, subjecting your self to y^e discipline of X in it ; & Promise by his grace to live devoted to him all your days in a faithful obedience to all his commandments.¹⁵

Eliakim Willis, who was now settled as the third pastor of the church and congregation of the South Precinct, was a native of

Eliakim Willis

that part of the town of Dartmouth which afterwards became New Bedford, where he was

born January 9, 1713 $\frac{3}{4}$. He was a classmate of his predecessor in the pastorate, Mr. Cleaveland, being graduated at Harvard College in 1735. What his occupation had been during the seventeen years which passed between his graduation and ordination is unknown. If ill fortune attended it, it is safe to say that his situation could not have been more uncomfortable than

¹⁵ This Confession of Faith was carried to the North Church by Mr. Willis, when the parishes became reunited. More concise in its terms and

with the doctrine of original sin less plainly affirmed, it was printed by the latter church in 1823.

that which he now assumed. Misfortunes and crosses were now the rule of his life, and strong must have been the spiritual nature of that man who did not grow weak in the presence of the discouragements which surrounded him on every hand.

Whatever of influence the character and piety of Mr. Willis may have had in later years, they were of little avail in the face of the manifest uneasiness and decline which now pervaded the church and precinct. Scarcely had he been ordained before the active Stephen Paine again moved for a separation with the aid of the old parish, which took the following action: —

At a Publick Meeting of the first Parish in Malden on the fourth Day of December 1752 *Voted* James Green Moderator of Said Meeting: *Voted* the Parish will Perfar a petition to the grat and General Cort. To have M^r Stephen Pain: Set of with his Estate To the North Parish in Malden for Ever: *Voted* Iohn Shutt Iohn Dexter and Timothy Sprgue to be a Com^{tee} to act in that afare: a True Copy Estest

ED-WAIT *Parish Clark*.¹⁶

If a petition to this effect was then presented to the Court, it was unsuccessful; but it was renewed in 1754. The petitioner declared that, notwithstanding his protest, he had been

set off to the new Precinct, tho' he never associated himself with them, nor ever since has received any advantage thereby, but has constantly attended the old meeting; and tho' he has been obliged to pay his Proportion of the Charge of the new Precinct ever since has not received any Priviledge.¹⁷

Meanwhile a more formidable danger presented itself in the petition of three influential men of the precinct, Samuel Green, Ezra Green, and Benjamin Hills. Captain Samuel Green had consented to the division of the town, had been liberal in subscribing towards the building of the south meeting house, and had been helpful to the new parish "in the Relation of a Parish Com^{tee}"¹⁸ With his son, Ezra, he had borne a "Proposinal part of the Parish charges not only in Suporting the Gospel but in Bying the personage Lands." Although he had said in

¹⁶ *Mass. Archives*, cxvi. 670. The same committee was authorized to aid a similar petition of Captain Samuel Green, Ezra Green, Benjamin Hills, and Thomas Hills. *First Parish Records*, December 4, 1752.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, cxvi. 668.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, xiii. 476. The committee of the precinct acknowledged that he "did not a little promote y^e same."

1737, "that it would (in his Opinion) Conduce to the glory of God, & y^e Peace & Hapiness of the Town, to divide the same," he now said, "If it be asked why Sam^l Green was not Reserved to the North Parrish answer that the Difficultyes of the Town was so Great that J was Tired of the Contentions among us." The third petitioner, Benjamin Hills, whose house and lands were on the eastern portion of the present Cross Street, had also been a prominent and active member of the precinct. He had opposed and answered a petition similar to that which he now preferred, and had alone advanced "(not long since) a considerable sum of money ('till it might be Collected) toward the purchase of a Personage towards the Support of the Gospel in y^e South Parish." These services the precinct gratefully acknowledged in its reply to his petition. He set forth that the way to the south meeting house was long and inconvenient and that he lived to the northward of fourteen families that belonged to the old parish, which was denied.¹⁹ Elder Thomas Burditt, Phineas Sargeant, and Richard Dexter made answer for the precinct. A glimpse of the condition of affairs may be obtained in the following extract from their reply: —

We further beg leave to inform your Excellency & Hon^{rs}, that the north Parish is better Capacitated to Support their minister, than the South, as having near One Hundred & Twenty Poles, & the South but about Eighty; & that if the Prayer of your Petitioners should be granted, others would be Encourag'd to Petition after them, being undoubtedly desirous of being on the strongest side, & only wait to see what the Jssue of the Petition before your Excellency & Hon^{rs} may be.²⁰

The answer of the precinct was of effect so far as to defeat the immediate purpose of the petitioners, which failed by the nonconcurrence of the House in a vote to refer the matter to a committee. The petition, however, was revived in a few months; and after the usual reference and a favorable report,

¹⁹ Petition of Samuel and Ezra Green in *Green Family Papers*; *Mass. Archives*, xiii. 473, 476. Green said, "J told them J should not be willing to have my Estate Devided and So J was laid

of with the South Side but by long Ex perence have found it to be very predi- tal to my Self and Family."

²⁰ *Mass. Archives*, xiii. 476.

the Council ordered, October 30, 1754, "that the Petitioners mentioned in the Petition with their Estates be set off to the north Parish in Malden to do Duty & receive Privilege accordingly."²¹ The House concurred in this action the next day.

The disintegration which the committee of the precinct had feared now seemed to be begun. The next year the petition of Stephen Paine was finally successful; and he, with his estate almost in the heart of the precinct, was "Set of from the South Parish and Annexed to the North Parish in Malden there to Enjoy Priviledge and to doe Duty for the Future."²² The lands now diverted to the old parish had formed nearly a ninth part of the South Precinct and the resources of that ministry were reduced in a corresponding degree. Moreover, between four hundred and five hundred acres of land, which belonged to inhabitants of the other parish, lay in the precinct and were exempt from its ministerial and other rates.²³

The south side men now claimed that the estates which, lying within the bounds of the precinct, had been continued to the other parish in the division of 1737, were exempted only during the lives of their owners then in possession. One of those owners, Lieutenant Samuel Bucknam, having died in 1751, the precinct proceeded to tax his son, Benjamin Bucknam, in accordance with that claim. In consequence of this act, five of the parties most interested, John Shute, Obadiah Jenkins, James Green, Isaac Wheeler, and Benjamin Bucknam, petitioned the General Court in 1756, "that they and their Families, their Heirs & their Families & Estates, might be continued to the first Parish to do duty and recieve Privilidges for the future."²⁴ The precinct, by its committee, repeated the old story of the division and its alleged causes, and again warned the Court, saying: —

In one word if your Excellency & Hon^{rs} should grant y^e Prayer of your Petitioners others will be encourag'd to petition after them, concluding that our Dissolution is determined, & being also desirous of

²¹ *Mass. Archives*, xiii. 480.

²² April, 1755, *ibid.*, 691.

²³ *Ibid.*, 692.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 686.

being on the strongest side, & only wait to see what the fate of the Petition before you may be, as did your Petitioners y^e Petitions of those that were Exempted the other day. — we rely upon your tenderness & Compassion, & pray that the Petition may be Dismist as unreasonable.²⁵

The petition, however, was granted to the extent that Benjamin Bucknam and his estate were continued to the North Parish²⁶ a settlement which was substantially a victory for the petitioners, as it would have formed a valid precedent had the South Precinct taxed the estate of John Shute or any other of the exempted parties at their decease.

The next spring a further movement towards the breaking up of the precinct was begun, in aid of which the North Parish took the action indicated in the following vote: —

At a Publick meateing of the first parish In Malden y^e 15 day of March 1757

Was then Chosen

Capt Dexter	} a comm ^t to Joyne With
m ^r Timothy Sprague	
& Cap ^t Harndon	

M^r John Beachom Ebenezer Barrit and others of the South Parrish in Malden that shall prefer aney petitions to the Great and General Court referring to thereire being set-off to the North parrish.

taken of the parrish Rekord

ISAAC HILL, *Parrish clerk*²⁷

Before any further action was taken towards a division, the following petition was presented to the South Church; and, reading between the lines, the careful observer may see that the temporal condition of the precinct was followed by the spiritual state of the church: —

malden may 13th 1757

To y^e 2nd C^h of Christ in Malden, Greeting Brethren, we y^e subscribers desire y^t you would grant us a regular Dismission from this C^h (to w^h we now belong) to y^e 1st c^h of christ in this Town, for these reasons. 1st because there has been some uneasiness in this c^h upon y^e account of our attending y^e north meeting, w^h we hope we made conscience of

2^{dly}. because we hope & believe it will be more for y^e glory of God & our Edification to attend there, then here; & we think we ought to

²⁵ *Mass. Archives*, xiii. 692.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 696.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, xiv. 37.

attend y^e preaching of y^e word, where we think we can profit y^e best, if we can do it with conveniency, this is our desire

RICHRD DEXTER

NATH^N DEXTER

JN^O PAIN

SAM^{LL} BALDWIN

BENJ^A SPRAGUE

TABITHA DEXTER

ABIGAIL PAIN

ELIZABETH BALDWIN

PHEBE SPRAGUE

these to y^e

Rev^d m^r Willis — we

desire this may be de-

livered to y^e c^hh y^e next

Sabbath —²⁸

There are indications that a dissatisfaction with Mr. Willis was not absent in the church and congregation. When the petitioners “were asked, by y^e Past^r, whether yy had any thing to object agst eith^r his conversation, or Doctⁿ,” Benjamin Sprague and Nathan Dexter “answrd, yy had nothing more to say than what was written;” although others said they objected to nothing. Mr. Willis

then observed to them, y^t their request had a manifest tendency to dissolve y^e C^h; & it was hinted, y^t it could not appear in any other light to them—upon w^h they s^d, y^t y^e dissolution of y^e c^hh, was not what yy desird, but were willing it should continue, if y^e brethren tho^t they could support y^e preached Gospel among them.

They refused a council for the purpose of settling another, “whose labours might be to their edification & comfort here, & felicity hereafter,” two of them saying “y^t if y^e C^hh continued, or if they must have a Minister, they were contented with their present Past^r.”

The request of the petitioners was viewed by the church as “of great Importance, & threatening aspect;” and its consideration was postponed until September 2, when “aft^r p^r for direction, y^e C^hh looking upon y^e request of y^e brethren petitioners as unreasonable & a striking at her very being *voted* a noncompliance therewith.”²⁹ The petitioners, doubtless, continued to worship in the other parish; nor does the refusal to dismiss

²⁸ *South Church Records, in loco.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

them appear to have strengthened the church or conduced to the edification and comfort of its members. He who for a period of thirty-six years, from the fall of 1756 to the union of the parishes in 1792, observes but two white men, fifteen women, and two colored slaves, admitted to full communion, will place a low estimate upon the strength of the unfortunate South Church and the spiritual interest which pervaded it.

The petition which was foreshadowed by the action of the First Parish was presented to the General Court in the following November. It purported to be "The Petition of a number of the Inhabitants of the South Parish in Malden," and was signed by the following individuals: —

John Beacham,	Eben ^r Barrett,
Richard Dexter,	Benjamin Sprague,
Nathan Dexter,	Richard Shute,
Nathaniel Payne,	Jacob Parker,
John Burditt,	David Parker,
Thomas Waite,	Samuel Sargeant.

This threatened defection was far from being confined to a limited neighborhood; for while the Dexters and Parkers were in the northern portion of the precinct, John Beacham, who had recently come into Malden from Charlestown, was an inhabitant of Sweetser's, or Beacham's Point, at its most remote southern extremity.⁸⁰ John Burditt and Thomas Waite lived in

⁸⁰ Joseph Wilson, boatman, by several purchases from 1729 to 1742, became possessed of much of the Sweetser land at Sweetser's or Wormwood Point, a portion of which he sold to Thomas Flucker of Boston in 1750. Wilson and Flucker, in 1753, sold sixty-three and one-half acres, with houses and other buildings there, and other lands to John Beacham, then styled "shopkeeper of Boston." Beacham became prominent, especially in his opposition to the South Precinct. His family name is supposed to have been Beauchamp; and he is said to have been the only son of parents in good position in England. He ran away from home and came to Boston, where he married Sarah Pike in 1719, and had three sons and three

daughters. He died June 17, 1773, aged seventy-seven years; and his son John, his only surviving child and the last male of the name, being insane, died April 16, 1812, aged eighty-seven years. His name became attached to his purchase as Sweetser's had before, and was in turn displaced by that of Van Voorhis upon a later change of ownership. A grandson of the last John Beacham, John Gardner, became the founder of the Malden Public Library by a bequest of five thousand dollars, which was received by the town in 1877. On this foundation the unselfish public spirit and liberality of Elisha S. and Mary D. Converse have built an institution which is of the greatest value to the inhabitants of Malden.

the vicinity of the Chelsea line. The petition set forth: — “That when the Predecessors of several of the Petitioners were set off to the South Parish as a distinct Parish, altho’ it was burthensome to the Parish to maintain a Minister, and other necessary Charges, yet they imagin’d they might in Time be more capable of sustaining it;” but the continuance of the exempted estates to the North Parish and the separation of the Greens and Benjamin Hills, with their large estates, had prevented the realization of their hopes. They informed the Court that “by breaking off from the north Parish it is apprehended that they have forfeited their Right to ministerial Land belonging to the north Parish; and have been deprived of their Proportion to some of said Land which has been sold for Eight hundred Pounds; so that from low Circumstances they are reduced lower.” They represented their opposition to the settlement of Mr. Willis, for prudential reasons, and the offer of the old parish to remove the meeting house to Bell Rock. In conclusion they said: —

Your Petitioners are greatly impoverished by supporting a Minister among them, and by contending with the north Parish, and are in danger of having a greater Charge brought on them by a Law suit proposed to be carried on with the North Parish relating to the Ministerial Lands lately sold. Upon all these Considerations your Petitioners are humbly of Opinion that they are in the Way of their Duty to endeavour to be united to the north Parish; hoping they may have greater Benefit under the Word and Ordinances there, as well as be eas’d of their outward Burthen: and they would inform your Excellency and Honours that the North Parish join with them in their Petition.³¹

The committee of the South Parish replied that they still expected “the benefit of those Estates which were reserv’d to the North or first Parish during Life only,” and that they hoped to obtain their proportion of the ministerial lands, “tho’ sold without leave or licence obtain’d” by the North Parish. They denied that any had expressed an opposition to the settlement of Mr. Willis; but they acknowledged: —

That since the General Court hath seen cause to diminish our small parish, it is indeed much more difficult for us to answer the obligations

³¹ *Mass. Archives*, xiv. 37.

we are under to our minister, for whom we have a tender affection, & for his continuance with us, are very desirous; and therefore are willing to do even beyond our ability, 'till we have the benefit of the Lands before mention'd, which will render the support of the Gospel among us light & easy.

They avowed themselves ignorant of any contentions with the North Parish by which "they are greatly Impoverished," and declared: —

As for [our]selves, we have had none, nor do we propose to contend with them, but for our right to the Land, first given to the Town, & then one half to the south Parish, when the Town was divided into two Parishes by the General Court; which is injuriously withheld from us, by our Brethren of the north Parish, and which, with the General Courts Curtailing of us, is the only cause of the uneasiness of your Petitioners, and others, who only wait to see, what y^e fate of the Petition before your Excellency & Honours may be, and will be encourag'd if the Prayer thereof should be granted, to move for the like favour, as did your Petitioners, who could have easily joind with those that have been lately sett off from us; they being also desirous of being on the strongest side & where there is the least Charge.

They complained that the proposed change would take away nearly a quarter of their already small parish, and that some of the petitioners were new comers, who,

if they were desirous of having no concernment, or nothing to do with us, they might have purchased elsewhere, knowing that we were oblig'd to support the gospel among us, as did your Petitioner m^r John Becham, who lately came among us, and who was well acquainted with the obligations we were under to our Minister.³²

The petition and answer were referred by the Court to a committee, whose report, though brief, throws a strong light upon the condition of the unquiet precinct. It was adopted by both branches of the Court, January 10, 1758, and the petition was dismissed.

The Com^{tee} upon the Petition of m^r John Beacham & others of Malden have attended that matter heard y^e parties & Consider'd it & find by both parties that the Grand point in view of y^e Petitioners is a Design to break up y^e South Parish however Cautiously Express't in

³² *Mass. Archives*, xiv. 38.

y^e Petition & hereupon beg leave to Report as their opinion that
s^d Petition be Dismissd which is humbly submitted

p^r GEORGE LEONARD p^r ord^r.⁸⁸

The precinct now made the most of the situation to obtain terms, the proposal of which must have appeared ridiculous or irritative, by turns, to the comparatively peaceable men of the First Parish. The offer to unite in the maintenance of the two ministers, in the present relative condition of the parishes, and to share in the benefits of the ministerial fund, was a splendid piece of impudence; nor was it unmatched by the endeavor to make the north side men responsible for the many difficulties which surrounded their south side neighbors.

At a publick meeting of the South parish in Malden on Monday the Thirtieth of Jan^y 1758: Jabez Sargent moderator

Uoted Joseph Caswell Jonathan Oakes & Ezra Sargent a Committee to prefer the following proposels to the north or first Parish in said town

The South or second Parish in Malden To the north or first Parish in said town sendeth Greeting

Brethren We your towns men and neighbours beg leave to remonstrate: and hereby declare our willingness: and freedom, if you see fit, to contract as herein set forth, or stipulated.

In the first place, We bewail the unhappy contentions & divisions that haue been, and still seem to be so rife among us, who ought to love as brethren: And had our predecessors been so happy as to have put a stop to the grounds of these dificulties at first, we judg we shou'd haue had no occasion to engage in the present controversy, in which you cant but think you have had a great Share: But inasmuch as we have so far waded thro^h many dificulties; and are thro^h much charge & expence a Parish & church legally established by authority; We cant but think it our duty, for our own, and our posterities benefit and convenience, to continue and support the Gospell among us, where & as Providence has seemed to fix the same.

In the next place We woud observe, and take it hard, that ever since we were a Parish, you have seemed to endeavour to brake us up by weakning our abilities to support the Gospell where, and as you know, is so much to the convenience of us & families; espeacially, by so artfully depriving us of many members of so valuable Estates; who at first ware so freely willing to be joined with us; and without whom, at our

⁸⁸ *Mass. Archives*, xiv. 44.

first Establishment, we shou'd not have tho't it convenient to have been a Parish : and this we think the more cruel, as you ware then the much larger growing, and richer Parish.

Again We wou'd let you know, that however you have alienated from the original intention, and as you think fixed the interest of the worcester Lands towards the support of the Gospell in the first Parish ; We have indisputable advise and judgment, That we the second Parish have a just Title to half the same at least upon the demise, and at the decease of the reverend m^r Emerson : Whom notwithstanding God grant may long live a Usefull Gospell minister.

We now propose for the mutual peace : and prosperity of each and both our Parishes ; and which we think will also tend greatly to the flourishing State of our town : that we are most earnestly desirous to leave of contention before it be again meddled with : And tis our earnest prayer that the God of love & peace wou'd dwell among us : and cause us to dwell together in that love and peace which are the stability of any people. For these purposes, and that we may enjoy the Gospell where it is placed so much to our convenience We unitedly and as a Parish wou'd come into the following contract with you.

Imprimis, That the present ministers of each Parish and their Successors shall be maintained out of the town's treasury or one comon Stock, including worcester interest a comon part of this Stock.

Item That the sum of one hundred and twenty Seven pounds Lawfull money be raised annually for the support of the two ministers, By the town, or so much as Shall make the worcester income that sum to be paid the two ministers and their Successors in equal halves.

Item That whenever any Sum shall return into the treasury of this appropriation ; each minister, or his Successor Shall be paid one half Such sum be it more or less.

Item Upon your adherence to, and contract with these proposels we will, as a Parish, for our Selves, and our Heirs, acquit and quit-claim all our right and property, in, or to your parish wood land, and personage ; The half of which you allow we are intitled to for ever, after the death of your present minister, by the generall Courts Order.

Item If you agree herein we will, with you jointly, apply to the generall Court to confirm and establish our purposes, to prevent all disputes between the parishes hereafter ; If need be therefor.

These proposalls we think just and equal ; and such a contract we esteem but equitable and most reasonable ; and which we desire you will maturely consider : and as a Parish return us your answer very speedily.

May God give us understanding ; and lead us to those things that make for peace.

At a Legal meeting of the South parrish in Malden on Monday the 30 day of January 1758 *Voted* to accept the above said proposls and Chose Joseph Caswell Jonathan Oakes & Ezra Sargent a Committee to prefer the same to the north parish.

At a Parish Meeting of the North Parish in Malden, Feb^y the 20 1758 it was put to Vote to See if the Parish Would Except of the above Proposels and it Pased in the Negative. ISAAC HILL, *Parish Clark*

The "proposels" deserved the prompt action with which they were met by the First Parish; and the propriety of their rejection is obvious. At the same time it was

Voted that if the south Parish in this town would Reunite to be one with the north Parish that they shall be exempted from aney ministearle tax in this Parish for Eight years Provided they Except of this Gineras offer within one year.

The fate of the precinct now depended upon the diversion of a portion of the ministerial fund, the origin of which was in the colonial grant of one thousand acres of land in 1662.

The grant of one thousand acres for the use of the ministry of Malden and its accidental relocation within the bounds of Shrewsbury and Worcester have been noticed in a former chapter. This land was thereafter considered as the rightful property of the town, and as such was reserved from the grant made to the Shrewsbury proprietors in 1717.³⁴ It does not appear that the income derived from that source was of any great advantage to the ministry, although the land was apparently let or leased from time to time. In the month of January, 1727 $\frac{1}{2}$, it was voted to sell the farm, as it was called; and a committee was appointed to petition the General Court for authority.

The town was soon after involved in a suit, or a series of suits, with the Shrewsbury proprietors, or with persons who had

³⁴ One hundred acres of this tract fell within the bounds of Worcester. The town of Worcester being cited to appear on one occasion replied, "That it was a matter of surprise to them, . . . that they always apprehended Malden had an undoubted Right to said farm and as about one hundred acres thereof lys in Worcester they have from y^e

settlement of the Town Renewed bounds with Malden. That they have seen Maldens answer & doubt not but they have set y^e affair in so just & True a light That your Excellency & Hon^{rs} will in your great wisdom dismiss y^e Petition & Grant your Respondents Cost." *Mass. Archives*, cxiv. 579.

entered, if they had not actually settled, within the limits claimed, in which it was successful. In 1736 the town of Shrewsbury voted a tax of twenty-five shillings "on each House Lot, to defray Court charges in defending the Proprietors against Malden men;" and at the same time granted compensation to Isaac Temple and John Bush "for services done in attending the Inferior Court, about Malden farm."³⁵ Malden had raised one hundred pounds in the previous year for the expenses of its committee. Mr. Emerson, in a letter, congratulated the town upon the "late smiles of providence;" and with admirable tact asked "wheather it be not highly reasonable that the hundred pounds which you ofered me for my suport in the work in the ministrey should be made and kept as good as it was when I first came amoungst you."³⁶

Soon after a committee was chosen and invested with

full power after haueing vew'd the buildings and those parts of said farm that mis' Ephraim Wheeler and David Crosbe have built and settled upon to agree with said Wheeler and crosbe (if may be) according to there best judgment.

If any agreement was made it did not effect a lasting peace; for in 1738 David Crosby complained that

he had been sued, &c. by the Rev. Joseph Emerson, of Malden, for trespass, breaking into his close, house, &c., in Shrewsbury, and judgment rendered against him, prays for a new trial, that he may, as he can, show that it is not Emerson's land. Petition dismissed.³⁷

In 1740 Crosby, in behalf of the Shrewsbury proprietors, petitioned the General Court for a settlement of the Malden bounds;³⁸ and although no important action was then taken, the matter was not allowed to rest, but was revived from time to time until January, 174 $\frac{2}{3}$, when a committee of both houses made a report, which brought about a settlement of at least one question involved in the case. They had seen a tract of land in Holden, within the old bounds of the Worcester plantation, which they found to

³⁵ Ward, *History of Shrewsbury*, 27.

³⁶ *Malden Town Records*, in loco.

³⁷ Ward, *History of Shrewsbury*, 184.

³⁸ *General Court Records*, xvii. (2), 336.



Fold-out Placeholder

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Fold-out Placeholder

so exactly correspond with the description of Malden [Farm] as given in the Original Plan thereof in the Records of this Court, as to afford the highest evidence the nature of the thing will admit of, that the same was anciently laid out to satisfy the Grant to Malden, as the same is decyphered on the Plan.³⁹

Some of the bound marks of 1665 still remained. The committee declared that "the other Tract in Shrewsbury of later years reputed to be Malden Farm, doth of right still belong to the Province, and that the Proprietors of Shrewsbury nor yet the Church of Malden have any just claim to it by vertue of any grant from this Government." The report concluded as follows: —

And altho' the Church of Malden by force of their possession have maintained actions of Trespass and Ejectment brought against such as had entered on these lands, without lawful right so to do, yet the Judgments so obtained cannot (as we apprehend) in any measure, bar or weaken the claim of the Province to those lands, how far soever the consideration of the great trouble charge and expence said Town have been at to obtain the quiet possession thereof, may recommend them to the favour and compassion of this Court.⁴⁰

The action of the General Court, by a committee, was slow; but the Malden church, or the First Parish, was finally confirmed in the possession of the Shrewsbury land, after relinquishing "all Claim and Demand upon the Tract of Land mentioned in said Report to ly in the Township of Holden."⁴¹ Thereafter the parish held a troublous possession. Ephraim Wheeler, who had settled upon a portion of the land, remained under a lease; but David Crosby appears to have been less pliable. On a former occasion he had told "the Sherriff of Worcester that he Would Shoot him Thorough the Heart if he Offered to Come into the House;"⁴² and in the final settle-

³⁹ I have been unable to find the original plot mentioned in the report of Thomas Noyes, which is printed in Chap. X. A plan was made by David Haynes in 1735, an official copy of which is in the possession of Charles E. Clark, M.D., of Lynn. As this agrees in its marks and distances with the report of Noyes, it may be considered as identical with the original plan. It is here

reproduced with the consent of Dr. Clark.

⁴⁰ *General Court Records*, xvii. (3), 591-94.

⁴¹ Cf. *Mass. Archives*, xii. 298. The northern part of Worcester was incorporated as Holden in 1740.

⁴² Deposition of Captain Benjamin Flag, Jr. Official copy in the possession of Charles E. Clark, M. D., of Lynn.

ment he kept retired, ostensibly, to avoid the service of executions, probably, to impede the adjustment which would quiet his claim forever.

The grant, which was now confirmed to the uses of the Malden church, thereafter was held by the North Parish and the town claimed a right in it no longer. In February, 1748⁸/₉, the selectmen were petitioned to insert an article in the warrant for the annual meeting for the purpose of obtaining a vote to sell the land so that the South Precinct might have the portion which it claimed; but the petition was refused and the selectmen declared, "upon due Consideration we find that the town of Malden has no farm at Worcester & Shrewsbury." The long course of litigation was not at an end, and the parish had still to defend its rights in several actions brought by the Shrewsbury people. Judge Lynde was at the Worcester court in September, 1749, and recorded in his diary, "Malden great cause all day." Two years later he entered, "great Malden cause all day."⁴³ At a meeting held, March 12, 1749⁹/₅₀, the parish

Vot^d Ed Wait Timothy Sprague and John Dexter a Com^{ts}: to Sell their Ministry farm Lieing Partely in Shrewsbury and Partely in worcester with their Rend Ministers Consent: for the vse and Benefit of the Ministry in the first Church in the North Parish in Maldon.

Soon after Mr. Emerson, as the legal representative of the Malden ministry, leased to David Dickey of Shrewsbury for one year, at a rental of nine dollars, at forty-five shillings to the dollar, O. T., "Maldons first Church farm," reserving that part which had been leased to Ephraim Wheeler and a portion which John McWater had "within fence." There was at that time "one Dwelling house and one barn thereon Standing."⁴⁴

There was some delay in effecting a sale; but under the date of March 15, 1754, the committee executed a deed to Captain Thomas Stearns of Worcester and Duncan Campbell of Oxford for a consideration of eight hundred and forty-eight pounds, lawful money. The committee met with some resistance when

⁴³ *Diaries of Benj. Lynde and of Benj. Lynde, Jr.*, 170, 175.

⁴⁴ *First Parish Records, in loco.*

they went to Shrewsbury to complete the transfer. They found "Ephraim Wheeler and His famely Shut Vpin a house on the said farm and he the said whealer Refused to Surrender." Another house was held by Richard Myles and his families. Both were finally dispossessed and the property delivered to the purchasers.⁴⁵

The purchase money, which the parish had voted to "Let out at Intrest, to be forever Appropreated to the Vse of the Ministry of the first Church, in the first Parish in Malden," was in 1755 put into the hands of Captain John Dexter, Joseph Lynde, and Lieutenant Ezra Green, who were made "a Committee to take Care of the money that theay Sold their perish farm for — and to Let out the money from time to time as theay Shall See fit with good Security."⁴⁶ This was the foundation of the ministerial fund, which, after the union of the opposing parishes, was held by the town, until the gathering of a Baptist church and a threatened withdrawal of the followers of Jesse Lee caused a majority of the town, while yet they had the power, to vote for its transfer to trustees for the benefit of the mother church.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ *First Parish Records, in loco*, April 11, 1754.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, March 12, 1753; March 10, 1755.

⁴⁷ May 7, 1804, the town was called "To see if the town will raise Money to replace the ministerial money which, they in years past, have appropriated to their own use." During that and the succeeding year, a total sum of four hundred and sixty-one dollars and seventy-seven cents was voted to replace the fund, which probably represented all that was left of the grant of one thousand acres.

The eccentric Lord Timothy Dexter, who died at Newburyport, October 26, 1806, was a native of Malden. By his will he gave "unto the town of Malden, three hundred dollars, to be laid out to purchase a bell for the Meeting-House; also two thousand dollars, to be put at interest for 100 years, and the interest to be appropriated annually for the support of the gospel in said town

of Malden." Knapp, *Life of Lord Timothy Dexter*, 156. It was probably in anticipation of this bequest that the town, January 26, 1807, chose a committee "to petition the General Court for an act to incorporate certain persons as trustees to manage the funds & other property belonging to the Congregational society in Malden." At a meeting in March it was "Voted That the selectmen be authorized to transfer the public securities & private notes, being the proceeds of the Worcester farm to the trustees (if there should be any) to manage the funds & other property belonging to the congregational society."

In the following September it was "Voted that the board of trustees of this town be authorised to receive of the Executors to the last will of the late Timothy Dexter Esq^r deceased the two thousand dollars given in s^d will for the Support of the Gospel in s^d town and Likewise to give a discharge for the

It was a portion of this fund which the South Precinct now sought to divert. As early as February 2, 1756, they had

Voted Phinehas Sargent Jonathan Oakes & John Bucknam a committee to procure the parishes wright in the town fairm Granted them by the General Court for the use of the ministry they also voted the parish should bair the Charge the said Committee Should be at.

This committee petitioned the North Parish for a division of the funds, and their request was promptly refused. At the same time it was voted to "defend m^r Unite Cox from paying of Raits to the South parish." The Precinct, however, had no disposition to quarrel over the latter matter, and voted the next year to forgive "Unight Cockses" rate; and he was left to go where he pleased.

Had our southern neighbors been as wise as they were stubborn, a pacification might still have been effected and the happy union of thirty-five years later accomplished. But they rejected all offers of conciliation and prepared to carry their demands into the courts of law. At a meeting held March 2, 1758, it was

Voted m^r Benjamin Kent of Boston Daniel Whittemore Deaⁿ. Joseph Caswell Jonathan Oakes & Ezra Sargent a Committee to prefer a petition to the Great and General Court Assembled at Boston 1758 for sum Relief in our present difficult Circumstances.

If this vote was carried out no relief was gained; and nothing more was done until March 12, 1759, when the precinct

Voted To Chuse two men to add to the Com^{tee} Chosen 1756 febr^y the 2 to Procure the Parishes wright in the town fairm Granted them by the General Court for the Use of the Ministry vis M^r Jhon Oliver Ezra Sargeant.

A suit was now commenced, which the old parish prepared to oppose. At a meeting, June 6, 1759, it was

three hundred dollars given in said will for a Bell which the town consider they have already received of m^r Dexter in his life time." Nothing more is heard of the bequest. That it was received is apparent from the report of the trustees of the Ministerial Fund in 1808, in which the principal of the fund is stated to be twenty-six hundred and ninety-four dollars and forty-eight cents. Annual re-

ports were made by the trustees until May 1, 1824, which is the date of the last report. In that year the First Parish was reorganized under an act of the General Court, and came into possession of the ministerial funds and property. The amount of the fund which the parish received was forty-two hundred and thirty-three dollars and thirty-eight cents.

Voted — Mr. Timothy Sprague, Captⁿ John Dexter, and m^r James Barrett To be a Committee to Stand a Tryall or Tryalls to the End of the Law or fineall Judgement : and Execution in an action depending in the Law a gainst the Reund. mr. Eliakim Willis Clark minister of gods word of the Second Geathered church of christ in malden Concerning Malden first Church Land Lying in Shrewsbury as mentioned in Said Ritt or other wise Lying in worcester with the Consent of the first church of christ in Said malden : and the Consent of the Reun^d mr. Joseph Emerson their present minister Clerk of gods word in said malden

The actions which were now entered upon afforded a dreary restatement of the troubles which have been related. Little or nothing of interest appears therein; and while the suits ate away the little means which the precinct could yet control, they were of no avail in staying the impending ruin of the church and parish. The precinct was defeated in its purposes, and the North Parish was left in the quiet possession of the fund.

It is said that Mr. Willis was blamed as the cause of all the trouble which had come upon the people; and, as has often happened in that tangled web and woof which we call human life, he who was, perhaps, the most innocent of all bore much of the burden of the punishment which thirty years of misdoing had brought upon the unfortunate church and parish of the South Precinct. Neither his life nor his property was safe, if credit be given to the threats with which he was assailed. The following proclamation is a curious witness to the condition of the precinct during the time which we are considering.

By his Excellency Thomas Pownall Esq Captain General and Governor in Cheif in and over his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England and Vice Admiral of the same. —

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas in the month of July last an anonimous Letter was found in the Pulpit of the meeting-house of the South Parish in Malden directed to M^r Eliakim Willis (the minister of said Parish) wherein the Writer declares — “ that he thinks he should do justice to burn him out of Town and that if he did not depart from them in two months he would be the death of him ; if he was hanged for him ” — which atrocious Fact has been represented to me in Council by a Great number of the

Inhabitants of the said South Parish in Malden Praying for the Interposition of the Government in order to discover the author of it. —

And inasmuch as such an open and flagrant Violation both of the Laws of God and Man hath a direct tendency to subvert all Civil Order and Government, and to render the Lives and Properties of his Majesty's Subjects altogether precarious.

I have therefore thought fit with the advice of his Majesty's Council to issue this Proclamation hereby requiring all his Majesty's Officers, Civil and Military and all other his Majesty's Subjects within this Province to use their utmost Endeavours for discovering seizing and bringing to Justice the author or authors of the infamous Letter aforesaid, or any of his or their accomplices hereby also promising a reward of One hundred Pounds to be paid out of the Public Treasury to any Person or Persons who shall inform against or discover any one or more concerned in this Wicked design so that he or they may be convicted. And if the Informer shall have been an accomplice or any ways concerned in said Crime, (except He shall have actually been the author of said Letter) He shall receive his Majesty's Pardon, and shall likewise receive the above mentioned Reward upon Conviction of the Party informed against as aforesaid.

Given under my hand at Boston the twelfth day of February Anno Domini 1760 and in the thirty third year of his Majesty's Reign

By his Excellency's Command

T. POWNALL

A. OLIVER *Secry.*⁴⁸

The several actions seem to have been settled by the spring of 1763, when a committee was chosen by the precinct "for to Reckon with the committee Chosen for to Sue for Part of the Worcester farm." The downward course of affairs, which had lasted almost from the gathering of the church, now ceased; for both church and parish had now arrived at the utmost limit of their low condition. Their existence for the next twenty-four years was worse than a total dissolution; for their records show a church and parish with little of material means for a proper observance of the sacrament and a necessary subsistence, and little of spiritual grace.

The following entry, made soon after the settlement of the suits, appears upon the church records: —

[1763,] Feb^y 23. the C^{hh} meet to chuse a Deacon, & also for an open & free conference, with respect more especially to y^c frowns of

⁴⁸ *Mass. Archives, Commissions, Proclamations, Pardons, etc.*, 1756-1767, 121-122.

Providence upon y^e C^{hh} & Society, & y^e different sentiments occasioned thereby. aft^r Pray^r for directⁿ, B^r Jn^o Bucknam was by a unanimous vote chosen to y^e office of a Deacon — aft^r w^h y^e Past^r exprest his desire of y^e unity peace & prosperity of y^e C^{hh}; & his readiness eith^r to continue or dissolve his Relation to them, as y^e bretheren should judge most conducive thereto; & withal desird them to conclude or fix upon some method for relief — several things were said, & some proposals made; but nothing concluded upon —

A feeling of apathy seems to have pervaded the parish, as distinct from the church, at this time. At a meeting held April 18, 1763,

It was put to Vote to See If the Parish would Petition to the General Court for help to Soport the Gospel and it Passed in the Negative

It was Put to Vote to see If the Parish would Chuse a Committee to Confer with the Revernd M^r Willis on what terms he will be willing to Relinquish his Pastoral Relation to the Church and Parish and it Passed in the Negative.

Nor does the church appear to have been more active, save that at the next recorded meeting,

[1764.] March 19th — (after p^r) B^r Jn^o Bucknam gave his answ^r of non acceptance of y^e office of a Deacon — y^e C^{hh} voted y^t 4 Coppers should be Contributed every Communion day to provide or purchase y^e Elements.

At length some effort was made to end the troubles into which they had fallen; and the church met, January 15, 1765, “at y^e request of a n^o of y^e brethren for a free conference . . . to see if some Christian methods might be come into for Relief.” Offers for a settlement were made and rejected; and although Mr. Willis hinted at an ecclesiastical council, nothing was done. At a later meeting the pastor complained of

y^e conduct of many not only of y^e Society, but of y^e C^{hh}, who have trampled underfoot my advice, my ministerial exhortation in attending publick worship elsewhere, tho’ they knew it to be disorderly, & y^t it grieved me to y^e heart — J think J only desire to know Gods will in y^e affair before us: & whether it be to remove or continue with you (hard & difficult as my lot hath been) J am (thro’ great mercy) willing to comply.

In conclusion, he added: —

Being willing to bear p^t of your burden (to spend & to be spent for you, tho' y^e more J love you, y^e less J be lov'd) J will make you one offer more, viz, that J will abate my Sallery for y^e present year, exclusive of ye parsonage & wood; provided — that you make conscience of attending my ministry more steadily, & y^t you receive my instructions, & take my advice in things Religious & ministerial — that for y^e future you forbear all your hard & unchristian reflections against me: that you treat me with kindness, & do what you can y^t J may live for y^e future, in love & peace.⁴⁹

This offer, to which were added demands for the necessary repairs of the parsonage, the gradual payment of arrears, and a provision for his future temporal support, was laid before the parish in March, when it was "Voted to Comply with the Rev^m m^r Willis Perposalls." The compliance was rather in word than in deed, if we may judge from the remarks of Mr. Willis at a church meeting in June. He said: —

Brethrⁿ, you are not insensible of y^e malencholy scituation y^t we are in, w^h is y^e occasion of my appointing y^e present meeting of y^e C^h, to see if any thing can be done for y^e removal of y^e unhappy alienation of affection y^t is too aparent among us, & for y^e restoratⁿ of y^t unity & good agreement among us, on w^h y^e being & growth of y^e C^h, y^e interest of Religion among us, y^e hon^r of X, & y^e glory of God depends — y^e want of Love; & y^e conduct of some being unbecoming y^r profession & solemn engagements; togeth^r with y^e want of some proper method to provide for y^e table of y^e L^d, have been y^e occasion of y^e Sacra^{mt} being suspended for a time.⁵⁰

Three members of the already small body, Richard Dexter, Samuel Baldwin, and John Paine, had withdrawn from the communion for "their greater Edification;" and others were not over warm in their zeal. A slim provision for "y^e L^ds table," and a feeble effort to recall the wandering members gave little promise of better things. It is said that no part of the agreement with Mr. Willis was observed and that the suffering minister was in a worse condition than ever at the close of the year. He was still bound to his people, and they to him, by a civil contract or life settlement, which could be broken only by an

⁴⁹ *South Church Records*, January 29, from August 12, 1764, to June 30, 1765. The sacrament was suspended 1765.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, June 5, 1765.

ecclesiastical council or by mutual agreement. What finally led to its dissolution is not a matter of record; but tradition intimates that a suit at law for the fulfilment of the contract, so far as it involved the payment of arrears of long standing, was not impossible and that the final action was induced by that consideration.⁵¹ At the annual meeting of the precinct, March 23, 1766, it was

Voted to Give the Rev^d Mr Willis their Personage House and Land, Provided the Reverend Mr Willis will Relinquish his Civil Contract with the Parrish and oblige himself to Preach the Gospel to the Inhabitants of the South End of Malden three years the Contribution Being the Parishes their Being two men Chosen by the Parish as Trustees to Receive it, and to pay it to the Rev^d Mr Willis once in four weeks and

⁵¹ Some little help had lately come; and the precinct had regained the benefit of a portion of the farm of Captain Samuel Green, which had been set back to the First Parish in 1754. Captain Green died February 21, 1761, and the southern portion of his farm, with the homestall, came into the possession of his eldest son, James, who soon after sold it to his son, Darius. Joseph Perkins of Danvers purchased it in 1765, and lived upon it until his death. It originally contained forty-seven acres between the present Main and Ferry Streets, and eight acres of upland and marsh towards the North River. The house, a portion of which is that built by James Green soon after his purchase in 1647, if it had not been already built by Abraham Palmer, is still held in the Perkins name. Appleton Street, on which it stands, was formerly a way, known as Perkins's Lane, leading to it from the Penny Ferry road. The ancient and long-ago discontinued way to Winnisimmet passed by its door.

The conveyance likewise carried the ownership of a pew in the north meeting house, which to Joseph Perkins seemed "very Convenient;" but to his surprise he found that the land which he had purchased had been reserved to the First Parish only during the possession of the Greens, and that he belonged to the South Precinct, where he must pay taxes. Representing that he "Chuses

to set under the Preaching of the Rev^d Mr Emerson, who hath recommended himself to your Petitioner by his Sound Doctrine & Exemplary life," he petitioned the General Court that his estate might be confirmed to the old parish, as was that of Benjamin Bucknam, "much under the like Circumstances," in 1756. There was, however, a difference between the two cases. The Bucknam farm had descended from father to son, while the Green land, which had not been disturbed while in the possession of Samuel Green's descendants, had now passed into the hands of a stranger by purchase. The precinct opposed the petition by a committee, whose reply cannot be found, and Joseph Perkins was obliged to withdraw. *Mass. Archives*, xiv. 421. He continued to worship at the north meeting house and was an influential member of the church and parish, although he was constrained to remain an unwilling subject of the South Precinct until 1789, when, with his son, Jacob, he succeeded in being set off to the old parish. He was chosen a deacon of the North Church in 1772, and died July 23, 1793, at the age of seventy-four years, having lived to see the opposing churches and parishes reunited. He was influential in town affairs, and served as town clerk and selectman in the latter years of his life. His son, Jacob, was father of the late Daniel Appleton Perkins.

take an account thereof he Being obliged to Preach as much Longer after the above time Sett as the Contribution Shall be Sufficient to pay him for his Labours among us, at the Same Rate as when his Civil Contract Subsisted Between him and the Parish these Conditions upon the Rev^d M^r Willis Part to be fulfilled if God Should be Pleased to Continue his Life and Ability to Preforme the Same, And If Deprived of either the fee of the Personage to Remain his and his Heirs forever.

There was some delay in carrying out this vote; and it was not until January 13, 1767, that Jonathan Oakes, Richard Dexter, and Ebenezer Pratt, as a committee of the precinct, gave "a good and lawful Deed" of the parsonage house and about seventeen acres of land on the west side of the "Road leading down to penny Ferry so called," with a barn and about two acres of land on the east side of the road.⁵² Here the last pastor of the South Church lived until his death, gaining, perhaps, a not too liberal subsistence from the cultivation of his lands and the uncertain products of the contribution box, until his old age was gladdened by the pastorate of a reunited church.

The contributions made during the time fixed by the vote served to continue the preaching less than a year; and at a meeting held February 19, 1770, the precinct "*Voted* to Chuse a Committee to Converse with M^r Willis to See If he will take the Present Circumstances of the Parish under Consideration and again Carry on the work of the Ministry among them for a free Contribution." The committee reported a month later, "that the Reverend M^r Willis doth Engage to carry on the work of the Ministry for a free Contribution for the futer agreeable to the Request of the Parish;" and it was "*Voted* to Except the Report of the Committee."

⁵² *Midd. Co. Deeds*, lxvii. 212. I have found no deed of the parsonage property to the South Precinct. It was purchased soon after the vote, which is elsewhere given, was passed; and the house was already built upon it. The precinct voted, October 3, 1748, to "Repair the Parsonage house;" to "build a Chimney in the Kitching of the foresaid parsonage house;" and to "Repair the ston wall (on Each side of the Road)

which belongs to y^e Pasnage Land." A few months later it was voted to buy five acres of land of Elder Ebenezer Upham, "which Lieth on y^e North side of y^e Pasnage Land." The house, a view of which is given in Bailey, *Everett Souvenir*, 11, is still standing (1898) in its original location on the west side of Main Street, a little south of Prescott Street, in Everett.

The precinct thereafter maintained a nominal existence until March 27, 1775, when a regular meeting was held; but in the choice of officers a collector and assessors were not chosen, which is significant. After this, living in positions exposed to the fire and incursions of the enemy and coming within the lines of the army which invested Boston, the few inhabitants of the southern portion of the town removed their families and effects to locations more remote, some going as far as Reading and others along the old Salem Road to Black Ann's Corner and the secluded nooks of Scadan. On their return, the precinct having fallen into desuetude, there seems to have been no attempt to revive it; and its records are silent for a period of twelve years, until a secession from the old parish carried an element of strength from the North Church, and induced a temporary throb of life in its expiring neighbor.

Meanwhile the church had maintained a feeble existence and generally continued a stated observance of the Lord's supper during the milder months of the year, omitting it altogether during the winter season, as had been the usual custom. During the period of hostilities, "being scatterd by the enemy, the Sac^t was omitted at some stated times yet thro' divine goodness, the C^{hh} was indulgd the liberty of approaching the table of the Lord several times, before the enemy were driven from our metropolis." ⁵³ He who "broke the seals" and held the little

⁵³ *South Church Records, 1775-76.* The records note twenty-two celebrations of the Lord's supper by Mr. Cleaveland, ending March 18, 1775, when they appear to have been discontinued. Apparently they were not resumed until January 21, 1753, when Mr. Willis records his first administration of the elements. He continued the enumeration until October 2, 1791, when for the two hundred and fifteenth, and last, time he gathered the South Church around the table of the Lord. At first, the sacrament was observed every six or seven weeks; but after the second year it was usually omitted in mid-winter, and sometimes for a period of three months. Afterwards, the weak-

ness and poverty of the church caused it to be neglected for long seasons, as in 1764-65, and again from October 30, 1768, to April 2, 1769. It was but twice observed between March 12, 1775, and June 24, 1776, probably by a few of the scattered people who found themselves together, at times whose dates Mr. Willis had apparently forgotten when he made the record. Later, for several years, it was administered but four times annually, in the warmer months, when provision could be made.

The custom of omitting the Lord's supper in the winter season seems to have been observed, at least for a time, by the First Church, and it may have been general in New England. It is

flock together in the midst of his many public and private discouragements must have owned a stronger faith in the providences of God than is given to mankind in general.

I have carefully followed the history of the South Church and precinct because its story forms an important part of the story of the town; because the materials for the work are scattered and perishing and not readily brought together; and, more, because the drama, though played upon an humble and limited stage, shows as clearly the effects of the prejudices and animosities of men as though a kingdom were its scene and a world its audience. Unjustly conceived, and nursed by misrepresentations, its bright days were few and its decay was of an early growth; its progress was marked by strife and deceit, and its destruction was deserved from the beginning. It blighted itself and was a curse to the whole town, carrying heart-burnings into every part. Its work was less that of the Prince of Peace than that of the sons of Belial. Its effects outlasted itself and induced bitter sectional prejudices, which were not wholly effaced within the memory of many now living. Better had it never have been. Having been, its story has a lesson which may be heeded with profit by the present age. It passed away long ago and the bodies of those who gave it life sleep peacefully with those of their brethren of the North Parish in the ground at Sandy Bank; but the motives and passions which induced it may still be recognized at times in public affairs. Sectionalism is as dangerous in a town as in a nation, although its scope may be limited; and prejudice, deceit, and injustice are often its ministers.⁵⁴

said that Mr. Emerson endeavored to obtain a regular administration of the sacrament through the winter; but on a cold Sunday, finding the bread frozen in a solid mass, it was decided that zeal without discretion was unprofitable.

⁵⁴ The brief season of hope enjoyed by the South Church, on the occasion of the secession from the North Parish in 1787, belongs to another period, and will be considered in a later volume. It was not of long duration, and the affairs of each parish were far from prosperous

soon after. The war had left the country in poverty, and carelessness or disquiet had already begun to paralyze or threaten the long established order. Under such conditions, the members of the North Parish, taking "into their most Serious Consideration the Situation of affairs in Malden and the Present unhappy Division of the Town into two Parishes the Sad Consequences of which have Been Sufficiently Experienced by Both," in October, 1791, appointed a committee to consult with the

South Parish with a view to a union "in one Religious Society upon Principles Equally Interesting to Both Parishes." The General Court, at its next session, passed an act authorizing the consolidation; and the following entry on the records of each church records the ending of the troubles of sixty-five years.

"1792, March 25th — The Brethren of the first and second Church of Christ in Malden voted in the north meeting House (after the Blessing was given) to be incorporated, with their Officers, into one Body, or to receive and em-

brace each other, as members of one and the same visible Church of Christ; and to cultivate Christian Communion & Fellowship, by a regular attendance upon the Ordinances of the Gospel administered in said House — also that the furniture of the Communion Tables, to be put into one common stock.

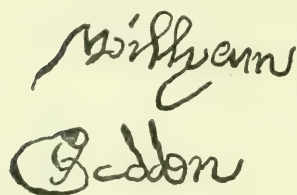
ELIAKIM WILLIS, *cler.*"

Mr. Willis became the sole pastor of the reunited people, taking from the South Church its Arminian Confession of Faith and Covenant to the church of Wigglesworth and Emerson.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE TOWN SCHOOL.

WILLIAM GODDEN, or possibly Gooden, as Goodwin was then and long afterward pronounced, was perhaps a roving trader who exchanged sugar and tobacco for beaver pelts and other merchantable productions of the country. He seems

Two handwritten signatures in dark ink. The top signature is 'William' in a cursive script. The bottom signature is 'Godden' in a similar cursive script, with a large, ornate initial 'G'.

to have had no stated place of residence. In 1652, being, as he wrote, "at present in Nuingland but leaving the land," he left the value of sixteen pounds in the hands of Ralph Shepard of Malden;¹ and about the same time he witnessed, with Ralph

Shepard, the unfortunate bargain of John Lewis with Paul Wilson, which, being unrecorded, afterwards gave Mr. Wigglesworth much trouble. He was again in Massachusetts Bay in 1662, being then about sixty-four years of age; and he afterwards wrote a will, which he signed in the presence of Samuel and Mary Blanchard, of Wilson's Point, in which he speaks of himself in the following terms:—

Jn the Name of God Amen. and through the strength of Jesus christ my alone Saviour. J William Godden being Sicke and weake, but of Sound memory and understanding, Do vpon the 9th day of the 12th m^o comonly called febr. 1663. Do make and constitute my last Will & testament in mann^r following.

To Mary, the witness, wife of Samuel Blanchard, he gave fifteen pounds in money, "if it may be found of my estate in New England, or else to be made vp 15^{ls} of the best of my estate in any place where it is due to mee in New England, where shee please or in what shee please." To Mary, the wife

¹ *Midd. Court Files*, 1666, xv. 4.

of Thomas Skinner of Malden, and to Simon Mellens and Thomas Barruce he also made devises. There were sums of money due him from Edward Wiar and William Eggar, Scotchmen, and James Green, amounting to two pounds and two shillings, which he set apart, — “all w^{ch} money is to be payd to my Excecuto^{rs}, these money^s is to be disposed for my buriall, Also J give to the foure y^t cary me to my grave 2^s a peece, to be payd by my Excecutors.” For the rest, he says: —

my debts and fun^{al}l charges first discounted, J give the remainder of my estate that can any way be found in New England, by bill, bond, or otherwise due to mee, J say J give the remainder of my estate to be disposed of for the schooling of the Poore children of charlestowne, & Mauldon, into equall pporcons to be payd by the direcon of the Select men of each Towne, under their hands to my Excecuto^{rs}

His friend, Samuel Blanchard, and another whom he might choose were made executors. In March, 1665⁶/₆, he was found drowned;² and soon after Samuel Blanchard, having proved the will as executor, brought a suit against Ralph Shepard for the sixteen pounds which he owed in 1652. What benefit the poor children of Charlestown and Malden received from the good intentions of William Godden is neither a matter of record nor of tradition. Only the fact remains that his name is the first connected with the idea of free education in Malden.

It may be supposed that a school of some kind, humble though it may have been, was established here at an early day; but no knowledge of such a foundation has come to us of a date earlier than December 19, 1671, when

Mauldon Being presented by the Grand Jury for not haueing a schoolem^r. Capt. Wayte appeared in Court and declared they were now Supplied according to law, and is discharged the p^rsentm^t paying fees of Court.³

No other reference to educational matters is found prior to April 1, 1691, when this simple entry in the town records —

² “[March 10, 1665⁶/₆.] Beinge Informed that William Godwin is Lately drowned.” *Midd. Probate Files, in loco*. Godden’s original will, with other papers, is in *Midd. Probate Files, in loco*;

and a copy is in *Midd. Court Files*, 1666, xv. 4, with papers relating to the case with Ralph Shepard. The inventory shows a balance of £122 16s. 1d.

³ *Midd. Court Records*, iii. 12.

"Ezekiel Jenkins continuing to be the Townes Scoule Master," proves that the school had not ceased to exist. In 169 $\frac{2}{3}$ a change of rule is indicated by an entry as concise as the first — "John Sprague jun^r Schoolmaster." At the annual meeting, March 8, 169 $\frac{6}{7}$, another change was made, and "John Moulton [was] chose Scool-master." Moulton was a son of Thomas Moulton, who settled on the northerly bank of the South River near the island which bears his name. He accompanied or followed his brother-in-law, Thomas Mitchell, to Pemaquid, where he was in 1682, and where they appear to have settled as traders along the eastern coast. They returned to Malden, perhaps after the destruction of Pemaquid in 1689, where John Moulton died, April 8, 1707, aged about seventy-six years. His recommendation as a teacher may have been the acquirements which a mariner had gained in trade and navigation, or the availability of an old man with little or nothing to do. His rule was of short duration, and the next year John Sprague was again "chose Scool-master." As he was chosen to be the town clerk at the same meeting, he became responsible for the orthography of the record. At a meeting held a few months later, the choice was confirmed by the following vote: —

[August 24, 1699.] John Sprague chose scoolmaistar for this presant yeer: or for one year. jt js left to y^e select-men to agree with him what he shall haue for his jncurigment to keep scool for one year.

The "jncurigment" which he received and the length of his service at this time may be matters for conjecture; but it is certain that the town soon became lax in the performance of its duties and allowed the school to cease for a while. At a Court of General Sessions of the Peace, held at Charlestown, December 26, 1701, —

Maldon Selectmen appearing to ans^r their p^rsentm^t for y^e want of a Schoolmaster for writing and Reading Informed the Court y^t they haue agreed wth John Sprague till next March. The Court accept him. are dismist paying fees.⁴

Thus reminded of the law and the penalty of its evasion by a power which commanded respect, the town at its annual meet-

⁴ *Midd. Court Records — General Sessions, in loco.*

ing passed a vote, the record of which is the most definite of any which had yet been made in relation to education.

[March 4, 170 $\frac{1}{2}$.] John Sprague Is chose scool-marstar for y^e yeer jnsuing To learn Children & youth to Reed and wright and to Refmetick acording to his best Skill. And he js to have ten pounds paid him by y^e town for his pains. The scool js to be free for all y^e Inhabitants of this town: and to be kept at foure severall places at foure severall times one quartar of a yeer jn a place: In such places whar those five men shall apoint, namly: Leut Henery Green, Leut John Line, Lemuell Jenkins, Tho Okes And Nathaniell Upham: who are chose by y^e town for y^t purpose.

The school was kept in such convenient houses as could be procured in the several neighborhoods; but at the next annual meeting a location central to the whole town was chosen, and it was "voted that y^e scool shall be kept jn y^e watch-hous for this yeere." A week later, both the teacher and the place were changed, the following record being made: —

[March 8, 170 $\frac{2}{3}$.] by a vote Ezeckiel Jenkins js chose scoolmaster for this presant yeer: and The Scoole to be Kept at his one hous: he js to haue 3 pounds for y^e yeer: and y^e befitit of y^e scollars.

The benefit of the scholars, or rather the teacher's benefit, was that advantage which the master might derive from the light manual labor which scholars in country schools performed during their leisure moments down to a time almost within the memory of man, and the small voluntary fees paid in kind which might be expected from a community of simple country folk and farmers. Master Jenkins was rechosen the next year; and he agreed to serve for "thirty shilings money and he to haue y^e benifit of y^e schollars," which he enjoyed until his death, July 30, 1705. A gravestone at Sandy Bank quaintly recognizes his vocation and adds to the usual statement of name and date this sympathetic comparison of his former and latter states: — "Mauldens Late School Master From A Painfull Life Is Gone To Take His Rest His Lord Hath Calld Him Who^{me}."

His successor was Nathaniel Wayte, the youngest son of Captain John Wayte and the ancestor of the Waites of Leices-

ter and Groton. He was a weaver as well as a schoolmaster and he became a selectman. He had lived in Medford, but returned to Malden about 1698, when he bought a house and land of James Chadwick. He was "chose Scoole-master" September 7, 1705; and the selectmen agreed with him until the first of March for twenty shillings and the usual "benifit of y^e scoolars." Some irregularity must have occurred soon after; for the town was again presented "for not haueing a Schoolmaster according to Law." The selectmen appeared at Charlestown and "made answer that they are provided with a Schoolmaster & he is in actuall Service wth them. The Court accepting of theire Answer they are dismist paying fees."⁵

Nathaniel Wayte was continued in his office by a vote passed at the next annual meeting, March 4, 1705½, but some trouble soon arose. At a meeting held in May it was "*voted* y^t Jonathan Sprague and Leut Henery Green shall be men To agree with natt waite for his beeing a scoolmaster this yeer. The sd Waite Refused to agree with them." After a little delay, during which it was "*voted* y^t Isaac hill and Sam^{ll} Waite Sen^r shall Goe to mrs wigglesworth to Se whether Shee will jmproue y^e parsonag land this yeer and what she will Giue for it," the teacher or the town became more compliant; and it was "*voted* y^t nathaniell waite shall haue twenty shilings for his beeing a scoolmaster this presant yeer and he to haue y^e befifit of y^e scolars. And y^e s^d Waite exep^ted." A week later, at a stormy meeting held in relation to church affairs, the schoolmaster was put to use, it being recorded that "natt waite [was] jmproued as a moderator."

Master Wayte was continued as "townes Scoolmaster" until May 11, 1708, when the town "*voted* John Sprague Scoolmaster for this preasent yeare;" but the latter seems to have preferred solid payment rather than the customary "benifet" of the pupils. At a meeting held ten days later, it was

voted whether the Town will alow john Sprague aight pound for this present year to Be the Towns Scolmaster and the uote pased on the negitife

⁵ *Midd. Court Records — General Sessions, December 11, 1705.*

voted nathanell Wayt to Be the Towns scolmaster for this yeare if the Town and he cane agree upon termes.

voted That it is Left to the select men to agree with nat wayt for his Being a scolmaster for this year.

The selectmen met at the house of Lieutenant Henry Green in due time, when they made a town rate of ten pounds, eight shillings, and tenpence, "in Referance to Bearing a part of the charge of Repairing the Batery in charlstown," and "allso agreed with nathanell wayt to Be the Towns Scolmaster for This year insuing and for his labor to haue 1^l. 15^s. 0^d mony and the Benifet of the Scolers." The benefit of the scholars may have proved of more value than was anticipated; for a teacher was found the next year who required less money of the town than was received by his predecessor. This was Jacob Wilson, who was "chose Scoolmaster," April 27, 1709, "for y^e yeer ensuing to larn children To Reed and to wright and Refmetick — and he js to haue 2 shilings paid him by y^e town: and he js to haue y^e benefit of y^e Scoolars."

I am inclined to believe that at this time the people of Malden were not mindful of the blessings of the common school; that their expenditures were sparingly made; and that they shirked their duty as often and as long as the troublesome and sometimes inquisitorial Court of General Sessions allowed. At a meeting held May 22, 1710, "by A vote Samuell Wilson Js chose Schoolmaster for This town jf y^e Town and he can Agree upon Terms;" and the selectmen were directed to treat with him and "bring Report Therof To y^e Town meting aftar lecture on wensday next." The selectmen failed to make an agreement; and at a meeting held two weeks later, "moses hill js chose Scoolmaster for y^e yeer insuing and he excepts and will sarue for y^e benefit of y^e scoolars." Moses Hill may have found the effort to obtain a livelihood from the benefit of the scholars an irksome one, and he soon relinquished it, if, indeed, he had ever taken it up. In less than a month the town was again presented by the grand jury, with the result indicated in the following extract: —

[At Charlestown, July 3. 1710.] The Select men of Maldon appearing in Court to answer y^r p^rsentment for not hauing a gramar School as the Law directs, and Exhibiting a List of y^e Inhabitants abt y^e number as y^e Law requires, but many of them being needy rather than Capable of Supporting a gramar School The Court Do Dismiss them for the p^rsent as to a gramar School, and order them to provide them selues of a good able sufficient Schoolmaster to teach their Children to write and Read, and make theire report to y^e next Court of Quarter Sessions of theire so doing wth y^e name of y^e p^rson so prouided are dismiss paying fees.⁶

A list of y^e families y^t bares publique charges In malden.

1 m ^r parsons	31 Lazras Grouer
2 Jsaac Hill	32 John Green
3 moses Hill	33 Tho Green
4 John Wilson	34 will Green
5 Leu ^t newhall	35 Richard upham
6 Tho newhall	36 Tho upham
7 Gersham Hils	37 natt Euens
8 natt upham jun ^r	38 natt euens jun ^r
9 petar Tufts	39 Sam ^{ll} walton
10 natt waite	40 Jonathan barrit
11 daniell newhall	41 Eben: Harndall
12 sam ^{ll} waite jun ^r	42 phines upham jun ^r
13 Thos waite jun ^r	43 James upham
14 Jonathan Sprague	44 John wilkenson
15 Ezeckill jenkins	45 John pratt jun ^r
16 Lemuell Jenkins	46 Leu ^t Green
17 daniel Floyd	47 Sam ^{ll} Green
18 Edmond Chambarlin	48 Joseph Green
19 Richard pratt	49 daniell Green
20 Tho pratt	50 Tho burditt [jun ^r]
21 Lem Jenkins	51 phines Sprague
22 Sam ^{ll} Green	52 william Sargeant
23 william wait	53 Jonathan Knower
24 Sam ^{ll} waite	54 John Greenland
25 Jose Line	55 James Houey
26 John Line	56 Steuen Lerebe
27 Cap ^t Line	57 Simon Grouer
28 Tho Line	58 Thomas Waite
29 Sam ^{ll} howard	59 John mudg
30 Sam ^{ll} Green	60 Tho. burditt

⁶ *Midd. Court Records — General Sessions, in loco.*

61 Jose Lamson	79 natt upham
62 James whittemore	80 Jacob Wilson
63 Tho okes	81 John huchenson
64 John Green	82 Richard dextar
65 nathaniell nicols	83 Sam ⁿ Green
66 Abraham Skiner	84 Lanard drownd
67 Tho parkar	85 william Green
68 ben: whittemore	86 John pratt
69 Tho Skinar	87 Edward Sprague
70 ben hils	88 Jose Townzen
71 natt wilson	89 Jona: Howard
72 James haruell	90 Sam ⁿ Sprague
73 John Sargeant	91 Sam ⁿ Sprague jun ^r
74 Sam ⁿ bucknam	92 John dextar
75 phines upham	93 John fozdick
76 Jose balden	94 Jacob winsled
77 James molton	95 Jonathan Sargeant
78 obadiah Jenkins	96 John upham
Tho dunell	william Teel
Tho Grouer	wido Sayes
Tho degrece	Zachriah Hill
Goodwife Holloway. ⁷	

Constrained by the order of the Court, the town held an ineffectual meeting, July 12, when the following votes were passed.

nathaniell waite chose Scoolmaster *voted* y^t y^e Scool shall be Remoued into 3 parts of y^e Town — The first half yeer jn y^e center — and one quartar jn y^e southwardly end And one quarter jn y^e nothardly end of y^e Town. The Town not Agreeing To y^e s^d waits propositions: And adjornd The meting To fryday next 4 of y^e clock aftarnoon.

[Adjournment, July 14.] *voted* y^t y^e man y^t js chose to be Scoolmaster shall be Scoolmaster jf y^e Town and he can agree upon Terms: vots was calld for jn And Thomas pols of boston was chose Scoolmaster for y^e yeer ensuing.

⁷ *Midd. Court Files*, July, 1710. This list, on which the selectmen rested their plea, is interesting not only as giving the names of the ninety-six heads of families in 1710, but also as showing in a general way their relative locations in the town. The seven names which are unnumbered are of those unfortunate individuals who were too poor to bear the burden of town charges. They were the town's poor of that time.

It was enacted in 1692 that townsholders should maintain a grammar school and employ as a teacher "some discreet person of good conversation, well instructed in the tongues." The town escaped by showing that seven of the heads of its one hundred and three families were needy persons.

The election of Thomas Pols failed to supply a teacher and another meeting was held September 8, with the following result.

voted y^t Ther Shall be 3 men chose to make choice of a scoolmaster And To agree with him to sarue y^e Town from this time untill y^e first of march following.

This may sartifie whome jt may consarn y^t we y^e subscribars haue agreed with John Sprague to be y^e Towns Scoolmaster untill y^e first of march next ensuing this date malden Sep y^e 9: 1710

HENERY GREEN

JOSE LINE

NATH UPHAM

Even John Sprague failed, in the end, to accept the office of "y^e Towns Scoolmaster;" and with the fear of the Court upon them, the voters met again, November 20, and chose the five selectmen, with Joseph Lynde and Samuel Sprague, as a committee to "prouide a Scoolmaster Acording To cort order for y^e benefit of This Town." At the same time it was "*voted* y^t y^e sum of money which y^e comitie shall Agree for to giue y^e scoolmaster for his saruic As a scoolmaster jn This town y^e town will pay y money." Two weeks later the town voted to bear the charges of a journey to Ipswich "to endeuor to atain m^r Sam^{ll} wigglesworth to be Schoolmaster for this town — or who els they shall preuaile with." The journey was fruitful of good results; and John Greenland, as town clerk and one of the committee who rode to Ipswich in the service of popular education or to escape the wrath of the Court of General Sessions, made the following entry in the town record.

Dec y^e 6: John Greenland and John dextar beeing sent by y^e about
1710 said comitie went To Ipswich and Agreead with m^r Samuell wigglesworth to be Schoolmaster for y^e Town of malden for y^e space of six months.

The service was to commence January 1, 1710 $\frac{1}{2}$; and at the end of the term of six months, the teacher was to receive the sum of sixteen pounds and ten shillings in money. A few days later the selectmen again appeared before the Court, "Exhibiting a note under y^e hand of m^r Sam^{ll} Wigglesworth," and their

report being accepted they were dismissed. The town had learned a lesson of the Court and thereafter a stated provision by town rates was made for the school and nothing more is heard of the "benifet of y^e scoolars." Before the new teacher began his term, it was "*voted* y^t y^e Schoole shall be kept y^e first four months jn m^r parsons hous And then y^e School shall be Remoued jnto sum hous Towards y^e north end of The Town y^e othar Two months." The first town rate for the support of a school was made by the selectmen, February 23, 1710¹/₄, for the amount of eighteen pounds and twopence.

Samuel Wigglesworth, who was probably the first public school teacher in Malden who possessed a liberal education, was the youngest child of the Rev. Michael Wigglesworth and wife, the "servant mayd," Martha. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1707, and remained at Cambridge, pursuing his studies, two years longer; after which, following the example of his father, he studied medicine, more perhaps as a fellow-student than as a pupil, with Dr. Thomas Graves of Charlestown, afterwards Judge of the Superior Court, who had married Sybil, the daughter of his stepmother, Sybil Avery, the third wife of Michael Wigglesworth. In 1710 he removed to Ipswich Hamlet, where the messengers of Malden found him engaged in the practice of his intended profession. On his return to his native town he began the study of theology; and the vote which has been cited, by which the school was ordered to be kept at the house of Mr. Parsons a portion of the time, may indicate that the parsonage was the temporary home of Mr. Wigglesworth and that his new studies were pursued under the direction of its master.

It cannot be supposed that the scholastic labors of Malden were exhaustive of time or strength. Certainly they could not have severely tried the resources of a college graduate, even of that day, limited as was the curriculum of the school to a knowledge of letters, reading in a monotonous tone, simple ciphering, and the art of making possible pothooks with impracticable quills. Like his father the new teacher became "Mauldens Physician;" and his account book, which is pre-

served, is that of a country doctor whose patients were poorer than his practice. His usual price for a visit was sixpence, and his accounts were carefully kept, as became a school-master; but many a debit still remains to be offset in the final settlement.⁸

Notwithstanding the vote which had been passed in 1710, the school appears to have been kept but six months of the year, which may have satisfied the requirements of the Court but did not answer those of the law. At the close of 1711 Mr. Wigglesworth was engaged for a second term of six months; and it was

Voted Ther shall be sixteen pounds money Rais^d for To pay y^e school-mastar namly m^r Wigglesworth, *and* That y^e school shall be kept 4 months jn y^e body of y^e Town And Two months at y^e northwardly end of s^d town.

Mr. Wigglesworth preached his first sermon, January 20, 171¹/₂; and at the close of his second term he was invited to remove to Dracut as a preacher, where he remained a year and received two unanimous calls to a permanent settlement, which he declined. A few months preaching at Groton followed, and he returned to Ipswich, where he was ordained as the first

⁸ The account book of Samuel Wigglesworth is preserved in the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. His accounts as a physician are with people in Ipswich and its vicinity until his removal to Malden in 1711. The entries relating to his practice here give valuable hints relating to places of residence, relationships, and other conditions. William Teele was a debtor to the amount of twenty-six shillings and eleven pence, and the only payment which appears to have been made was five shillings "paid me by his wife." An item in this account is "To a visit 6^d with a pain Eating medecine for himself Deliv^d by me 1. 6. o. 2. o." "Nattha^l Nicols of Maldon" was charged two shillings for a visit and "an Eye water." Thomas Dunhill, whose acquaintance we have already made among the town's poor as

Thomas Dunnell, the bellman and grave-digger, owed four shillings, which were never paid; and William Teele contracted an additional indebtedness of ten shillings and eightpence for his daughter Abigail, which was only partially offset by a payment of two shillings and sixpence, also made by his wife. Deacon John Greenland was charged "for his negro wench," and "Leynard" Drown "for his black child."

Dr. Wigglesworth, about this time, was improving the acquaintance of his future wife, Mary, daughter of John Brintnall of Winnisimmet; and it may have been by his influence that, according to the town records, "in y^e yare 1712 mr John Brintnall sener Did giue to y^e Town of maldon forty shillings in glaseing of y^e meeting house & parsonag house."

pastor of the Hamlet Parish, now Hamilton, October 27, 1714. Here, ministering, as had his father, to "Soul and Body Two," he labored fifty-four years, showing many of the paternal traits of mind and character, and becoming, like the parent, to be esteemed and beloved, not only by his own flock but by those of neighboring and distant churches. Exhausted by his labors and worn by increasing bodily infirmities, he died September 3, 1768, in the eightieth year of his age, leaving a reputation "as a talented writer and a devoted minister," whose life had been passed "in prescribing for ills of the body as well as of the soul," and who "applied his abilities, influence, and opportunities, as one who was to render an impartial account."⁹

There was yet another inherited trait in the mind of Mr. Wigglesworth which claims attention here. The poetic faculty which he possessed, hidden and perhaps stifled as it became under the weight of his severer professional studies and duties, bore more of refined imagination and graceful thought than can be found in the rude and rugged rhymes of the author of the Day of Doom. It was while he was at Charlestown, engaged in his medical studies, that he sung his first and last known song, a funeral one upon the death of a dear friend. With its gentle imaginings and tender complaints, repressed and obscured by an imperfect diction and halting measure, it is still a gem of price in spite of its faulty setting. The search through the material universe for the lost one and the sudden thought of the futility of the "fond delusions" are well conceived and expressed with spirit. Then the reality of the stern and relentless spirit, Death, which has taken his friend from the living world and holds him afar beyond the reach of his affection, strikes him with a force that seems to take away the power of utterance and ends his funeral song. A moment, and then, as if all human sensibilities were joined in one exquisite burst of pathos, he adds the "dainty music" of the epitaph which closes the piece.

⁹ Felt, *History of Ipswich, Essex, and Sketch of the Wigglesworth Family*, in *Hamilton*, 279-282. Harris, *Genealogical MS.*

A FUNERALL SONG.

*Dedicated to y^e memory of Mr Nath^l Clarke, Master of Arts In
Harvard Colledge; who departed y^e Life in a Voyage from Great
Brittaine to New Eng, 1709. Aged 25.*

1. Vain poet's license now if thou can'st Soar
Above mount Sinai's top, 'bove things reveal'd,
Put on y^e winged morn and Speed amain,
Where increate Eternity's conceal'd.
2. Fancy thy Self Shott through th' Etherial world,
Translated from thy Clay amid'st y^e Seats
Of brightest Angels mighty Seraphim
Of Thrones, Dominions, Princes, Potentates.
3. Find there a Saint in milk white robes array'd,
Cloath'd with y^e Sun, adorn'd with grace and love,
Who not long Since bad y^e vile world adeiu,
To Fill y^e number of y^e Choir above.
4. Tell him who now is glorified above,
How rivulets of tears have drown'd our Eyes,
Our hopes are all thrown overboard with him,
Our tumid thoughts becalmed in a Surprise.
5. Put on thy graces, court y^e vestal Soul
To a relapse of things; with all thy might
Sing an Encomium of Terrestiall Joyes,
Try if thou canst recall her winged flight.
6. At least ascend and view y^e orbs above,
See where He pierc'd Heav'ns powd'red Canopy,
Perhaps his soul left her idea there,
Or stopt to hear y^e Spherick Harmony.
7. Behold y^e starry train those rolling lamps
That burn fierce Anthems to th' Eternall light,
Number those morning sons and find him there,
Look look and see him with Extream delight.
8. Warbling divinest airs and shouting forth
Loud Hallelujahs to th' Immortal King,
The God whose breath First form'd y^e Heav'nly Hosts,
And quick'ning gave to every living thing.
9. Descend my soul to y^e Elysian bow'rs
Th' imaginary shades where up and down
The blessed Ghosts do rove and pass y^e hours,
In gratefull pastimes till th' Eternall dawn.
10. Trace every verdant grove, each flow'ry bank,
Whose wanton edges curl y^e Silver Streams;
Search every silent grott, each peacefull vale,
Each circling walk in those Enamel'd greens.

11. Ask all y^e rural pow'rs and infant swains
That range in those luxurious paths of bliss
Ask if or no a comly gentle Youth
Has flown of late into their paradise.
12. But hold fraill Mortall, stay thy restless flight,
Do'st think thou can'st by seearching find out God?
Lo! his pavillion is in darkness sett,
The Heav'n of Heav'ns it Knows not his abode.
13. No, no, my Muse relinquish those vain toyes,
And fond Delusions of Elysium,
There is no Heaven but what's above y^e stars,
Nor middle state 'twixt y^s and y^t to Come.
14. The world of Spirits is scituate beyond
The Kenn of thy Dim opticks, and their joyes
As far remov'd and unapproach'd by thee,
As Heavenly Dainties are from Earthly toyes.
15. When once cold Death hath chill'd y^e fluid mass,
And snatch'd y^e blast which fann's y^e vitall flame,
The Soul expires to him y^t Did inspire it,
And never sees Corruption again.
16. Learn hence y^e mortals how an angry Foe,
Learn How a Lawless, Tearless Enemy
Murders us with an unrelenting hand,
And reaps impartiall both y^e Green and Dry.
17. He shrinks not att y^e manly grace,
See Here He rudely takes their breath,
See, see y^e valiant soul gives place
Unto all Conqu'ring time and Death.

EPITAPH.

Add one kind drop unto his watry tomb,
Weep y^e relenting Eyes and Ears,
See Death himself could not refrain,
But Buried him in tears.

ALIUD.

Flete Cleri mortem, mortem cujus ipsa flevit Mors.
Non jacet in tumulo, Sed jacet in Lacrymis.

S. WIGGLESWORTH.

Charlestown, Aug^t 15, 1709.¹⁰

During the second term of Mr. Wigglesworth in Malden the townsfolk began to consider the matter of building a school

¹⁰ *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, iv. 89-90. Cf. Tyler, *History of American Literature*, ii. 35-38.

house, which, important as it was, was apparently the occasion of as great a local excitement as the hotly contested questions relating to the location and construction of school buildings in recent years. At a meeting held May 18, 1711,

It was put to vote whether y^e Town would buld a Schoolhoue and set jt on y^e Towns land on y^e west side of y^e way ouer against y^e wach-hous. And y^e School to be kept two thirds of y^e time y^t a Schoolmaster shall be jmproud jn y^e s^d Schoole-hous and y^e othar third part of y^e time at y^e notherly end of The town: neer or a mong y^e Greens jn sum priuet Roome And y^e hous to be bult at y^e charg of y^e town and also y^e charg of priuet Roome: And y^e vote past on y^e negitiue:

Six months later a briefer entry in the records shows a wiser action of the town.

[November 20, 1711.] *Voted* That ther be a School-hous bult— Also *voted* y^t y^e Schoolhoue shall be set between y^e pound and John Wilsons hous.

At the annual meeting in March, 171½, John Greenland, Lieutenant Thomas Newhall, Jonathan Sprague, and Jacob Wilson were chosen to "set out y^e spot of Ground whare y^e school-hous shall stand;" and the dimensions of the proposed building were fixed by a vote.

The first school house in Malden would have made a sorry figure by the side of those of the present day. It was neither imposing nor elegant. Hardly could it have been convenient, except that to the simple farmers of that day anything was of convenience that afforded a shelter from the heats of summer and the storms of winter. It was "bult 20 foots jn length 16 foots wide 6 foot stud between joints." A chimney, "nere seven foots between y^e gams," decreased the capacity of the room; and when its spacious "harth" was blazing with its pile of green logs the physical discomfort of the child who sat on the nearest bench could only have been equalled by that of the unfortunate shiverer who sat by the door. Of course, it was of one story and its walls were filled with brick "to y^e plaets," in that good cold-defying fashion which may yet be found in some old houses, and which puts to shame the shams of modern construction. It had "two windores one on y^e South and y^e other

on y^e Est," and one "dower of plain Boords." That it was the first house built exclusively for a school I have no doubt. That no house was owned by the town in the centre for that purpose in 1710 is proved by the vote in relation to "m^r parsons hous," which has been quoted. Its location is nearly indicated by the vote which directed that it should "be set between y^e pound and John Wilsons hous." The former was on, or near, the site now occupied by the engine house on Main Street; and the house of John Wilson was that at the junction of the Salem and Reading Roads, which his father, Lieutenant Joseph Wilson bought of Joseph Hills in 1679, whose ancient well, in which stood the town pump of later days, has but recently disappeared. As at a later day the town owned a strip of land north of the pound, I find no difficulty in believing that thereon, at the corner of the great county road and the Medford Road, the school house was set; and the arrangement of the house favors this belief. As it is elsewhere stated, the present square did not then exist, and the roads ran together at a point nearly opposite Hill's Tavern, which stood in the place of the City Hall.

The contract with the "carpender," William Green, stipulated that "by y^e 20 of Aprill next y^e woork is to be competed, as y^e seson will alowe;"¹¹ and the agreement was apparently fulfilled, as, at a meeting held, May 15, 1713, it was voted, "That y^e schoolhouse shall be jmproued for a wach hous when ther js an ocasion And nott To disoblige y^e school jn s^d house at aney time." This was a very good arrangement for the town, as the watch house of 1694 was probably in need of repairs, and the school house was needed for its special purpose but four months in the year.

Mr. Wigglesworth's removal in the summer of 1712 left the town without a teacher; and at a meeting held November 28 in that year, Deacon John Greenland, Jonathan Sprague, and Jacob Wilson were chosen

to see if thay can procure a man y^t will serve y^e Town for sume time a school master if that y^e Town and he can agree and make Report

¹¹ See the contract in *Bi-Centennial Book of Malden*, 185, 186, to which I am indebted for the description of the building. The original document, with others, has disappeared since 1850.

there of at y^e next Town meeting which will be on y^e 3 day of december next.

This committee failed of its purpose; and at the adjourned meeting it was voted,

that Left Thomas Newhall & Sam^l Bucknam & Sam^l Sprague be a committe to procure a school master for y^e Town of malden for 6 mounths if he may be had and to agree fully with him apon y^e tearms if he do not exseed 30 pounds per year and so propourtiable for less time & y^e Town will pay y^e money.

The last committee was more efficient or more fortunate than the first; and Francis Foxcroft, who had recently been graduated at Harvard College, was placed in the seat of Mr. Wigglesworth. His labors were so acceptable that in the following March it was voted

That y^e Town will alow m^r francis foxcroft after y^e same Reat for another quatar as this Town did alow him for y^e last quatar To keep School jn This town: And y^e select men are apointed to Treat with him consarnig y^e mattar.

If Mr. Foxcroft accepted the terms, his rule ended with the second quarter; and he left Malden to enter upon a larger sphere of usefulness and honor. After a short term as Register of Probate in Middlesex, he became a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and filled the office of a Councillor for twenty-six years.

It was voted, August 31, 1713, "Thatt John Greenland decon [Phineas] upham and john wilson shall Take care to prouide a schoolmastar: for This town And to agree with him to sarue y^e town half a yeer: and y^e town To defrey y^e charg of y^e schoolmastar:" The success or failure of this committee is not recorded; but in May, 1714, the town voted fifteen pounds for the maintenance of a school for six months; and soon after the selectmen reported to the Court of Sessions that they were "provided wth one Thomas Vernon."¹² In August the town was again without a teacher and the selectmen were authorized "To prouide a schoolmastar for y^e Town for six months."

¹² *Midd. Court Records — General Sessions*, June 8, 1714.

In the spring of 1715 the school was kept at the extreme northern limit of the town, it having been

voted [January 17, 1714 $\frac{1}{2}$,] That y^e school shall be moued to John greens house jn y^e woods: — for two months: which js to be March and April next ensuing the date heerof.

Under the date of November 30, 1715, the following record was made: —

Joseph Wilson and william Sargeant was chose for to provide a school-mastar for y^e Town for half a yeer: and to agree with him for his saruic: — Accordingly we whose [names] are heer unto subscribed haue agreead with — John bushop to sarue y^e Town as a school-Mastar eighteen pounds for his saruic: This Return was made by y^e aboues^d Jacob wilson and william Sargeant.

The town lying under a presentment “for want of or their being without a writing school,” the selectmen soon after appeared before the Court and answered that “they were provided of a writing School-master and Exhibited a manuscript of his under his hand viz^t J^{no} Bishop.”¹³ That the master was sent to the scholars and not they to him appears towards the close of Mr. Bishop’s term when, May 11, 1716, it was “*vot*: y^t The Schoolmastar shall be Removed To y^e northardly end of This Town To Keep y^e school y^e Remaining part of y^e Time agreed on for him to be among us.” The selectmen made a further contract with Mr. Bishop, which was confirmed by the town, January 25, 1716 $\frac{1}{2}$, when it was “*Voted* y^t The Town doth continue John bishop as a schoolmastar and that he shall continue with us y^e wholl Term which y^e select men agreed with him for;” and at the annual meeting in March, the sum of fifty pounds was raised “to pay y^e school master and to defray other town charges.” Mr. Bishop’s term expired soon after and he departed from Malden.

In the following May it was voted “that y^e select men get a school master and agree with him for y^e time y^t thay shall higher him for.” Daniel Putnam of Danvers, who was graduated at Harvard College in that year, was employed for six months. The town voted in November “that there shall be

¹³ *Midd. Court Records — General Sessions*, December 13, 1715.

20 pounds money Rased to pay y^e present school master m^r daniel putman for his keeping school six mounths according to y^e agreement of y^e select men with him in this present year;” and in December Mr. Putnam was chosen “to be their school master for 3 mounths Lounger.” The new teacher added the study of theology to the duties of a schoolmaster; and upon his retirement from Malden he began to preach at Reading, where after two years’ service he was ordained, June 29, 1720, as the first pastor of the Second or North Parish in that town. There, after a pastorate of thirty-nine years, he died June 20, 1759.¹⁴

At the annual meeting, March 3, 1717½, it was voted “that y^e select men shall procure a school master and y^e Town to pay him;” but no record was made of a choice until July 25, when Richard Dana, probably he who had just been graduated at Harvard College and who became that eminent jurist whose death at Boston in 1772 saddened the hearts of the patriotic and unquiet people of Massachusetts, was chosen to teach for one quarter “sartain” for the sum of ten pounds and ten shillings.

In 1719 the town was again remiss and the selectmen appeared before the Court at Concord to answer a presentment of the grand jury “for neglecting to haue and keep an approved grammar School master.” They were ordered “To provide them selues wth a Grammar School master by the next Court.” More than three months later, they reported “that they are usein all means for y^e procuring a suitable p^rson,” and were ordered “to p^rsue their Endeavo^{rs} to haue a suitable p^rson agst [the] next Court of Quarter Sessions.” They appeared at the next session of the Court, March 8, 1719½, and reported that

they haue obtained wth a great Difficulty m^r Josiah Marshall to Come and abide wth them & serue their Town as a School master for ¼th of a year. The Court accept of their Jnformation, and direct & order them to be diligent in getting of him or Some other as y^e Law directs.¹⁵

¹⁴ Eaton, *History of Reading*, 212.

sions, August 25, December 8, 1719,

¹⁵ *Midd. Court Records — General Ses-*

March 8, 1719½.

Mr. Marshall, who was a graduate of Harvard College of that year, appears to have remained but a little, if any, longer than the stipulated three months. Under the date of June 14, 1720, the Court Records show that

The Select men of Maldon having informed the Court y^t m^r Josiah Marshall their now p^rsent Schoolmaster hath been approued of by Two of the neighbouring Ministers as a p^rson Suitably qualified for such an office are discharged of their p^rsentmt payin ffes & Costs.¹⁶

Fourteen days later Mr. Marshall had departed and the town chose a committee to procure a schoolmaster. A similar committee was chosen at the annual meeting, March 5, 1721½.

Neither the measure of the success which attended these committees nor the names of the masters whom they procured are to be found upon the records; but the diary of the Rev. Samuel Dexter contains the story of his connection with the school in the early part of 1722. He says:—

July y^e 6, 1720. I took my first Degree, and as it was y^e Desire of my Parents, so it was my own also, to be Improv'd in Business, & not to live Idly, some Schollars do, without being Improv'd. I was spoke to y^e next Day after y^e Commencement to go & keep school att Tanton, which I undertook, & kept y^e school there half a Year. Then being Desirous, if it might be, to Live nigher my friends, by y^e Motion of some, I was invited to keep y^e School at Lyn. W^rfore Quitting my school at Tanton, I accepted of the Proffers made at Lyn, and Feb. 17, 1720¼, I Began my School at Lyn, in w^{ch} I Continued a Year, and upon y^e Day, y^t my Engagement was up there A Committee from Maldon Came to treat with me in Reference to Maldon school, w^{ch} proposalls I complied with & kept y^r school for ab^t six weeks, & then was mostly to this present time [4 Dec. 1722] Improve'd in preaching.¹⁷

¹⁶ Josiah Marshall, a native of Braintree, was a classmate of Samuel Dexter and of Joseph Stimpson, afterwards of the South Precinct. He was graduated in 1720, and after his departure from Malden, like others who made the pedagogue's stool a stepping-place to the practice of theology, he entered the ministry, being ordained at Falmouth, August 19, 1724. He was dismissed in 1730, after having been "laid under bonds to keep the peace, and be of good

behavior towards his wife." He went to North Carolina, where he continued several years. On his return he lived at Mendon, and died in 1772. Cf. Vinton, *Giles Memorial*, 354.

¹⁷ Samuel Dexter, son of John and Winifred Dexter, was born at Malden, October 23, 1700. His father filled the offices of deacon, selectman, and captain of the Malden foot with honor to himself, and died November 14, 1722, while his son was in Malden engaged in his

After the six weeks of Mr. Dexter nothing is known of the school until June 17, 1723, when the selectmen "Agreed with

theological studies. His final sickness is the subject of a series of graphic entries in the diary of the son. He had been seized with "a Cold fit," followed by a "continued drooping," which was thought to be a severe cold. His indisposition continuing, Dr. Samuel Wheat of Cambridge was called, who pronounced it to be "y^e Burning Ague;" and on the following Sabbath, November 11, Dr. Wheat and Dr. Burchsted of Lynn, consulting, "Determin^d him a very Dangerous Man, but not beyond Hopes." The day after, Mr. Emerson "left y^e 23^d Psalm as a Cordial," which was administered the next day, but proved no more efficacious than the material potions of the physicians; for on the following day he died. Before his death "He sang by himself y^e 23^d Pal. y^e first verse in S^t David Tune," in the uncouth version of New England.

"The Lord to me a shepherd is,
want therefore shall not I.
He in the folds of tender grass
doth make me down to lie;
He leads me to the waters still.
Restore my soul doth he;
In paths of righteousness he will
for his name sake lead me."

"Then," wrote the son, "I sang with him y^e Last verse, not above a quarter of an hour before he Dyed,—he then Continued praying to his Last Minutes—about 5 Minutes before he dyed, he pray^d so loud y^t I heard him in y^e Lower Room. I went into y^e Chamber, & as I sat by y^e fire, I heard him fetch a Long & loud Breath,—I started up, but it was his Last. Thus he breath^d out his soul without y^e least struggle, and so went praying out of a world of Trouble, to praising in a world of joy. . . . Nov. 17. We Buryed my Father."

Winifred, the mother, was daughter to Lieutenant Samuel and Rebecca (Crawford) Sprague of Malden. She was born December 31, 1673, married about 1696, and died December 5, 1752, "after great Weakness and long Languishm^t." Her son says of her: "She was a very pious Woman, Strictly Re-

ligious, Liv^d in y^e fear of God, & Dyed Strong in faith, & full of Comfort & Joy."

Soon after teaching at Malden Samuel Dexter preached about a month at "a New Plantation Call^d Brimfield," and received an invitation to settle there, but "for Several Reasons, gave y^m a Denyall." After the death of his father he preached at several places and received calls from Medford, Westborough, and Yarmouth. He intended to accept a settlement at the latter place; but receiving an invitation from Dedham, where he had preached in July, 1723, and been "something dash^d & Confus^d in Morning prayer," which he considered "y^e most Eligible," he determined to leave his "Friends at Yarmouth & wait upon providence with respect to Dedham," and was ordained as the fourth pastor of the First Church in the latter place, May 6, 1724. He received a salary of one hundred pounds. Meanwhile he had met Catherina Mears of Boston, who was born September 25, 1701. Her father, Samuel Mears, was landlord of the George Tavern, near the Roxbury line. Mr. Dexter writes:—"Nov. 22, [1723.] This Day it was very Cold.—I Communicated something of my mind to y^e young Lady, w^{ch} I hope (& I think I have reason to hope) may thro y^e smiles of Indulgent Providence be y^e Person in w^m I may find y^t good thing & obtain favour of y^e Lord. I think I have not been rash in my proceedings—she is as far as I Can find a Woman of Merit—a woman of good Temper & of prudent Conduct & Conversation. . . . I will commit my Cause unto God most high—Oh Let me not force providence but follow it." They were married at Boston, July 9, 1724, by the Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth of the First Church; and the landlord's daughter made him a good wife. Three months after the marriage he wrote of her: "my Companion is a kind Tender & virtuous Person. I hope I have in her y^t good thing w^{ch} is from y^e Lord." After his death she married Samuel

m^r. nathan bucknam for To keep y^e school jn This Town Twelve monthes. and for his saruic he shall haue four pounds.” Mr. Bucknam, as has been mentioned in a former chapter, was then keeping the school at Mystic Side, where he had been placed by a committee of the town of Charlestown. His engagement was apparently made in anticipation of the annexation of the “Charlestown neighbors” to Malden for school purposes, which was soon accomplished, as has been related; and after the school had been kept in the centre five months, it was removed to Mystic Side until March 1, 1723 $\frac{3}{4}$, when it was transferred to “sum conuenant place jn The northardly end of malden,” where it remained until the end of “m^r bucknams year.”¹⁸

Barnard of Salem, and died at Dedham, June 10, 1797.

As a young man he appears to have been possessed of a morbid temperament, which was not uncommon at that period, and which in his case may have been influenced by the life and character of Mr. Wigglesworth; indeed, there are passages in his diary which are not unworthy of the gloomy pen of the Malden poet. Diffidence and modesty appear to have restrained and tormented him. For a while he refused to preach at Charlestown, lacking the courage to proceed. He bewailed his natural disposition that made his life weary, and exclaimed: “O, that God would dissipate the dark clouds!” “My fears do Multiply upon me,” he wrote, when perplexed with the Dedham call. Nor did his final acceptance bring him peace; for he found a people of little education who were given to religious contentions, and who were divided among themselves. The day after his acceptance was read to the people, being at Dedham, he says: “Severall of my friends came to see me, & one Rabshekah to revile me;” and the poor young man was discouraged and dismayed. The earlier part of his ministry was attended with opposition and troubles, which painfully affected his benevolent and pacific mind until the formation of a second parish separated

the malcontents from the parent church, when peace and harmony prevailed. He preached a *Century Sermon* in 1738, of which the second edition was printed in 1796, after which he “continued in the pastoral office, performing the duties of it, much to the satisfaction of his people, by whom he was greatly beloved and esteemed, till the 29th of January, 1755, when, after a short sickness, he was removed by death in the 55th year of his age, and the 31st of his ministry. The society expressed their regard to his memory, and to the family he left, by voluntarily defraying the expenses of a decent and honorable funeral.”

Samuel Dexter was father of Samuel, a merchant of Boston and founder of the Dexter Lectureship of Sacred Literature in Harvard College, and grandfather of Samuel, the eminent statesman and jurist, who was Secretary of War and Secretary of the Treasury successively under John Adams. Cf. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, xiii. 305-310, xiv. 35 *et seq.*; Sigma (Lucius M. Sargent), *Reminiscences of Samuel Dexter*, 12-14; Dexter, *Some Serious Thoughts (Century Sermon)*, ed. 1796, 49; Lamson, *History of First Church and Parish in Dedham*, 49 *et seq.*

¹⁸ *American Quarterly Register*, viii. 52. Nathan Bucknam, son of Josias and Hannah (Peabody) Bucknam, was born at Mystic Side, October 22, 1703, and

After the expiration of the engagement with Mr. Bucknam, the selectmen were again instructed to obtain a teacher; and thereafter the records are silent in relation to school affairs until July 22, 1726, when it was voted "that the Town Doth Confirm m^r John Emerson for A Schoolemaster in this Town for the time that those men that Acted as parrish selectmen have Agreed with him for." This appears to have been a tardy justification by the voters of an act of a parish committee which had taken upon itself an authority which the proper town officers had neglected or refused to exercise. Mr. Emerson, who was a brother of the pastor, like other early masters was a young graduate of Harvard College, and his residence at Malden was doubtless induced by the presence of his brother and an opportunity of pursuing the study of divinity. He remained at Malden not long; and removing to Topsfield, where he was ordained, November 27, 1728, he lived in the quiet exercise of

was graduated at Harvard College, 1721. It was while teaching at Mystic Side, being then in his twentieth year, that he preached his first sermon, apparently at Malden. Samuel Dexter thus records the event in his diary: "[Jan. 6, 172 $\frac{2}{3}$.] M^r Bucknam preached his first sermons publickly from y^e 55 Isa. 7. — will God make him an Instrument of much good in his Day." While teaching at Malden, or soon after, he received a call to settle at Medway, and delayed his answer several months on account of his age. At length, having attained his majority, he was ordained December 29, 1724, at Medway, where he remained until his death, February 6, 1795, at the advanced age of ninety-one years. His pastorate of more than seventy years has hardly a parallel in the annals of the American pulpit. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, xiii. 309.

Mr. Bucknam was slight in stature and of an impetuous disposition. His successor says of him: "Although Mr. Bucknam was young and of a slender constitution, he was mature in Christian knowledge and experience, and strong in the faith and hope of the Gospel. At the time of his settlement he was deservedly considered as an able, pious,

and promising young man. Much was hoped, under God, through the instrumentality of his public and private labors. Nor were these hopes and expectations disappointed. As to his religious sentiments, they were Calvinistic. He firmly believed in those doctrines which are usually called the doctrines of grace, or the doctrines of the reformation. These he faithfully and unequivocally preached; and these were the ground of his consolation and hope in death. He was diligent and faithful in the discharge of all ministerial duties. His people loved and revered him. Few, if any, ministers have been more generally and deservedly respected by their people than Mr. Bucknam. He was small in stature, but of grave and dignified deportment. Although he was a man of quick feelings, and his passions [were] easily excited, they were happily controlled through the influence of that holy religion, which he so faithfully and so earnestly preached. If under the impulse of sudden and excited feelings he sometimes spake unadvisedly with his lips, his passions were soon calmed and gave way to the dictates of sober reason and religion." Wright, *Century Sermon* 8, 9.

the duties of a Christian minister until his death, July 11, 1774.¹⁹

In January, 1726 $\frac{7}{8}$, the selectmen were again instructed to procure a teacher; and similar votes were passed from time to time until 1730, when at a meeting in March, the town raised sixty pounds for a schoolmaster; and in November it was voted "That Thomas Degressha shall have y^e old schoolehouse." The selectmen continued to act as a school committee; and in May, 1732, the following record was made.

Whereas it was Left with The Select men to provide The Town a School master for some time not exceeding one year They have agreed with John Sprague to keep School in this Town the term of half a year for the sum of thirty pounds his time beginning the sixth of June 1732.

This agreement was renewed until July 29, 1733, and perhaps for six months longer; but at the annual meeting, March 16, 1733 $\frac{3}{4}$, the selectmen were again directed to obtain a teacher.

The few inhabitants at Wilson's Point, then known as Blanchard's Point, had found their school privileges at a distance, as they continued to find them while that district remained a part of Malden; and in 1735 $\frac{5}{6}$ they petitioned the town to "alow the school to be kept at Samuel Blanchards two months in this instant spring of the year." This petition was refused as was also that of Samuel Blanchard that he might be repaid for "all the money that he has bin out towards the support of the school in this town."

It may be inferred from the vote, just mentioned, by which Thomas Degresha, the bellman and grave-digger, was placed in the possession of the school house, that the house of 1712 had passed its usefulness; and it would appear that the town was disinclined to repair it or to build another. The following vote, passed May 23, 1737, tends to confirm this inference.

[*Voted.*] That the school shall be kept annually one half part of the time in the south part of this town that is to say on the south side of the great swamp pambertons brook and leweses bridge commonly so called; and the other half part on the north side of said swamp brook and bridge above mentioned in any place or places that may be obtained by each part of the town for there conveniency.

¹⁹ *American Quarterly Register*, vii. 255.

Seven years later it was voted, May 14, 1744,

That the School shall be kept one quarter part of the time yearly near the house of Abraham Skinner and one quarter part of the time yearly near the house of Thomas Burditt Jun^r and another quarter part of the time yearly near the house of John Collman or the house of the widow Mercy Pratt provided that particular persons will be at the Charge of erecting a School house at each of those places.

This vote seems to have been passed in the interest of the inhabitants of the North Parish and may be explained by the possible existence of an independent school in the South Precinct, as hereafter mentioned. If it was carried out to its fullest intent, the school was kept in turn at the following places: first, on Cross Street, then known as Hutchinson's Lane; second, on the Salem Road, near the present Sprague Street; and third, within the limits of the present town of Melrose. A school house may have been built at this time near the house of Abraham Skinner, which stood in the vicinity of the present corner of Walnut and Cross Streets, by "particular persons," as the house which formerly stood in "the South parte of the town upon the Corner of m^r John Tufts land" was mentioned thirty-nine years later.²⁰

For seven years more, beyond an occasional vote giving the selectmen authority to provide a master, little or nothing appears upon the town records concerning schools. That a school house had been begun in the South Precinct implies that a separate school, as well as a separate church, may have been contemplated by the people of that ambitious but feeble parish. That the school house, like the meeting house, was not immediately completed appears in the action of a parish meeting, held March 30, 1738⁹, when "a vote was Called for, to see if y^e Prec^t would finish y^e School house, and y^e vote passed in y^e negative." There was a little more liberality shown in October, 1754, when the precinct, induced thereto, perhaps, by the hope of obtaining its fancied "wright in the town fairm," voted, "that their Shall be ten Shillings & Eight pence Paid out of the Parish Treasury to pay for the mendin^g the Scoolhouse windows."²¹

²⁰ *Malden Town Records*, June 2, 1783.

²¹ *South Precinct Records*, *in loco*.

At length the Malden school took a more permanent form, a change which is marked by the following entry in the town records.

Maldon march the 18th 175 $\frac{1}{2}$ the select men agreed with mr Nathaniel Jenkins to keep school in this town one half year from the day of the date hereof for sixteen pound lawful money.

Nathaniel Jenkins, the son of Nathaniel and Sarah Jenkins, was born, May 4, 1721. Under favoring circumstances his natural abilities aided by education would have given him a pulpit in those days when a pastorate was a goal to aspiring youth. As he

was, he became a shoemaker, and so

Nathaniel Jenkins jr.

passed the period of early manhood. Had a kind Providence given him health, a shoemaker he might have remained to the end. But he appears to have possessed a feeble constitution and to have been troubled by many ills; and the selectmen, vexed and perplexed, as they seem to have been by their annual duty of providing a schoolmaster, and thinking, perhaps, that a sick shoemaker might make a passable teacher, prevailed upon him to leave the lapstone and the awl and enter upon a course of study with Mr. Emerson. Graduating from the parsonage after a few months with a slight knowledge of the languages, it is said, and a sufficient mastery of the mysteries of the three R's to enable him to obtain the approbation of several neighboring clergymen, he took up the rod, which he wielded with a zeal that, tradition asserts, was not alway tempered by discretion. He is said to have been a worthy teacher; but his worth seems to have been gauged by his piety rather than by his ability to teach, and, measured by the standards of a later day, it might have appeared almost barbarous and altogether inadequate. Happily, however, for him, his reputation depends not upon the more exacting rules of a later generation, but grew out of conditions which were more favorable to its growth. Excellent was he in his day and generation; and the schools of Malden may well own that their first real and abiding life was nursed by

the conscientious care of him who after the labors of a quarter a century, dying, was honored by the humble title of "Late School Master of this Town."

A change was made in 1752 in the vote relating to the place of keeping the school in the centre, and it was voted: —

[May 13, 1752.] That the town due reconsider the votes refering to the Keeping the School in the two middlesmost places in this town.

vot That the School shall be Kept one half the time between John Willsons and the north meeting house provided that perticular persons erect a School house for that purpose.

The latter vote indicates that no school house then existed in the vicinity of the north meeting house, and the former withdrew the school from Hutchinson's Lane. It does not appear that the town had reassumed the burden of a school in the South Precinct, where, as has been seen, a school house had been built and a school may have been feebly maintained by the parish. A year later the vote of 1737 was altogether reconsidered, and the whole question relating to the school and its locations was left open. It is supposed that for several years thereafter it was kept at such convenient places in the several neighborhoods as could be procured from time to time, until 1758, when the following vote was passed: —

[March 6, 1758.] *Voted* at the above said meeting that the town dos reconsider the vote refering to the schools being kept one half the time yearly on the north side of the meeting house built for the town and that the school shall be kept one half the time yearly on the south side of the said meeting house on land latly poseded by Jabez Wayte: Provided that perticular persons are at the charge of erecting a school house on said land for that purpose.

An attempt to give the school a more easterly location was made in 1762, when the town refused to "grant the request of Nathaniel Jenkins and others which is to see if the town will alter the place of Keeping the towns school where it is now ordered for six months in the year and fix it in the senter between medford and Chelsea line." The school house was built in accordance with the vote near the pound on the southerly side of the meeting house and was occupied for its legitimate pur-

pose from time to time as the school in its wanderings about the town came into the neighborhood. At other times it was utilized as a home for the town's poor, as is shown by a vote passed in 1766, which is given in another place.

If the parish school in the South Precinct had ever had a long independent existence it had certainly now been abandoned, and the town assumed charge of the house. The selectmen issued an order in 1769 in favor of Ezra Sargeant for "making a dore and mending several things at the south schoolhouse."

The inhabitants of Scadan had apparently been without school privileges, except as they had been accommodated by the school at the centre or at the north end, either at a long and wearisome distance from the nearest farm in that thinly inhabited district, until 1765, when at the annual meeting it was voted that the school might be kept three months in fifteen "near the house of m^r Thomas Wayte Jun^r provided perticular persons provide a house for that purpose." Two years later an unsuccessful attempt was made to reconsider this vote; and later still a house was built by several inhabitants, of whom the most westerly located was Dr. Jonathan Porter, whose house, which stood where now is the eastern corner of Salem and Porter Streets, had been occupied as a tavern by Daniel Newhall, for many years, and by his widow, Sarah, after his death. The land of Dr. Porter was bounded by the estate recently owned by the heirs of the late Daniel J. Coburn; and the dividing line was afterwards a portion of the western line of the Scadan or east school district.

The land on which the Scadan school house stood was deeded to the proprietors by Thomas Waite, Jr., who thereby, next to William Godden, whose early bequest has been noticed, owns the honor of being the earliest benefactor in the cause of popular education in Malden. His deed, a portion of which is here given, is the first in which land in Malden is transferred for educational purposes.

To all People to whom this present Deed of Gift shall come Greeting Know ye that I Thomas Wait Jun^r of Malden in the County of Middlesex in the Province of the Massachuset Bay in New England

Taylor For and In Consideration of the real & Hearty Concern Which I have for the Education of the Children & youth in said Town have given and granted and by these presents do freely clearly absolutely give and grant unto Ezekiel Jenkins John Grover Jun^r Nathan Sargent Nathaniel Jenkins Jun^r Doctor Jonathan Porter William Wait Jun^r Jacob Parker Thomas Hills John Wait Ezra Wait Samuel Shute Joseph Floyd Michael Neagles Ezekiel Jenkins Jun^r Samuel Wait Richard Wait Phinehas Pratt Ebenezer Wait Thomas Wait the 3rd Jacob Parker Jun^r John Howard Joseph Jenkins John Jenkins & Samuel Burdit all of Malden aforesaid their heirs and assigns forever a certain peice of Land Situate lying & being in Malden aforesaid whereon there is a School House erected by the Persons above named which House is to be appropriated to the use of a School & that only and said peice of land is butted and bounded viz^t beginning at the Country Road that leads from Lyn thro' Malden to Medford and running Northerly fifteen feet then turning and running Westerly Thirty four feet thence turning & running Southerly fifteen feet to said Road from thence running Thirty four feet to the first mentioned Place and is bounded Easterly northerly and Westerly on the said Thomas Waits land and Southerly on said Road. [December 12, 1771.]²²

The land thus conveyed was between Rockwell and Columbia Streets, on the northerly side of Salem Street. A ledge formed its northern side, between which and the street a small place artificially levelled recently indicated the site where the school house once stood. The last remnants of the ledge disappeared in 1895.

There seems now to have been in existence, though in an imperfect state, the germ of the later school district system, for at the centre and in the south and east, houses, built at the cost of the inhabitants, were provided; and though there is no positive knowledge to be attained, a record made after the Revolution goes far to show that a similar house had been built at the north end. At a meeting, held May 17, 1773, the votes of 1752 and 1758 were reconsidered, and it was

Voted, That the School Shall be Kept for the future, fifteen Weeks in each of the School Houses successively which are now improved for that purpose.

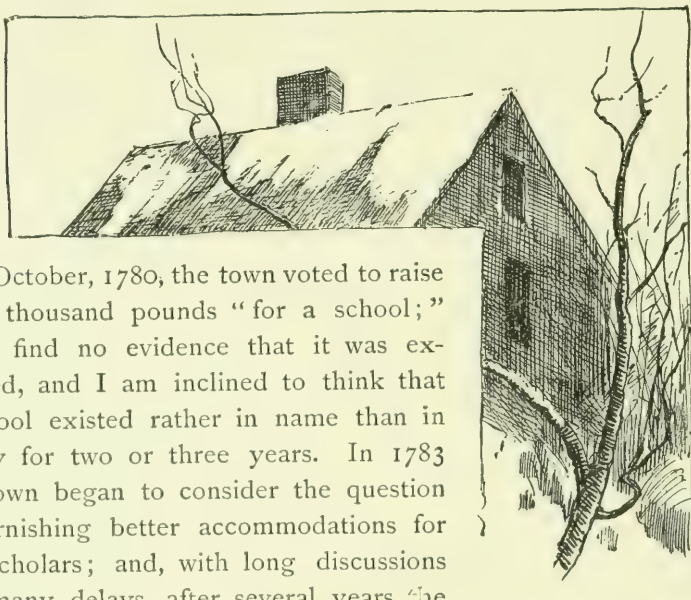
After the trials of a quarter of a century in the Malden school Master Jenkins passed to a higher form, March 19, 1776, at the

²² *Midd. Co. Deeds*, lxxv. 52.

age of fifty-three years. Possibly the ills which drove him from the shoemaker's bench to the stool of the teacher may have shortened his life; and with a stronger body he might have carried the school without interruption through the years of the Revolution into the new era which followed. But at his decease the school soon languished or altogether ceased. Aaron Dexter, son of Richard and Rebecca (Peabody) Dexter of Malden [born November 11, 1750], who had just been graduated at Harvard College, taught two months in the summer and fall of 1776. Leaving Malden he studied with Dr. Samuel Danforth of Boston and made several voyages as a medical officer, in one of which he was taken by the British. He attained a high position in his profession and became the first Professor of Chemistry and Materia Medica in Harvard College in 1783. He retained this office until 1816, when he was appointed Professor, *Emeritus*, of Chemistry and Mineralogy. He died at Cambridge of old age, February 28, 1829.

Traditions and the absence of any information in the records lead me to believe that little was done towards the maintenance of a free school during the gloomy period which followed the departure of Mr. Dexter from Malden. In the spring of 1779 John Downe received twenty-eight pounds, sixteen shillings, and tenpence halfpenny, for "Keeping the School in said Town" five weeks, and disappeared. After a month Dr. John Sprague, who was just beginning his career as a physician after his first service in the infant navy of the new states, was installed in the school house near the north meeting house, and received the apparently large sum of sixty-eight pounds and fifteen shillings for the labors of one month and fifteen days. For a like term in the following winter he received the yet more liberal sum of one hundred and fifty pounds, after which he retired from the teacher's desk and returned to the naval service. Dr. Sprague, it is said, beat the rudiments into his pupils with a fervent belief in the efficacy of the system of Solomon. It was in remembrance of him that the late Rev. Thomas Cushing Thacher, excited by "a peculiar sensibility" at the mention of his name, wrote, "the afflictions

of my childhood were neither few nor far between.”²³ The salary which he received dwindles to a pittance when we consider that in January, 1780, eight shillings and ninepence of his money would buy a pound of beef, while eight pounds would pass from his hands for a bushel of indian corn.



In October, 1780, the town voted to raise three thousand pounds “for a school;” but I find no evidence that it was expended, and I am inclined to think that a school existed rather in name than in reality for two or three years. In 1783 the town began to consider the question of furnishing better accommodations for the scholars; and, with long discussions and many delays, after several years the work out of which has grown our present school system was begun. Its story, however, belongs to a period other than that which we are considering.

Rude and inadequate, to our more modern understanding, were the schools of this period; but they were full of promise and bore the germs of a larger growth. Little supervision was exercised over teachers and scholars. From time to time some committee was chosen to locate a school or bargain with a teacher; or the selectmen were ordered by a town meeting

²³ *Bi-Centennial Book of Malden*, 181. For my knowledge of the immediate successors of Master Jenkins I am mostly indebted to the *Perkins Papers* in the possession of the Malden Public Library.

The home of Master Jenkins, a partial view of which is given in the text, stood on that portion of the old Salem Path which still remains near the corner of Salem Street and Broadway. *Vide* chap. ii. note 9.

to attend to some educational matter. The first school committee was chosen in 1789, in obedience to a statute passed in that year. By the same law school districts were authorized; but the system was not adopted here until ten years later.

Reading and writing limited the education of most girls. In the larger towns they attended dame schools in the milder seasons of the year; but in the smaller communities, like Malden, girls took their chances with the boys in attending the travelling school, when it came into their neighborhood in its periodical round from place to place. I have met with no early instance of a dame school in Malden except that kept for a brief time by Mrs. Rebecca Parker;²⁴ and it was several years after the adoption of the school district system before a woman was found to teach in a public school.

Reading and writing alone were essentials in the schools; but arithmetic was taught to the boys in most of them. In 1789 that was made compulsory with spelling and grammar. Geography was not required until 1827. The New England Primer, the Westminster Shorter Catechism, the Psalter, and the Bible were the text books. So late as 1826 a friend of the writer, now dead, was required to teach the Catechism in a district school at Weymouth. It has been remarked that the displacement of the Bible and the Psalter by the spelling book and reader and the decline of religious education in the schools were coincident with the rapid growth of the many isms which followed the revolutionary period and were in some measure its result.

²⁴ *Vide* chap. xiii. note 15.



CHAPTER XIX.

BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

THE change in the dividing line between Malden and Reading in 1727 was not wholly satisfactory to all who were set off to the latter town; and it left a neighborhood of Greens in the northwestern part of Malden, who were still remote from religious privileges. The new town of Stoneham, at Charlestown End, and the building of a meeting house there,¹ offered the advantages which they craved; and there was presented to the General Court, June 21, 1734,

A Petition of Iohn Green Isaac Green Iohn Dexter and Ionas Green of Malden and David Green Thomas Green and Samuel Green of Reading setting forth their Difficulty to attend the Publick worship of God in their Towns by reason of their Remoteness from the meeting house there and therefore praying That they and their familys and Estates may by order of this Court be annexed to the Town of Stoneham.²

David and Thomas Green were of the ten who had been set off to Reading; and the Malden petitioners were owners and

¹ Malden women gave twenty-one shillings and sixpence in 1727 towards furnishing the new meeting house in Stoneham. Drake, *History of Middlesex Co.*, ii. 342.

² *General Court Records*, xvi. 29.

occupants of the lands which lay between Ell Pond and the Reading line, covering all that was left in Malden of the old first division on the west side of the country road. John Green occupied the farm of sixty-three acres which had belonged to his grandfather, Thomas. His house stood on the way to Stoneham, a little west of the great road.³ John Dexter had married a daughter of Deacon Joseph Green. The General Court, after an investigation and a report by a committee, voted,

[December 21, 1734,] That the prayer of the petition be so far Granted, as that the pet^{rs} Iohn Green, Isaac Green, Ioseph Green, Iohn Dexter & Ionas Green, with all their Lands Contained within the following boundarys viz: beginning at Stoneham line and Runing down on the Seventh Range line so called to Eneas [Phineas] Spragues land, and so on a strait course to an oak tree standing between Samuel and Ioseph Greens land, and from said oak tree a strait course to the corner mark between the said Samuel Greens land and the land late of Iacob Green, deced, at or near the Country Road that goes from Malden and Reading, & then to follow the dividing line between Malden and Reading home to Stoneham line, be annexed to and accounted as part of the Town of Stoneham, Subject nevertheless to the payment of their proportion of all Rates as are or shall be assessed by the Town of Malden before the Twentieth day of February next . . . and that the persons thereby [hereby] set off to the Town of Stoneham pay the account of the Committees time & Expence amounting to the sum of Six pounds ten shillings.⁴

This territory, comprising most of the section now known as Melrose Highlands, remained a part of Stoneham until 1853, when, after considerable opposition on the part of that town, it was reunited with the Commons and became a portion of the new town of Melrose. It was this section which, on its union with Stoneham, broke, at its northern extremity, the long western line of Malden, which previously ran in a nearly direct course from Creek Head at Edgeworth to Reading.

The next year an attempt was made to procure the cession to Medford of a portion of the territory which had come from

³ Greene, *Descendants of Thomas Green*[e], 14; Goss, *Historical Address*, 12.

⁴ *General Court Records*, xvi. 99.

Charlestown, on the west side of North River; and the town at a meeting, held May 16, 1735, refused to

set of a sartain tract of Land lying in malden on The easterly side of medford with the parson and the estates of The parsons who are with The said town of medford in a petition to the town of malden from the said town of malden to the said town of medford.

This apparently related to the estates at Blanchard's Point, which were not only at a distance but were separated by the river and marshes from the meeting house and school. The petition to the town failing to find favor, the project rested for a while; but it was renewed in December, 1738, when there was presented to the General Court

A Petition of Ebenezer Brooks and others a Committee for the Town of Medford: Setting forth the smalness of the said Town and the convenient situation of certain Tracts of Land lying in the Towns of Charlestown and Malden, to be joined to Medford, and Praying that the said Tracts as particularly described in the Petition may be set off from their respective Towns and joined to the Town of Medford accordingly.⁵

The petition was opposed by committees of the two towns; and, their answers "being maturely considered," it failed so far as the Malden territory was concerned. A portion of Charlestown, lying on the other side of Medford, was ordered by the Council to be annexed to the latter town; but the Representatives refused to concur, and the circumscribed limits of Medford remained unchanged until 1754, when its bounds were enlarged by the addition of the Charlestown lands upon the west bank of the upper Mystic and the wood-lots lying below Stoneham. Blanchard's Point remained a part of Malden until 1817.⁶

⁵ *General Court Records*, xvii. (1) 323.

⁶ The straitness of Medford at this time seems to have been but little understood, even by its own historian. "Peculiar" from the first in its formation and government, it comprised only the single manor or plantation of Governor Cradock; and even a portion of that may have been within the borders of the neighboring towns, or its extent has

been exaggerated. The 3500 acres of Cradock could not have been contained in the 2474 acres which Medford possessed before its enlargement in 1754. At that time it was confined to the easterly bank of the Mystic. Blanchard's Point was a part of Malden; and the northern line of the town, beginning at a point in the line of Malden, south of the county road, ran

In 1735 a most malignant disease, popularly known as "the Throat Illness, or a Plague in the Throat," appeared in New England and became for many years epidemic and of frequent occurrence. It was the most fatal disease ever known in the country; and its effects could only be compared to those of the great plague, which, in the preceding century, had ravaged the city of London. Its cause was obscure; but its early growth was marked by well established symptoms and its progress by regular, though rapid, stages. Its symptoms were usually, "a swelled throat, with white or ash-colored specks, an efflorescence on the skin, great debility of the whole system, and a tendency to putridity." It was not found to be contagious, for it spread without possible communication and appeared without warning in sequestered locations. The Boston physicians considered it "to proceed from some occult Quality in the Air, and not from any observable Infection communicated by Persons or Goods."⁷ It was afterwards noticed that diseases among cattle prevailed in New England and that "the plague made terrible havoc in Egypt" during the years in which the throat distemper raged in England and America. There are not wanting indications that it was most prevalent after seasons of excessive moisture and that its worst ravages were in low and damp locations. The season in which it commenced in 1735 was "unusually wet and cold, and the easterly wind greatly prevailed." Popular belief, at the time, attributed its first appearance to a scourge of caterpillars, which devastated the land, as similar visitations had preceded the great plagues of history.⁸ Very few children escaped its attacks and many

w.N.W., and left to Charlestown all that extensive and picturesque tract of hills and woodland which lies south of Spot Pond. If the line of the present Valley Street were extended across the map it would very nearly give the northern boundary of the town as at first established.

⁷ *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, April 1736.

⁸ It was about this time that the following incident occurred. "At a certain time great ravages were made by the

canker worm, which well nigh destroyed every green thing. In the general distress a day of fasting was observed, to implore the removal of the scourge; and on that day Mr. [Samuel] Moody [of York] officiated for his son-in-law, Rev. Joseph Emerson, of Malden. The late Deacon Samuel Waite, of Malden, used to tell the story as he had often heard it from his own father, who was an eyewitness of the affair. A very aged lady, yet living [1847], tells it as she received it from her grandmother. Dea. Waite's

adults came under its baleful influence. It was, in the worst cases, usually fatal on the third day, and many of those who

father said that when they went to the meeting-house that morning, the canker-worms were so numerous that you could scarce set down the foot without crushing them by the score. The lady referred to not only alluded to the same circumstance, but said that as she crossed the stone walls on her way, she saw them hanging on the bushes, as she was wont to phrase it, 'in pecks.'

"Mr. Moody's text was from Mal. iii. 11: 'I will rebuke the devourer for your sakes.' As he became warmed with his subject, he seemed filled with a sort of prophetic fire, and at last appealed to his hearers in terms like the following:—'Brethren, here is the promise of God! Do you believe it? Will you repose full confidence in it? I believe it, and feel an assurance in my soul that God will bring it to pass.' It was given to him according to his faith; for when the somewhat protracted service was done, the destroyer had disappeared at the rebuke of the Lord. Not one of the insects, which had been so multitudinous, was to be seen alive. The father of Dea. Waite said that he saw them lying dead in 'little wind-rows' on the shores of the creek which runs through the town. These were probably left by the receding of the tide-water which had been draining from the meadows." Moody, *Biographical Sketches of the Moody Family*, 62, 63.

Our fathers knew little of the times and seasons of God's work in nature. It is a tradition that the sudden disappearance of the scourges was caused by as sudden a change in the weather; but it is more likely that they had fulfilled their time, and that a natural organic change swept them away. Droughts, storms, earthquakes, and pests of worms and grasshoppers were signs of God's displeasure and instruments of His wrath, and their coming and going were recorded with fear. John Hull wrote in 1661: "The canker-worm hath, for the four years, devoured most of the apples in Boston, that the apple-trees look, in 4th month, as if it

was the 9th month." *American Antiq. So. Coll.*, iii. 203. Thereafter he and his son-in-law, the diarist Sewall, after him, note such public calamities with careful hands. In 1685 both a drought and the caterpillars spoiled the land; and in 1708 fasts were held in many places to implore deliverance from the worms. In 1743 "Multitudes of worms eat almost every green thing in the ground." Lewis, *History of Lynn*, 326. And six years later the grasshoppers ate what an excessive drought spared.

"In 1770, cotemporary with the clouds of flies in India and a most fatal pestilence among men and cattle in Europe, appeared in America a black worm about one inch and a half in length, which devoured the grass and corn. Never was a more singular phenomenon. These animals were generated suddenly in the northern states of America, and almost covered two or three hundred miles of country. They all moved nearly in one direction, and when they were intercepted by furrows, in plowed land, they fell into them in such numbers as to form heaps. They sought shelter in the grass, a hot sun being fatal to them. They disappeared suddenly about the close of June and beginning of July." Webster, *History of Epidemic and Pestilential Diseases*, i. 259.

These worms have appeared at other times, and were considered by Webster "to be the harbingers of pestilence; at least they have preceded diseases in America." Webster, *ut supra*. In 1791 the canker worm appeared "in numbers before unexampled," and devoured the orchards over the country. They continued three or four years; and in 1799 it was said that many trees had not recovered from their ravages. About the same time the palmer worm devastated the forests. So common have the visitations of caterpillars, worms, and other creeping, crawling, and flying things become that they have ceased to excite public attention, and they are no longer feared as precursors of disease and death.

recovered were impaired in health and died at an early age. Webster says, "it was literally the plague among children."⁹ It is said to have extended over the country "from Pemaquid to Carolina," although little is known of its effects in the middle and southern provinces. It is better known at the present day as diphtheria, a disease which has not wholly lost its terrors nor been disarmed of its fearful fatality.¹⁰ The celebrated Dr. Josiah Bartlett of New Hampshire introduced the use of Peruvian bark in its treatment with success; and the same remedy, under its later form of quinine, is still employed by practitioners.¹¹

Although the disease widely prevailed in the years 1735 and 1736, Malden seems to have escaped any extended visitation, though a few fatal cases, which cannot now be distinguished with certainty, may have occurred until 1738, when it appeared in the southern part of the town.¹² There may have been several cases in the spring or early summer; but about the beginning of July they multiplied, and in the space of a little more than three months forty persons died. In this brief time two families buried three children each, two more buried

⁹ He also says: "In some places, this distemper was more fatal than in others — country towns suffered more than populous cities. . . . Scorbutic people and those who lived on pork, and of course the poor, suffered most. In some families it was comparatively mild — in others it was malignant like a plague." Webster, *History of Epidemic and Pestilential Diseases*, i. 233, 234.

¹⁰ Dr. William Douglass, a Scotch physician of Boston, wrote "*The Practical History of a New Epidemical Eruptive Miliary Fever, with an Angina Ulcusculosa which Prevailed in Boston New England in the Years 1735 and 1736*," which is considered by competent judges the best work extant upon the subject of which it treats. This was reprinted in *New England Journal of Medicine and Surgery*, xiv. For other accounts of the distemper see Belknap, (Farmer's) *History of New Hampshire*, 234-236; Webster, *History of Epidemic*

and Pestilential Diseases, i. 233-235; and Green, *History of Medicine in Massachusetts*, 69, 70. These authors mostly follow Douglass. In 1754 the town of Kingston, N. H., was again visited by the disease, which spread to the adjacent parts of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, and in some measure all over the country. A good account of this visitation appeared in the *Boston Daily Journal*, February 19, 26, 1881.

¹¹ A great-great-aunt of the writer was treated in this disease by an application of crushed millepeds — sow-bugs and their fellows! She lived, but lost the free use of her voice.

¹² Lewis says that in October, 1732, "an epidemic cold affected most of the people in Lynn;" but he does not mention the distemper until 1740, when he says: "A fatal disease, called the throat distemper, prevailed in Lynn, and many fell victims to it. In October, six children died in one week." Lewis, *History of Lynn*, 325.

four each, and another, that of Samuel and Elizabeth Howard, lost five in the short space of seventeen days. Among the early victims was an adult, Phineas Upham, Jr., "a religious and desirèable Man," who died July 17, at the age of thirty-one years.¹³ So rapid and fatal a dispensation could not fail to carry terror and dismay to the people of the little town; and 1738 was long remembered in family traditions as a year of sorrow.¹⁴

The manifestations of God's wrath and the evidences of His abounding love were often coupled in the experiences of our fathers. The scourge which passed over the country brought the great questions of life and death more closely to the hearts of the people; and a revival, which had arisen in 1734, swept like a cleansing fire over the western towns of Massachusetts and down the Connecticut valley, and dissipated for a brief season the mists which had settled upon the religious life of the province.

It is doubtful whether the tide of spiritual religion ever reached in this country a point lower than that at which it stood about the beginning of the second quarter of the last century and for many years after. The mischievous practice of the half-way covenant had leavened the church with unrighteousness; and although Arminianism was as yet unavowed and not an article of the ancient creed had been renounced,

¹³ Emerson, *A Word to those that are Afflicted very Much*, 7.

¹⁴ During the prevalence of the disease, Mr. Emerson preached two sermons, the first of which was entitled: *Early Piety Encouraged. A Discourse occasion'd by the joyful and triumphant Death of a Young Woman of Malden, Who died of the Throat-Distemper, Sept. 6, 1738. Ætat. 21.* The young woman was Abigail, daughter of Samuel and Mary (Grover) Upham, whose death as described by Mr. Emerson was that of an old-time enthusiast. "She sought the Lord early, and found him;" and her example was urged upon the youth of Malden because it was "a very remarkable one." "It is not to praise the

Dead," says the preacher, "that I have repeated these Things, but to excite and encourage the Living." The text, Prov. viii. 17, was one which had been given her by her grandfather, John Upham, upon his death-bed. Samuel and Mary Upham lost four children by the distemper.

The other sermon, which was *Preach'd at the Lecture in Malden, October 20th, 1738, On Occasion of the repeated and multiplied DEATHS of Children in many Families in said Town, by the Throat Distemper*, had a more general application.

The facsimiles which are given in the text are from copies in the Prince Library, now in the Boston Public Library.

many of the churches, especially of those around Massachusetts Bay, were silently drifting away from the faith of the fathers. The miscarriage of an attempt to hold a general

EARLY PIETY

Encouraged.

A

DISCOURSE

occasion'd by the
joyful and triumphant DEATH
of a

Young Woman

of MALDEN,

Who died of the Throat-Distemper,

Sept. 6. 1738. *Ætat.* 21.

*With a DEDICATION to the Children and
Youth of said Town.*

By *Joseph Emerson, V. D. M.*

*Jer. ii. 2. — I remember Thee, the Kindness of thy
Youth, and the Love of thine Espousals.*

1 Cor. xv. 55. O Death, Where is thy Sting?

BOSTON; Printed by *J. Draper*, for
H. Foster, in Cornhill. 1738.

synod in 1725, which marked a wider separation of church and state, and the financial distresses which prevailed, weakening the support of religious observances, completed the demoral-

ization of the churches; and the torpid and cautious preaching of many of the clergy was an evident reflex of the faint orthodoxy which filled the land. The "great earthquake"

A Word to those that are *afflicted very much.*

A

S E R M O N

Preach'd at the

Lecture in *Malden,*

October 20th 1738.

On Occasion of the repeated and multiplied DEATHS of Children in many Families in said Town, by the *Throat Distemper.*

By *Joseph Emerson, M. A.*

Pfalm cxvi. 10. --- *I was greatly afflicted.*
Pfalm cxix. 50. *This is my Comfort in my Affliction : For thy Word hath quickened me.*

BOSTON : Printed by J. Draper, for
H. Foster, in Cornhill, 1738.

of 1727, by its physical disturbances, induced an awakening of life in the churches; but its general results were of no lasting duration. At length the tendencies toward spiritual action,

if they existed at all, became so plainly verging upon Arminianism, and its open preaching became so common, that the fears of the more conservative clergy were aroused; and a controversy arose, which was distinguished by the famous discourses of Jonathan Edwards upon Justification by Faith alone. These discourses were the immediate cause of the revival in the Connecticut valley, which was not without a powerful influence in other parts of New England and prepared the way for the remarkable uprising which followed the preaching of George Whitefield in 1740. The latter revival, which has passed into history as "the Great Awakening," fostered by the preaching of Whitefield and Tennant, spread over the land with resistless power and produced results which are yet of force. It destroyed the half-way covenant and breathed the pure air of health into the declining churches; it defined more clearly the line between the conflicting tenets of Calvinism and Arminianism and developed a spirit of religious liberty which paralleled that of political freedom, which began to animate the people.

There is little of certainty known as to the course of the revival in Malden; and the presence of the trouble between the two parishes must have tended to lessen its effects. The recognized piety and Calvinistic preaching of Mr. Emerson, however, were favorable in the old parish and could not have been without some influence upon the people; and tradition indicates that the Great Awakening was both felt and acknowledged in the church of Wigglesworth. That a reaching out for better spiritual things existed, which excited the attention of Whitefield and induced his presence, may, not unreasonably, be presumed. He says: —

Monday, October 6, [1740.] At the Intreaty of Mr. *Emerson*, Son-in-Law to dear Mr. *Moody*, I believe a real Man of God; we went to *Malden*, 14 Miles from *Marblehead*, where I preached not with so much Power as in the Morning. But one Girl came crying to me and saying, She feared she had not true Faith in Jesus. Oh that thousands others began to doubt also! Here the Secretary and several Friends from *Boston* gave us the meeting; with them after

Sermon, I immediately sat out, and got privately into *Boston* about 7 at Night.¹⁵

Four years later, on his second visit to New England, Whitefield came again to Malden. Prince says, under the date of Saturday, December 15, 1744:—"And last *Lord's-Day* he preach'd for the venerable Mr. *Cheever* of *Chelsea*, and administered the Holy Supper there: The next Day preach'd for the Rev. Mr. *Emerson* of *Malden*." ¹⁶ It is not improbable that he preached here at other times in his later visits to America; and it is certain that he was here in the early part of September, 1770, or a little later, just after the ordination of Mr. Thacher, when he was on the way to the eastward, whence he never returned. An aged school teacher, Miss Porter, who was living in Medford in 1840, and was then over ninety years of age, remembered hearing him in the old meeting house in Malden. The house was thronged and the preacher was forced to make his way to the pulpit by a ladder through a window at the back of the house, which opened into it. His text was: "Who is this that cometh up from the wilderness, leaning upon her beloved?" ¹⁷

It must be said that even the influences of Whitefield and Tennant, powerful as they were, while they gave a new and lasting element of life to the decayed churches, were insufficient to overcome the tendency against the formal Calvinism of the earlier New England; and it came about that a declension in religious interest soon followed the excited state of mind which attended the Great Awakening. That period, which witnessed a rapid and remarkable growth in the minds of men in regard to civil and individual rights, witnessed also a dearth of spirituality, which excited the fears while it grieved the hearts of those who still walked in the ways of the elder day. Out of this unpromising order of things came, after many years, the mutual protests of the Methodist and the

¹⁵ Whitefield, *Journal, in loco*. He was on the way to Boston from a tour to the eastward, and had left Salem at nine o'clock that morning and preached at Marblehead two hours later.

¹⁶ *The Christian History, in loco*.

¹⁷ *Canticles*, viii. 5. Letter of the late Rev. John G. Adams, D. D.

Unitarian — a religion of enthusiasm and faith and a religion of culture and thought; and midway between them stood the ancient church renewed and quickened with an earnest grace that retained all the strength and beauty of old, while it renounced forever the weaknesses and faults of the years which had passed away.

The internal affairs of the North Church and parish during the pastorate of Mr. Emerson appear to have been favorable to prosperity and to such growth as could come out of the humble circumstances of the people. The controversy with the "south side inhabitants" gave little time for differences within; and the esteem in which Mr. Emerson was held strengthened his influence and gave force to his teachings. The loss of the pastor's diary and the absence of the church records leave us little to record. The parish records, beyond the story of the trouble with the rival precinct, present mostly details which are curious or quaint and throw a mellow light upon the simple ways of our predecessors; and he who traces the progress and growth of the town may be pardoned if he pause awhile over matters which, though of moment to the men of the eighteenth century, seem trivial in these later days.

Upon the division of the town the ownership of the meeting house at Lewis's Bridge was transferred to the old parish and votes relating to its repairs, as well as to the maintenance of the ministry, no longer appear upon the town records. In January, 1748⁸/₉, a committee was chosen by the parish to "Buld pewes Round by the woles of y^e metteing house;" and Bernard Townsend was allowed to build a pew on condition "that he will menten the glass a ganst it and Return it to y^e parish when he and his Wife Remoued out of this parish."¹⁸ This pew reverted to the parish in 1764, when the committee, "which

¹⁸ Bernard Townsend, a merchant of Boston, removed to Scadan about 1748. He was appointed a justice of the peace in 1749, was selectman in 1751 and 1752, and representative in the latter year. His farm of one hundred and sixteen acres was on the south side of the

Salem Road, excepting three acres on the northern side on which the house stood. He remained not many years in Malden; and his lands were sold by his attorney, Dr. William Clark of Boston, in 1759.

wear chouse to Lot out the pue Lots and sell them to the higher bidder," was authorized "to sell the parishes pue that was Barnard Twonsend^s esqur."

The meeting house began to get out of repair and more room was required for pews. In December, 1763, the parish voted that "the mens and womens north Stair be took down in order to build more pues," and "to Lower the meeting house at the top as soon as the Season of the year will a Low in a proper manner." At the same time it was "*voted* meassers: mr Sam^h howard Jsaac hill and m^r Thomas hills a Committee two agree with a carpentor or Carpentors to Lower the meeting house as in their Judgement they think proper." Five months later the latter vote was reconsidered and it was voted "not to Lower the meeting [house] at the Top. but to Repear it as it is with the money the pue Lots sold for." It was voted not "to put Sash Glass in the windos," but to have "the whole of the Glass . . . set in wood as peart is now;" and

it past in the affairmitive . . . to new clabord the Est End of the meeting-house and fore sid. and the west End if the Committee. and Carpentors think best after they have don the end and four sid. and make water tables Round the meeting house . . . to new Shingle the Southard Side of the meeting house Rooff. and buld a Bell free and put up the Spindle again and weather Cock as before.

It was also voted that "new doores [be] maid to the meeting house and maid Lower in proper Shape. and Shells over the dores. dores and windos to be painted," and "that the meeting house be Repair^d as to the Jn Side work by Jron Straps and bolts. and Seailing wheir it wants and Seats be Repear^d and maid up a gain." In the following September the vote relating to the windows was reconsidered and it was voted "to put Sash Glass in the windos and new frames and new Squears in all the windos in the meeting house," and "to take up the three hind Seats both mens and womens in order to make more pues to be Sold to the highest bidder." A committee was appointed "to sell the pue Lots to the highest bidder to wards Repeating the meeting house." At the same time the parish remembered the pastor, and it was voted "to Shingle the one

half of the Roof of the Reuen^d mr Joseph Emersons house that is the Back Side of the roof."

In March, 1765, the parish anticipated a regulation of later days, refusing to "alow that the allys in the meeting house have chairs Set in them in time of Sarvis." The work of repairing the house appears to have proceeded with the usual tardiness; and it was unfinished in March, 1767, when the vote in relation to a belfry, which was passed in 1764, was reconsidered and it was "*Voted to Repair said Bellfree & Build a Steple.*"¹⁹

In the meantime the pastorate of nearly forty-six years and the beneficent work of a life, which seems to have been as simple and unpretending as it was fervent and sincere, were drawing to a close; and that close was sudden and unexpected and fell as a heavy weight upon the church and parish. Says the parish record:

[1767,] July: 14 This Day Sent a warrant to warn the freeholders &c To meet at the North Parrish meeting hous occasioned by the Death of the Rev^d Pastor M^r Joseph Emmerson who Deceased the Last night.

More definite is the town record which says:—

The Rev^d Joseph Emerson consort to Mrs. Mary Emerson who had been in the Judgment of charity a faithfull minister here. and that for the space of forty and five years. Deceased in the evening of the 13 day of July 1767 very soon after lying down to sleep who was cheirly and in health before.²⁰

¹⁹ The "Steple" was finally built. John Paine had five orders, June 27, 1768, for a total amount of nineteen pounds, two shillings, and fourpence, "for his bulding the Steple vpon the meeting house."

It was voted, May 17, 1770, "to sell two Pew Lots to be took of from the womens seats below at the Back of said seats," the proceeds to be used to purchase a piece of salt marsh for the parsonage. Three years later it was voted "to Repair by making new two windows on the north Side of the meeting house;" and in 1774 it was determined "to Sash the five windows in the meeting house," and to number the pews.

²⁰ Mr. Emerson had nine sons and four daughters, of whom ten lived to follow him to the grave. Of the seven surviving sons three were ministers, of whom Joseph, the eldest, of Pepperell, and John, the youngest, of Conway, are mentioned elsewhere.

William, the twelfth child, was born in Malden, May 31, 1743, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1761. He entered upon the study of theology with his father, and was ordained January 1, 1766, as pastor of the church at Concord, of which his ancestors, Peter and Edward Bulkley, had been early ministers: "His ardent love for his country," it is said, "prevailed on him to contribute, by his intellectual and personal

The parish "Voted to Raise the Sum of Thirty Pounds L: money to defray the Charges of the funeral & the same sum to be Given to mrs: Emerson to her Disposal Said Sum to be

services at home and abroad, in the great conflict of the American Revolution." His sermon to the military of Concord, which was preached March 13, 1775, and afterwards repeated at Acton, is said to have been "a powerful appeal to the feelings and understanding of his audience, and to Heaven for the justness of their cause;" and sinking into the hearts of the soldiery of those towns, it bore fruit a few weeks later at the Old North Bridge.

In August, 1776, he joined the army as a chaplain at Ticonderoga, where he continued but a short time, being discharged by General Gates, September 18, on account of ill-health. Returning homeward, his disease increased; and he was obliged to stop at the little settlement of Rutland, on Otter Creek, where he remained suffering with a bilious fever, which he bore "with great composure, resignation, and Christian fortitude." He died Sunday, October 20, 1776, at the early age of thirty-three years, and was buried with military honors by a detachment from the army. A monument to his memory was erected by the town of Concord fifty years after his death, on which he is described as "enthusiastic, eloquent, affectionate and pious; he loved his family, his people, his God, and his country. And to this last he yielded the cheerful sacrifice of his life."

It is said that his "personal appearance was pleasing and prepossessing and his manners familiar and gentlemanly." One who wrote soon after his death said:—"His ministerial gifts and graces were distinguishing, and not only endeared him to his flock, but promised growing reputation in the churches. In his public discourses, he discovered vivacity of genius, a polite taste, facility of expression, and a good degree of literary knowledge. His doctrine was clear; his exhortations pungent; and reproofs, when necessary, he administered with becoming gravity and author-

ity. In friendly conversation he was communicative and facetious, though not unmindful of his ministerial character. And in his family connections he was kind and tenderhearted, careful to discharge his duty and exemplify the power of Christian love as well as natural affection." His son, William, a distinguished early Unitarian, was the first minister of Harvard and was afterwards settled over the First Church of Boston until his death in 1811. As a writer and speaker, he was among the foremost men of his day; but his fame has been eclipsed by that of his son, the Concord essayist and poet, Ralph Waldo Emerson. Cf. *Boston Gazette*, November 4, 1776; Shattuck, *History of Concord*, 94 *et seq.*

Waldo, another son of the Rev. Joseph Emerson, who was born in 1735, was a prosperous merchant or trader in that part of Wells which is now Kennebunk; and he appears to have inherited many of the characteristics of his father. He died suddenly, April 1, 1774, at the early age of thirty-eight years, and was remembered as an upright and enterprising man and a useful citizen. A view of the house which he built about 1760 and which is still standing in Kennebunk, is given in Whitefield, *Homes of our Forefathers*. He married in 1759 Sarah Hill, the daughter of the Rev. Samuel Hill, of Rochester, N. H., and granddaughter of Abraham Hill of Malden, who was then at the age of seventeen years. She died soon after her husband, leaving an only surviving child, Sarah, who married Theodore Lyman at the infantile age of fourteen years. Cf. Bourne, *History of Wells and Kennebunk*, 492.

The other sons of Mr. Emerson were Edward, born April 1, 1728, who removed to York, where he was living in 1780; Samuel, born July 7, 1730; and Bulkley, born June 15, 1732, who was a stationer in Newburyport, where he was living in 1780.

Paid in three months from said Date, [July 14, 1767;]" but refused a vote to furnish a gravestone.

AN
E X T R A C T
FROM A L A T E
S E R M O N
On the DEATH of the Reverend
Mr. JOSEPH EMERSON,
Pastor of the First Church in MALDEN.
Who Died very suddenly
On Monday Evening July 13th, 1767.
In the 68th Year of his Age.
Delivered at Malden,
By JOSEPH EMERSON, A. M.
Pastor of the Church at PEPPERRELL.

ZECH. 1. 5. *Your Fathers, where ar they? And
the Prophets, do they live for ever?*
MAL. 1. 6. *A Son honoreth his Father.*

B O S T O N :
Printed by EDES & GILL, for BULKELEY EMERSON,
Of NEWBURY-PORT,
MDCCLXVII.

Mary, the eldest daughter, married the Rev. Daniel Little, of Wells, and died in 1758. Rebecca was well advanced in life when she married Jacob

The character of Mr. Emerson is sketched in another place. The memory of his piety and sweetness continued many years, I doubt not, in the church and among the people with whom his life was spent; but as they who knew him passed away, so passed the knowledge of his virtues. After many years his name was again remembered and the Emerson School, and a mossy stone at Sandy Bank are his memorials. When I sought some trace of his memory in village traditions a hundred years after his death, I found but this: "He carried a woman's muff in cold weather." *Eheu!*²¹

Parker in 1777. The next year, returning from a visit, she brought the small-pox into Malden, as is elsewhere related. Widow Parker married, in 1780, Deacon Benjamin Brintnall of Chelsea, who died here in 1786. After this she lived in the old house, in the lane now covered by Essex Street, which had belonged to her first husband, Jacob Parker, and in which she held a widow's right. Here she kept a school which apparently had some of the elements of a town school; and she may be considered as the first schoolmistress in Malden. Isaac Parker, who was born in 1776, was one of her pupils. In later life he remembered that the only book he had was a Psalter. After he had read and spelled a little, he was usually put to shelling beans or some other useful and improving occupation.

The younger sister, Ruth, lived with Rebecca after the death of her first husband, Captain Nathan Sargeant, in 1798, until her marriage with Samuel Waite in 1802. Tradition hints that the sisters were not over-happy together; and the following extract from the diary of their brother, John, tends to confirm the story: "[May 27, 1799.] Arrived at Malden in safety after a pleasant and prosperous journey. Found my sisters well and living together in harmony which afforded me much satisfaction." Ruth died July 21, 1808, at the age of sixty-seven; and Rebecca soon became the fourth wife of the venerable Samuel Waite. It is said that the aged couple lived an unhappy life; but it appears that the wife was enfeebled and sick, and

that a slowly increasing insanity, which was not readily perceived, induced freaks of temper and actions which were foreign to her real disposition. She died July 21, 1816, her husband having died January 20, 1815.

²¹ Madam Emerson, as she was called by the townspeople, remained in the parsonage until the settlement of Mr. Thacher. At the annual meeting of the parish, March 14, 1768, it was "Voted the Widow Emerson to Remain on the Personage as Usual upon her Entertaining the Ministers the year ensuing with there horses on the Saturday nights & Sabaths;" and a similar vote was passed at the beginning of the following year. The claim of Mrs. Emerson for the balance of Mr. Emerson's salary was slowly met. A balance of thirty-nine pounds, one shilling, and twopence, lawful money, was due in July, 1768; and after a payment of seven pounds had been made, October 11, 1774, forty-seven shillings still remained.

Mr. Emerson died possessed of a right in an estate conveyed to him by his son Waldo in 1765, which is described as that property "which my Honour'd Father Samuel Hill late of Rochester in the Province of New Hampshire Deceased had in Malden aforesaid which came to him the said Samuel Hill by his Father Abraham Hill of Malden aforesaid deceased." *Midd. Co. Deeds*, lxx. 33. This estate consisted of three acres, or more, on which were a house and barn and afterwards, if not then, a shop and bake house, upon the east side of the road near the north meeting

The death of Mr. Emerson threw the people of the North Parish into the depths of uncertainty. Captain John Dexter, Jabez Lynde, and Ezra Green were chosen to supply the pulpit. Two months later the parish voted:—

[September 24, 1767.] that the Parrish Do Concur with the Church in the appointment of the Seventh Day of Octo^r: next to be kept as a Day of Prayer Supplication & Fasting respecting the Choise of a minister.

In December the committee was directed to “apply to m^r John Emerson for Supplying the Pulpit untill next annuall parish meeting;” and in the following March it was voted to have Mr. Austin, Mr. John Emerson, and Mr. [Amos] Sawyer preach four weeks each. At the expiration of the twelve weeks it was “*voted* to hear mr. Amos Sawyer, and mr John Emerson to prach upon probation,” and they were to “prach Six Sabaths a peas.” The twelve sabbaths in which the candidates were to “prach” being past, the parish by a vote concurred with the church “to haue m^r John Emerson for their minister;” and terms of settlement were offered.²² The busi-

ness, having Harvell's Brook at Lewis's Bridge on the south and running north to the tavern property of Moses Hill, near the line of the present Irving Street, with three acres on the northern slope of Powder House Hill and another three acres near by. It had come to Abraham Hill in the division of his father's estate; and it seems likely that he built the house into which Madam Emerson moved when she left the parsonage. She purchased the remaining half-interest from William, Mary, and Sarah Thomas of Marshfield, children of Mary, the only daughter of Abraham Hill, and occupied the house until her death in 1779. It was then held by quit-claim and lease by Captain Nathan Sargeant, who had recently married Ruth Emerson; and in 1807 it was purchased, with the three acres on which it stood, by Samuel Tufts. At this time it was owned by Marv Moody Emerson of Concord, who held three-fifths, and by Ruth Waite, who held the remainder, with the exception of a right which Rebecca

Brintnall had in the south-west chamber with other privileges. Tufts sold it to Isaac Wyman of Marblehead in 1813, who in turn sold it to the town, three years later, for the purpose of a town house, which was never built. The Emerson house was demolished about 1870.

²² John Emerson, the youngest son of the Rev. Joseph Emerson, was born in Malden, November 20, 1745. It is said that the good parson brought up his children in the strictest manner of New England. This son appears to have been a worthy child of a pious father; for “he seems to have been sanctified from his birth, not recollecting the time when he was not deeply interested in religion.” In his after life he was especially given to prayer; and his son, the Rev. Samuel M. Emerson, said “that his father spent more time in prayer in the family and closet than any man whom he ever knew. He usually occupied nearly all the time on the Sabbath from the close of the afternoon services till dark in this exercise.”

ness, however, dragged. Four months later the parish made a slight addition to the former offer, but refused to make a settlement for life; and the negotiations soon after came to an end. In April, 1769, it was "*voted* To hear m^r Prentis preach with us four Sabbaths if he can be obtain^d if not m^r Thomas Abbet if he can be obtain^d to Sabbath;" and a month later, at a meeting called to decide "who to hear next: after m^r Thomas Abot has prached," it was "*voted* not to act any thing vpon the warrent." At the same time it was "*voted*, that the parish meetings should be waned by Putting vp notyfications at Lutⁿ amos vpham Shoop. Nathⁿ waits and m^r Nathⁿ Sargents."

Dr. Edwards says he entered college at the early age of thirteen years. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1764, and is supposed to have studied theology with his father, preaching occasionally in the neighboring towns. The call to Malden failed, apparently, by the refusal of the parish to make a life settlement. He commenced to preach at Conway, Mass., April 9, 1769. The little church at this place had just been gathered; and the first sermon of Mr. Emerson was preached in a barn in the midst of a dense forest. So retired and hidden was the place of worship that two ministers who attended the ordaining council are said to have been lost in the woods, having been unable to find their way back to the meeting house after their dinner at the house of a parishioner. Of his first Sabbath at Conway, Mr. Emerson wrote:—

"On this Sabbath the people, all 't is supposed that were able, came to hear the word. Natural curiosity, indeed, was doubtless one motive for this attention. The speaker was a stranger from a distance, and a youth of small stature, nothing otherwise distinguishing; only, it was literally *John* preaching in the wilderness whom they came out to see and hear."

Here he found his life-work, as his father had found his at Malden, being ordained December 21, 1769. It is said that "when Mr. Emerson informed Miss Sabra Cobb, his intended wife, of his

purpose to go to Conway, she could not bear the thought of going into the depths of the wilderness, so far out of the world, and tried to prevail on him to find a place nearer Boston, and give up, for her sake, the engagement he had made with the Conway settlers. He would not hear to it, and expressed his determination in these words:— 'I cannot give up corn for the sake of the Cobb.' It appears that she yielded, and the good man enjoyed corn and 'Cobb' too for many years." The years of Mr. Emerson lengthened out into a pastorate of over fifty-six years, in which, after the manner of the ancient pastors of New England, he became a father in the little forest settlement, identifying himself with all the interests of his people and rejoicing and weeping with them in their joys and sorrows. During fifty years he had not lost in all a year in the performance of his duties, and he had baptised twelve hundred and nineteen subjects. In his life he wrote upwards of thirty-five hundred sermons, admitted five hundred and eighty persons to his church, and followed one thousand and thirty-seven of his flock to the grave. He died suddenly, June 26, 1826, at the age of eighty-one years. Cf. Holland, *History of Western Massachusetts*, ii. 347; *American Quarterly Register*, x. 267; and *Celebration of the Hundredth Anniversary of the Incorporation of Conway*, 29 *et seq.*

The people seem now to have almost despaired of getting a man to fill the place of the departed pastor, and they transferred their applications from one to another with surprising rapidity. Whether dissatisfaction with the candidates, or an unwillingness to come to Malden on the other hand, or the inadequacy of the settlement caused the repeated failures cannot now be ascertained.²³ A vote, passed June 8, 1769, "to have m^r John Emerson to prach with us" was immediately reconsidered; and it was voted "to apply to m^r [Enos] hitchcock to prach with us if he can be obtain^d four Sabbeths;" and a month later it was voted "to heair m^r Webster of Salsbuary." Before the close of the month it was voted to have "m^r John Emerson to preach with us;" but Mr. Emerson had preached to acceptance at Conway in April and had no farther inclination towards Malden. It was voted at the same time to have "m^r Iuory houey to preach," and, failing both, to have "m^r Hunt of Boston to preach two Sabbaths." It is not certain that those who were invited came to preach; and the people appear to have been ready in October to hear any who might offer. They voted "to heair Som won man or more to preach with us who has not as yet preach^d with us in our veakance." They refused to "hear the Reuen^d m^r Juiroy houey," but voted "to heair m^r Webster of Saulsbuary," and "m^r Couggen of new twon;" and a month later they were ready to hear Mr. Hovey after they had heard "the Reun^d m^r John Wyeth." Afterwards they heard, or endeavored to hear, in addition to the earlier candidates, Mr. Webster and "m^r Hopkins of Salem," "m^r Brown of waltham" and "m^r Boond."

At this time a youth who had not yet completed his eigh-

²³ It is not clear that dissension did not prevail in the church and parish. At the ordination of Mr. Thacher, the congregation was congratulated "that after so long a time your divisions are healed;" and the Rev. Nathaniel Appleton, addressing the church, said: "When it pleased the Sovereign Lord of life to take to himself that Man of God, who had, for a long course of years, laboured among you, with exemplary diligence

and fidelity, and we hope, with great success, we trembled for the Ark of God in this place; we were deeply affected with your divisions, and the danger we saw you in of falling into unhappy contentions and alienations. We congratulate you on your present union and harmony, and on the agreeable prospect this day affords you." Robbins, *Ordination of the Reverend Mr. Peter Thacher, etc.*, 31, 40.

teenth year was master of the town school in Chelsea, where he had taught since July 28, 1769, for a salary of six pounds, lawful money, per quarter, and his board. He had been graduated at Harvard College in 1769, having been maintained there "by the kind assistance of a number of gentlemen of *Boston*;" and he had already shown that he was possessed of extraordinary qualifications for the ministry. Captain Ezra Green, who is said to have been one of the earliest to recognize his talents, invited him to pass a Sunday at Malden, remarking, "You had better put a couple of sermons in your pocket, for we may make you preach." Accordingly he came to Malden, and, with a sermon from John xix. 30, *It is finished*, which he had written while in college, he made his first appearance in the pulpit, January 28, 1770. For this, his first day's preaching, he received twenty-eight shillings.

It came about as Captain Green had intended. The personal appearance and engaging eloquence of the youthful preacher reconciled the conflicting elements in the parish; and on the following Thursday it was "*voted* To hear M^r Peter theatcher: Chelce Shoolmaster to preach with us" on the next six Sabbaths. He preached so well on those six Sundays that when they were passed it was voted "That M^r Peter Thacher Preach with us for thirteen Sabbaths next Ensuing;" and before that time expired, the church, at a meeting of which the Rev. Joseph Roby of Lynn was moderator, chose him to be its pastor, by a unanimous vote. The parish soon passed a vote in concurrence and offered a settlement of sixty pounds, with a yearly sum of eighty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and fourpence, "Like money," to be paid "so long as he shall Continue in & Carry on the work of the ministry In general amongst us." In addition, the minister was to have the improvement of the "personage," and could take from the parish wood-lots "so much wood as is necessary for the use of his Family." Of the annual amount to be raised, fifty pounds, seventeen shillings, and sevenpence were provided by the interest of the parish fund, which had its origin in the sale of the Shrewsbury land. It is said that Mr. Thacher, considering his "Extream youth," was in-

clined to reject the invitation, and that he finally accepted it with reluctance. His answer, which is preserved in the parish records, does not invalidate this tradition. He wrote: —

To the Church & Congregation of the First Parrish in malden

Dearly Beloved Brethren in our Lord Iesus Christ — After having maturely deliberated upon the Call which (tho most unworthy) you have given me to enter on the work of the ministry among you Having Looked up to the great Head of the church who holdeth the stars in his right hand & is the fountain of light & wisdom & having Likewise asked Counsell & advice of those who were Capable of Giving it to me I would now Declare my Desire & willingness to Devote my self my time Tallents & oppertunities to the service of the Lord Iesus Christ & of the soules of his People: I would also testify my willing acceptance of the Call which you have given me to settle with you in the work of the Gospel ministry after you shall have passed some Explanatory Votes Relative to the terms you propose to me, not doubting but that on Account of my Extream youth you will allow me those advantages which shall be thought needful for me in order that I may follow the appostles Direction to give my self to Reading meditation & prayer. This I would Do (if I know my own Heart) not by Constraint but willingly not for filthy Lucre sake but of a Ready mind. And as my Dear Brethren at a more tender age than was allmost ever known I am about (at your Call) to Enter on a work the Greatness & Importance of which mad an appostle tho: old In years in Grace & Experience cry out who is sufficient for these things as I shall have many Difficulties to Combat with & many Temptations to overcome in this arduous work. as I am (young & you know) & subjected to Very many failings, & infirmities & my tender years Cannot be supposed to have given me so great a share of Experience as many others have I would beg you to Consider my youth to cast a mantle of love over my infirmities & follies & to grant me a Constant Remembrance in your Prayers at the Throne of Grace that I may not Live to my self but to God that I may Labour for him & spend my strength in his Service, that the Lord Iesus Christ would honour & improve me in his that I may not while taking Care of the souls of others neglect mine own Vinyard or having Preached to you be my self a Castaway but that Having been made a mean of turning many to Righteousness from the Evil of their ways I may shine as the Brightness of the Firmament & as the Stars forever & Ever.

Mr. Thacher, being then at the age of eighteen years and six months, was ordained September 19, 1770. The day was

observed "as a Day of Fasting & Prayer;" and the parish raised ten pounds, lawful money, for the expenses of the ordaining council.²⁴ The exercises at the ordination were in the following order:—

Prayer, by the Rev. Joseph Roby of Lynn: Sermon, from 1. John, 1. 3., *That which we have seen and heard, declare we unto you*, by the Rev. Nathaniel Robbins of Milton; The Charge, by the Rev. Nathaniel Appleton of Cambridge; Prayer by the Rev. Samuel Cooper, D.D., of the Brattle Street Church, Boston; and The Right Hand of Fellowship, by the Rev. Andrew Eliot, D.D., of the New North Church, Boston.

Peter Thacher, who had now become the pastor of the old church, was of a ministerial race that had upheld the faith of the churches both in England and America, of whom Peter, rector of St. Edmunds, Salisbury, in the old England, and Thomas, the first minister of the Old South Church, Boston, and Peter the first minister of Milton, in the new England were worthy branches, being in the figurative language of those days, painful preachers or golden candlesticks in the temple of the Lord.²⁵ Eight clergymen of the name had gone out from Harvard College before the close of the eighteenth century; and two other graduates, the father and the grandfather of the Malden pastor, were preachers of the gospel before they entered on other professions. An ancestor of Mr. Thacher in another line was the Rev. John Oxenbridge of Berwick-upon-Tweed, who, fleeing from the effects of the Bartholomew Act, became a minister of the First Church in Boston. Peter Thacher was the eldest son of Oxenbridge, Jr., and Sarah (Kent) Thacher, of

²⁴ "We hear from the North Parish in Malden that the 19th of this present Instant is appointed for the Ordination of Mr. Peter Thacher to the Pastoral Care of the Church in that place: In Compliance with Scripture Example, a Vote of the Convention of Ministers some Years ago, and the Desire of their late Rev'd Pastor Mr. Emerson, they have voted to observe it as a Day of Fasting and Prayer: The exercise it is expected will be in the Afternoon." *Mass. Gazette*, September 6, 1770.

²⁵ There are strong reasons for be-

lieving that the Rev. Peter Thacher, who was instituted vicar of Queen Camel in 1574, was the progenitor of the line whose first representatives in America were the Rev. Thomas Thacher of Weymouth and Boston, and his uncle the Rev. Anthony Thacher, who found safety from a disastrous wreck and an enduring memorial in the rocky islet, Thacher's Woe, off the coast of Cape Ann. The reasons are given at large by a namesake, Peter Thacher, in *The Thacher Family*, a privately printed brochure of six pages.

Boston, and was born at Milton, whither his parents had retired to escape the small-pox which then prevailed in Boston, March 10, 175½. His mother died when he was twelve years old and his father, who was a prominent man in the political affairs of the time, died a year later, leaving a young family in nearly destitute circumstances.²⁶ He became a pupil in the Latin School under Master John Lovell at the age of seven years, and by the pecuniary assistance of several clergymen of Boston and other friends, he was enabled to enter college when thirteen years old.

The childhood of Joseph Emerson was paralleled by that of his successor. Books of piety and the conversation of his elders were preferred to the usual pleasures of childhood; and it was said of him that "he never was a child." A grave deportment and "measured periods of discourse, in which it is said he imitated his father's manner," whether natural or affected, occasioned the prediction that he would become a preacher. A natural ardor and haste, which should have been restrained in his childhood, was allowed to guide him; and his education was pushed forward to its detriment, and disadvantages were occasioned which he felt through life.²⁷ Theology was his favorite study; and his talents, his quick and retentive memory,

²⁶ Oxenbridge Thacher, Jr., H. C., 1738, died at the age of forty-five years. Delicate health induced him to relinquish the duties of the pulpit for those of the bar, and as a lawyer he became influential and eminent. As a representative of the town of Boston, he espoused the popular side and defended with ability the privileges of the colonies. His pamphlet, *The Sentiments of a British American* [1764], was timely and attracted much attention. Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts Bay*, iii. 104, speaks of him as "a practising lawyer, who had been considered as on the side of government until a short time before his election, when he appeared in favour of liberty. Death is the common enemy of patriots and courtiers, and in about two years frustrated the expectations which many had

formed of long continued benefit from his talents in supporting the side of liberty, from the zeal with which he engaged." On the death of Mr. Thacher, Samuel Adams made his first appearance in the General Court as his successor.

²⁷ This may have led to a lack of thorough scholarship in some important directions. Harrison Gray Otis says that "some were disappointed in finding that his theological acquirements did not rise to the highest standard of professional excellence;" but he adds that "they were consoled by the conviction that his talents were quite above mediocrity, and were edified by the pathos and solemnity of his prayers, the manifold graces of his oratory, and the substantial piety and worthiness of his whole character." Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, i. 719.

and a lively imagination gave life and interest to his conversation and his discourses. Though plain of speech and manners, even to roughness, in his daily life, in the pulpit a melodious voice and fervent speech, joined with a rich glow of fancy, held the attention of the cultivated and won the applause of the multitude. Where he preached the house was crowded; and so marked were his abilities, even at the outset of his career, that the celebrated Whitefield, who could only have seen and heard him about the time of his ordination, referring to the singular fervor of his prayers, called him "the young Elijah," esteemed him as the ablest preacher in America, and looked upon him as one born for the defence of New England Orthodoxy.²⁸ The Rev. William Emerson gave a lively picture of him in later years.

He was illustrious for his natural powers. His soul was lodged in a person possessing the advantages of a noble stature, a commanding mien, a full and steady eye, a countenance pleasing and expressive, a mouth formed for ready utterance, and a voice of wonderful sweetness, variety, and strength. With these qualities of body, so eminently useful to a public speaker, the Father of lights had united a sound understanding, a fancy of uncommon spriteliness, a tenacious memory, and a correct judgment.²⁹

While in Malden he was an earnest adherent of the Calvinistic faith of his fathers, which he defended by argument and exhortation with energy and zeal; but as he advanced in life, his views were modified and he came to look with tolerance upon the differences which pervaded the religious world. It is not quite clear that he did not incline to Arminianism at one time. His successors in the Brattle Street pulpit, Dr. Palfrey and Dr. Lothrop, agree that his earlier views were relaxed in the course of his ministry. Dr. Sprague, apparently on the authority of Professor Tappan, appears to attribute this change to the influence of his social and political associations, rather

²⁸ Whitefield was in Boston and its vicinity in August and September, and from what is known of his movements, he must have been in Malden prior to the ordination, or two or three days

after. He died at Newburyport, September 30, 1770.

²⁹ Emerson, *Sermon on the Decease of the Rev. Peter Thacher, D. D.*, II.

than to conviction, and says that in his later days, "when the evil days of adversity came, his mind recovered the tone of deep evangelical feeling which he had early exhibited, and Christianity, by her most serene and heavenly influences, illumined his path to the grave."³⁰

It was not alone as a pastor and preacher that he stood pre-eminent in the exercise of his abilities. With his quickness of mind and natural impetuosity, which he tempered and restrained, he threw himself with effect into the consideration of those great questions which took precedence, even over religion, in the minds of men, and placed himself at once in the front rank of those who in the pulpit and by the pen gave direction and strength to public opinion. His mind and energy gave form to the feelings of his townsmen in several papers, which have distinction for their deep and earnest patriotism and their fearlessness of utterance. Not content with the work of voice and pen, he gave the last proof of his sincerity by joining the alarm list and preparing for the conflict which he foresaw. It is said that he earnestly proposed to emulate the Rev. Phillips Payson of Chelsea, by marching to intercept the regulars on the retreat from Lexington, but the orders of his captain were peremptory and he was obliged to remain at home, "that he might serve the cause of humanity in the line of his profession."³¹

³⁰ Sprague, *Annals of the American Annals of the American Pulpit*, i. 718-723.

³¹ The connection of Mr. Thacher with public affairs while in Malden will appear in the course of our story. The troubles attending his departure and his career as pastor of the Brattle Street Church in Boston belong to a later period and will be considered in another volume. Materials for an estimate of his character and abilities are to be found in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, viii. 277-284; Emerson, *Sermon on the Decease of the Rev. Peter Thacher, D. D.*, [with notes and a "character" by Hon. James Sullivan]; Allen, *Genealogy &c. of the Descendants of Thomas and Anthony Thacher, in loco*; Allen, *American Biographical Dictionary*, 786; and Sprague,

Mr. Thacher married at Chelsea, October 8, 1770, Elizabeth, the young widow of Zachariah Poole of Medford, who was his senior by about seven years. She died January 26, 1816, aged seventy-one years. Of their ten children, eight of whom were born in Malden, six survived Mr. Thacher.

The eldest child, Thomas Cushing, was born October 11, 1771, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1790. He was ordained pastor of the First Church in Lynn in 1794, where he remained until 1813, when he severed his connection with that parish and received a recommendation and a present of eight hundred dollars. He afterwards resided

There are no known records of the First or North Church before May, 1, 1770, at which time Mr. Thacher was chosen to be its pastor. At a meeting held January 13, 1772, when Joseph Perkins was chosen to the office of a deacon "by written votes," it was voted "to contribute 2^d lawful money at the Communion, each member," and "to buy a Book out of the Chh stock in which the moderator may keep the Records of the chh." In this book the records from the choice of Mr. Thacher were written and it was in use until 1832, when the church seceded from the parish and voted "to unite in worship with the Trinitarian Congregational Society in this place." It is now in the hands of its proper owner, the Trinitarian Congregational Church, to which, by right, pertains the name and

in Malden, where he kept a store in a building on Main Street nearly opposite the First Parish meeting house. Later in life he removed to Cambridge, where he died September 24, 1849. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Captain Benjamin and Hannah Blaney of Malden, who died at South Reading in September, 1858, at the age of eighty-eight years. Peter Thacher Washburne, a distinguished jurist and Governor of Vermont, was their grandson.

The fifth child of Mr. Thacher, Peter Oxenbridge, was born in Malden, December 22, 1776, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1796. He spent three years as assistant teacher at Phillips Academy, Exeter. At this time his views were towards the ministry, and he pursued a course of theology, to some extent under the direction of his father; but upon leaving Exeter, he began the study of law in the office of the distinguished statesman and jurist, James Sullivan, and was admitted to the bar in 1802. His abilities and character soon won him a place in his profession and gave him a continually increasing and honorable practice. He was active in the establishment of the Boston Athenæum and the Provident Institution for Savings; and in 1823 he was appointed Judge of the Municipal Court of Boston, as successor of Josiah Quincy, an office

which he held until his death. In this laborious and difficult position, he "discharged its duties with singular ability, with an integrity unimpeachable, with a firmness and independence never intimidated, with a mercy prudent and discriminating in its judgment and exercise, with a knowledge of principles and precedents that made him seldom in error, and with an indefatigable industry and fidelity, that entitle him to the grateful remembrance and considerate regard of the community he has so long and so faithfully served." He performed the duties of his office to the last, although his health had failed and given way under his labors; and he died suddenly, February 22, 1843. "Pure in his motives, upright in his conduct, courteous in his manners, useful in his life," was the eulogy of his pastor from the pulpit of his father. The criminal cases of Judge Thacher, prepared as a text-book, has become a standard work.

The last child of Mr. Thacher to be born in Malden was Mary Harvey, the only daughter who survived him. She died unmarried, June 24, 1849, and is buried in the graveyard at Sandy Bank.

The children of Mr. Thacher who were born in Boston were Samuel Cooper, a graceful writer and pastor of the New South Church in Boston, and Charles, a merchant.

traditions of the old First Church. One of the first acts of the clerk when the new book was opened was to record the names of his fellow members. The list is of those who were fathers and mothers in our Israel.

1772. A List of the male members in full Communion with the first Chh of Christ in Malden.

John Shute,³²
Sam^l Howard,
Joseph Perkins,
John Dexter,
Eben^l Harnden,
Jabez Lynde,
Thomas Manser,
John Colman,
Thomas Wait,
Samuel Green,

Samuel Sprague,
John Harnden,
Samuel Shute,
Nathaniel Howard,
John Howard,
Thomas Pratt, Jun^r,
Phinehas Pratt,
Amos Shute,
Stephen Pain,
John Jenkins,

³² Samuel Howard and John Shute were deacons of the First Church when Mr. Thacher was ordained. The former died March 19 (18), 1775, at the age of seventy-five years, and the latter, September 30 (20), 1780, aged eighty-seven years. Joseph Howard was chosen with Joseph Perkins in 1772, but declined to serve, and John Ramsdell, the former apprentice of Edward Waite, was afterwards chosen in his place. Joseph Perkins came from Danvers in 1765, when he purchased the homestead and fifty-five acres of the Green farm "on the hill," a large portion of which has remained in the hands of his descendants to the present time. He was town treasurer in 1771-73, town clerk in 1779-88, and a selectman several years. He is said to have been a man of much force of character, possessing an energy and stubbornness which seem to have been natural to his race. He died July 23, 1793, at the age of seventy-four years.

After the death of Deacon Perkins, Ezra Sargeant, who had been chosen by the South Church in 1776, exercised the functions with Deacon Ramsdell until December 30, 1808, when "Brother Nathan Holden gave in, in writing, his

acceptance of the office of Deacon, and deacon Sargeant affectionately addressed the brethren on his resigning, thro' infirmity of age, the burdensome duties of sd office." Deacon Sargeant, who had been a justice of the peace when the commission conferred a dignity which it does not now possess, and had held the most important town offices, was one of the most influential inhabitants of the town. It was to him that the celebrated instructions of 1776 were addressed. He died, June 29, 1810, at the age of eighty-one years.

Nathan Holden was the colleague of Deacon Ramsdell until 1818, when he removed to Sweden, Maine, and Josiah Richardson was chosen in his stead. A meeting was held, April 13, 1825, "to supply the place of our venerable friend and brother (Dea. Ramsdell) who has ceased from his labours and gone to rest," when Dr. Ephraim Buck was chosen to the office and Silas Sargeant was elected to fill the place of Deacon Richardson, "if he does not signify his wish to return to us, at or before our next communion." Deacons Buck and Sargeant were in office at the time of the separation of the church and parish and followed the former in its exile.

Samuel Grover,
James Kettell,
John Grover,
Thomas Wait, Jun^r,
Jacob Parker,
Ebenezer Barrett,
Amos Upham,
John Parker,
Isaac Wait,

Samuel Wait,
Will^m Wait,
Samuel Sargeant,
Joseph Wait,
Nathan Shute,
Titus Quonso,
Joseph Howard,
John Ramsdale.

Female members in full Communion.

Mad^m. Mary Emerson,
Deborah Wait,
Mary Lynde,
✶ Mary Shute,
Elizabeth Howard,
Mercy Pratt,
Mary Wait,
Mary Perkins,
Lydia Howard,
Deborah Wait, Jun^r,
Joanna Dexter,
Lydia Harnden,
Rachel Lynde,
Rebecca Bucknam,
Esther Harnden,
Abigail Grover,
Abigail Grover, Jun^r,
Elizabeth Sprague,
Anna Howard,
Phebe Howard,
Rebecca Emerson,
Ruth Emerson,
Lydia Porter,
Winifred Howard,

Sarah Pratt,
Mary Sprague,
Sarah Wait,
Sarah Wait, Jun^r,
Mary Lynde, Jun^r,
Lydia Kettle,
Mary Wait, Jun^r,
Sarah Shute,
Ruth Wait,
Judah Wait,
Huldah Hollowell,
Elizabeth Floyd,
Phebe Barrett,
Abigail Jenkins,
Abigail Knower,
Lydia Lynde,
Abigail Edmonds,
Sarah Oliver,
Hannah Howard,
Phebe Hatch,
Martha Barrett,
Abigail Howard,
Mary Parker.

The prosperity which the church had enjoyed under Mr. Emerson appears to have returned on the settlement of Mr. Thacher; and it is not improbable that the eloquence and popularity of the "Chelce Shoolmaster" were very effective agents in the early years of his pastorate. Later there was a reaction, caused, perhaps, in part by a decrease in the inter-

est which the young minister had excited, but in a greater degree by the condition of the country, and the poverty of the people. I cannot read between the lines to detect with certainty the cause of the action of the parish in 1774, and the church record is silent.

A meeting of the parish was held, January 10, 1774, "To see if the Parrish will Accept of the offer of the Revr^d M^r Eliakam Willis his offer to come & preach at our meeting-house Every other Sabbath for some future time as they shall think fitt under our present Circumstances without any Pay; " or to consider the future supply of the pulpit. The meeting adjourned to the tavern of James Kettell, where it was " *Voted* to Accept of the Rever^d: M^r Eliakam Williss offer to Preach with us Every other sabbath without pay." A committee was appointed to wait on Mr. Willis "with the thanks of the Parrish for his Kind offer unto them," and to ascertain "whether It would be agreable to him to preach two sabbaths out of three & if so the Parish shall look on themselves under still Further obligations to him." The application was "referred to his Parrishener^s" by Mr. Willis; but the result of the reference does not appear. A sickness of Mr. Thacher at this time does not seem improbable and it may have resulted in a weakness of long continuance. A letter written two years later does not weaken this conjecture.

Malden, June 4, 1776.

Sir, I feel myself much honoured by the choice which the hon^{ble} house of representatives have made of me to be their chaplain; it would give me pleasure to comply with their request, but the distance at which I live from Watertown & my poor state of health forbid my doing it: I beg Sir, that you would be so kind as to present my thanks to the honble house & inform them of the contents of this Letter.

I am, Sir, with very great respect y^r most obed hum^{le} Ser^t

PETER THACHER.³³

Honble James Warren Esq^r.

Speaker of the house of Representatives.

A few months after the application to Mr. Willis the following entries were made in the record of the First Church: —

³³ *Mass. Archives*, cxcv. 33.

May 29, 1774 after public Worship The Church stayed & *Voted*, to observe wednesday next June 1, as a day of fasting & prayer to humble ourselves before God under the present frowns of his providence upon our public affairs, & to seek a gracious Return of his mercy & favour unto us. *Voted* also, To recieve our church Covenant upon that day, (which was done accordingly.)

July 7, 1774, after public Worship the Church stayed & *Voted*, To spend one afternoon in a month (the Tuesday after the Sac^t) in extraordinary prayer to God for a removal of his Iudgments from this Land.

In August, 1774, delegates were chosen to attend the ordination of Mr. David Osgood as "colleague Pastor" with the Rev. Ebenezer Turell of Medford; and thereafter there is no record of church votes until July 9, 1776, when John Ramsdell was chosen a deacon. These were the early days of the Revolution and there were more weighty matters than church votes to be considered.

As we tread the threshold of the Revolution it may not be unprofitable to inquire into the state of the town as it approached the close of the provincial period. Materials to satisfy such an inquiry, though scattered, are not insufficient.

In common with the great body of the people of New England, the inhabitants of Malden were alive to the dangers which threatened them. They were heartily in sympathy with the cause of liberty and evinced their readiness to act in its defence. Their action in the earlier days of the struggle and the part which they took in the later military movements will be considered hereafter. In the meantime the material results of a hundred years of existence and growth present themselves.

In the year 1759 an invoice of the inhabitants was made for the purposes of taxation. This list, as entered upon the town records, preserves the names of the owners of land south of Harvell's Brook, some of whom were non-residents and are starred in the following copy. The list for the northern section does not appear.

An invoice taken and a single rate made by the Assessors upon the inhabitants of Maldon in the year 1759.

Wid ^w Sarah Baldwin	John Green
Samuel Baldwin	william Gill
Benjamin Bucknam	* Cap ^t Jonathan Green
James Barret Ju ^r	* John Green of Ston ^h
Ebenezer Barrett	* Abraham Goold
Dea Joses Bucknam	Jacob Green
wid Phebe Bucknam	* David Goold
Aaron Bucknam	* David Goold Ju ^r
Moses Bucknam	Benjamin Hills
John Bucknam	Thomas Hills
John Burditt	John Hutchinson
Wid Mary Burditt	Dea James Hovey
Jabez Burditt	* Cap ^t Peter Hays
Zaccheus Banks	* James Hays Ju ^r
Nehemiah Blany	* Peter Hays Ju ^r
Benjamin Blany	* Anthony Hadly
John Bechem	* John Gary
James Bucknam	Obediah Jenkins
* Edward Bucknam	* Thomas Knower
* Edward Bucknam Ju ^r	Jonathan Knower
* John Batchelder	* Daniel Knower
Joseph Burditt	wid Mary Knower
Dea. Joseph Caswell	wid Phebe Knower
Moses Collings	* Joseph Knight
Unite Cocks	John Nichols
Nathaniel Cousens	* William Oliver
* Thomas Cutler	John Oliver
Richard Dexter	Jonathan Oakes
wid Sarah Dexter	Widow Deb ^r Oakes
Nathan Dexter	Uriah Oakes
Ebenezer Doe	John Pain
Peter Edes	Stephen Pain
Edward Fuller	Stephen Pain Ju ^r
Benjamin falkner	Joseph Pain
Benjamin Falkner Ju ^r	Ebenezer Pratt
Cristapher Forbis	* Nathaniel Pain
* Darius Green	Jacob Parker
Ezra Green	David Parker
James Green	William Pell
Simon Grover	Rebeckah Pratt

* Daniel Pratt	✕ Richard Shute
Wid ^o Eliz ^a . Pratt	Amos Shute
* Caleb Pratt	* John Smith
* Doctor Rand	Jacob Shute
* Jchabod Richardson	* Robert Temple Esq ^r
* Widow Richardson	Solomon Townsend
David Sargeant	widow Mary Wheler
Samuel Sweetser	Daniel Whitmore
* Stephen Sweetser	Daniel Whitmore Ju ^r
Benjamin Sprague	Isaac Wayte
Phinehas Sargeant	Thomas Wayte
Thomas Sargeant	John Winslow
Amos Stower	John Wayte
Joseph Sargeant	* Samuel Watts Esq ^r
John Sargeant	Joseph Whitmore
Jabez Sargeant	* Timothy Wright
Ezra Sargeant	Timothy Wayte Ju ^r
Silas Sargeant	Titus Freeman ⁸⁴
✕ John Shute	

Six years later the inhabitants of the town were divided into one hundred and seventy-four families, dwelling in one hundred and forty-four houses. Of the aggregate of nine hundred and eighty-three, forty-eight were negroes — slaves or servants and a few free blacks; and four hundred and sixteen, of whom two hundred and six were males, were under sixteen years of age. Of the adults, or those above sixteen years of age, two hundred and thirty were males and two hundred and eighty-nine were females.⁸⁵

An invoice of the taxable property of the inhabitants was taken in 1767, which adds to the information given in the "Account" of 1765. It is that of a farming community, dependent upon its live stock and the products of its fields. The remarkable scarcity of swine I do not venture to explain.

⁸⁴ I suppose this person was a colored man and, perhaps, identical with Titus Quonso of the list of church members in 1772. He did not pay a poll-tax but was charged five shillings for "pers estate & faculty."

⁸⁵ *Account of the Houses, Families, Number of White People, Negroes, and Indians, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, taken in the year 1764 and 1765.* [Columbian Centinel, August 17, 1822.]

[VALUATION OF MALDEN, 1767.]³⁶

191 polls ratable }			
22 D ^o not D ^o }	213 polls @		
127 dwelling Houses	@ 80/ each	£508	
7 work Houses	@ 40/ d ^o	14	. .
5 Mills	@ 6£ d ^o	30	. .
13 Ser ^{ts} for Life	@ 40/ d ^o	26	. .
244 £ Trading Stock	@ 6 p ^r c ^t	14 12 9½	
1169 £. 6s. 8d. money at Jn ^e	@ 1 ^o	71 15 7	
84 Horses	@ 4/9 ^d	19 19	.
100 Oxen	@ 4/-	20	. .
486 Cowes	@ 3/	72 18	.
328 Sheep &c	@ 3 ^d	4 2	.
616 Cow Pastures	@ 14/-	431 4	.
5839 bush of Grain	@ 8 ^d	194 12 8	
652 bar ^{ls} of Cyder	@ 3/	97 16	.
234 Tuns of English Hay	@ 14/	163 16	.
300 D ^o of Meadow D ^o	@ 7	105 0	.
518 D ^o of Salt D ^o	@ 8/	207 4	.
9 Swine	@ 12 ^d	9	.
		<hr/>	
		£1981	9 0½

In 1776 the white population had increased to one thousand and thirty souls, including, perhaps, some persons who had come into the town upon the destruction of Charlestown.³⁷ By these figures the sparseness of the population of the territory now covered by Malden, Melrose, and Everett, with a population of about sixty-seven thousand, may be understood. The simplicity of the condition of the people in this and the neighboring towns may appear in the following statement of the wheel carriages which were found sufficient for the wants of the community.

³⁶ *Mass. Archives*, cxxx. 127.

³⁷ *Abstract of the Census of Massachusetts*, 1860, 263.

	1753.		1757.	
	Chaises.	Chairs.	Chaises.	Chairs.
Chelsea	1	3	0	0
Lynn	4	29	1	28
Malden	3	18	1	14
Medford	5	24	7	25
Reading	4	14	4	19
Stoneham	0	0	0	3 ⁸⁸

In the latter year Medford enjoyed an added superiority in the possession of one chariot. Travelling was principally performed on foot or on horseback. Even chairs, a kind of open chaise, were not common; and the ownership of a chaise might be a manifestation of inordinate pride or an indication of unusual wealth. The lost diary of the Rev. Joseph Emerson recorded how the purchase of a "shay" was the fruitful source of disquiet in his soul.

On January 24, 1735, the conscientious pastor wrote, "Some talk about buying a shay. How much reason have I to watch, and pray, and strive against inordinate affection for the things of the world." A week later he says, "Bought a Shay, £27 10s. The Lord grant it may be a comfort and blessing to my family." Before the close of the week he confesses, "Remarkd smiling upon my being drawn in a Shays. The Lord Jesus has the entire government of the church, and to his favor and power I am indebted for such a smile of Providence, so very unexpected." A realization of the great temptations to which he was exposed and a complacent pride in the important purchase were apparently in his mind as he wrote; and his enjoyment was doubtless intense when, in the following month, he "Had a safe and comfortable journey to York." But abasement follows pride, and soon the perils, which beset those who lust for the things of the world, began to gather around the devoted minister.

⁸⁸ *Mass. Archives*, cxxi. 298, 340. By wheel carriages for the encouragement an act passed in 1753 a tax was laid on of the manufacture of linen.

[April 24] Shay overturned, with my wife and I in it, yet neither of us much hurt. Blessed be our gracious Preserver. Part of the shay, as it lay upon one side, went over my wife, and yet she was scarcely anything hurt. How wonderful the preservation.

[May 4] Went to the beach with three of the children. The beast, being frightened when we were all out of the shay, overturned and broke it. I desire (I hope I desire it) that the Lord would teach me suitably to repent this providence, to make suitable remarks on it, and to be suitably affected with it. Have I done well to get me a shay? Have I not been proud or too fond of this convenience? Do I exercise the faith in the Divine care and protection which I ought to do? Should I not be more in my study and less fond of diversion? Do I not withhold more than is meet from pious and charitable uses?

[May 15] Shay brought home; mending cost thirty shillings. Favored in this respect beyond expectation.

[May 16] My wife and I rode together to Rumney Marsh. The beast frighted several times.

It was, perhaps, not without a feeling of relief that he recorded at last, "Disposed of my shay to Rev. Mr. White." The new owner, remarks Dr. McClure, "doubtless, in his turn, experienced a similar succession of mental elations, conflicts, and depressions in consequence of his purchase."³⁹

The habits and manners of the people were in accordance with their worldly estates. While in two or three families there may have been a slight real or fancied social elevation above their neighbors, there was no aristocracy here as in the neighboring towns of Charlestown and Medford. The flocks gave wool and the fields produced flax, which the hands of the women prepared and spun, and wove into cloth for clothing and other domestic uses.⁴⁰ The herds gave milk and flesh, which with the yield of the harvests furnished a plentiful sustenance. Little ready money passed from hand to hand. The necessary trade of the community was performed by the neighborly methods of exchange or a more intricate system of barter; and debts were cancelled by payments in kind.

³⁹ *Bi-Centennial Book of Malden*, 219; place at Ell Pond, the brook at Hill's *Atlantic Monthly*, lii. 593. Bridge, and Harvell's Brook at Cross

⁴⁰ The preparation of flax required Street were the "flaxing places" for the aid of running water. The watering their several neighborhoods.

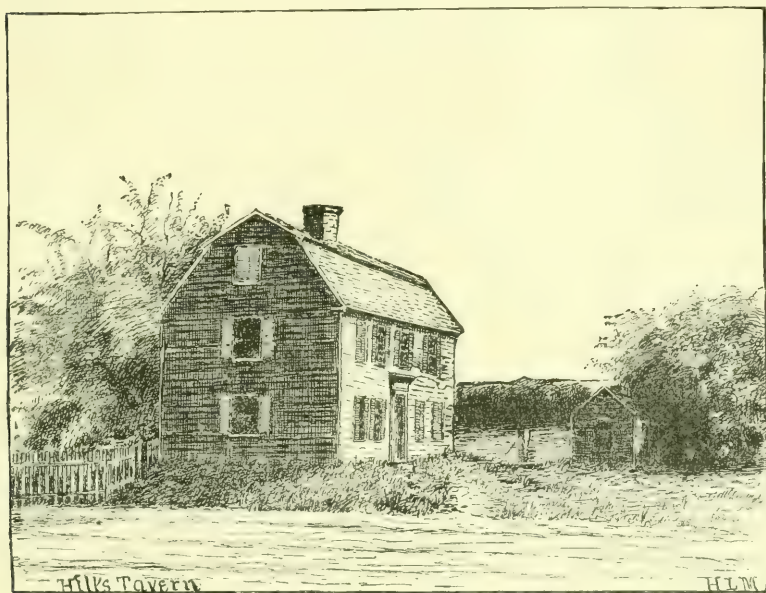
The existence of slavery here during the provincial period and to a later day has been noticed. The system of apprenticeship, by which minors were bound to service, was almost universal. The age of fourteen was considered to be a proper time for the beginning of that which was not infrequently a period of enforced servitude; and a term of seven years was not too long for the apprentice to become skilful in the arts of a tailor, a cordwainer, a saddletree-maker, or a weaver. The rising and the setting of the sun marked the limits of a day's work; and he would have been thought an idle or a vicious man who proposed other limits to man's labor than the natural divisions of day and night. Let it not be thought, however, that idleness was unknown in a community where the tavern was always open and where moderate drinking was a general rule.

The public inn was an ever-present feature in a New England town of the old time. I suspect there was more of shelter than of good cheer within the doors of the average tavern of the eighteenth century. "Indian corn roasted, and bread made of Indian meal, and sometimes a fowl or fish dressed after a fashion, but pretty good butter, and very sad sort of cheese," was the list of edibles which they furnished, as an English traveller found in 1740; and he could add, what was perhaps more important to the neighborhood, "generally a little rum to drink, and some of them have a sorry sort of Madeira wine." ⁴¹

Malden was well supplied with taverns, the principal of which was for many years that kept by the Hills, the origin of which has been noticed. Here met the selectmen to lay rates and direct the affairs of the little town, and here came the inhabitants to make and unmake the boards which managed them from one annual meeting unto another. Widow Sarah Hill, who, as has been seen, succeeded her husband on his death in 1670, renewed her license from year to year until 1679, when her son, Jacob, was licensed to "Keep a house of

⁴¹ Bennett, *History of New England* [*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, January, 1861], 125.

Publ. entertainm^t at Mauldon.”⁴² He removed to Cambridge in 1681, and his brother, Isaac, was allowed “to keep an ordarye and to Retale wine & strong liquo^r.” At the same time Nicholas Salisbury was licensed to keep “at Charlstown peny ferry for horse & man & retaleing cider & beere,” and was fined for not having a previous license.⁴³ Isaac Hill died



a little before February 23, 1720/1, having relinquished the business of an innkeeper in 1698, unless his entertaining ministers at his house in 1708, “when thay preached in maldon,”⁴⁴ may indicate that he continued his vocation without the sanction of the court. His son, Moses, was a plain farmer, who, dying in 1743, left to his son, Isaac, his dwelling house and barn, the former of which, removed from its original site where now stands the City Hall, remains in a good state of preservation on Irving Street.

Isaac Hill seems to have evolved the business of an innkeeper, very naturally, from that of a retailer of wine and spirits, for which he was licensed in 1747; and it was two years later that

⁴² *Midd. Court Records*, iii. 281.

⁴⁴ *Malden Town Records*, *in loco*.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, iv. 33.

he opened his house as a tavern. Thenceforth, Isaac Hill's became the public place of the town, its proximity to the meeting house, and its location at the junction of the several county roads giving it great advantages over the house of Daniel Newhall, its competitor. Landlord Hill died, June 22, 1764, at the age of forty-one years, an early age for one who, like his wine, needed years to mellow his nature and fit him for his hospitable offices. His widow, Sarah (Haven), continued the business without interruption, and soon filled the place of the departed master, by marrying, in the next February, James Kettell, a deputy sheriff and jail-keeper, who became the landlord at the prophetic and patriotic sign of the Rising Eagle, which the old tavern assumed. It was during the rule of Landlord Kettell that John Adams visited Malden. He says: —

November 3, [1766.] Monday. Set off with my wife for Salem; stopped half an hour at Boston, crossed the ferry, and at three o'clock arrived at Hill's, the tavern in Malden, the sign of the Rising Eagle, at the brook near Mr. Emerson's meeting-house, five miles from Norwood's; where, namely, at Hill's, we dined. Here we fell in company with Kent and Sewall.

[June] 17, [1771.] Monday. Set out upon the eastern circuit. Stopped at Boston, at my office, and nowhere else. Came over Charlestown ferry and Penny ferry, and dined at Kettel's, in Malden, by the meeting-house. Kettel is a deputy sheriff; the meeting-house is Mr. J. Thacher's.⁴⁵

Sarah Kettell, the umquihile wife of Isaac Hill, died December 17, 1774, leaving of the name of Hill one son, Charles, a minor, and four daughters. The dealings of Kettell with the tavern property were not such as met the approval of the townspeople,

Charles Hill

and he was held to a strict account in his settlement of the estate of his predecessor.

Charles Hill became of age in 1777 and assumed control of the tavern, which again was known as Hill's. "Charles Hill's House" became a favorite place with the citizens, and town meetings were often adjourned to its hospitable west room. At the annual meeting in March, 1778, it was

⁴⁵ Adams, *Life and Works*, ii. 199, 279.

voted Mr Ezra Sargeant Moderator. After the Reading of the Laws and Exhibiting the accounts of the Towns Expence the year past. voted to Indemnify Mr Charles Hill for Selling Licquor for the present meeting the meeting was then adjourned for one hour and an halfe.

Refreshed, undoubtedly, by the ninety minutes of intermission and the liquor of Charles Hill, the meeting reassembled and proceeded with its proper business. At a town meeting, held August 12, 1779, when the report of "a Committee to state the prices of the several articles of Commerce among ourselves which the Convention did not state" was considered, votes were passed which affected the prices of lodging and sustenance at public houses. It was then ordered that New England rum should be nineteen shillings a bowl, and West India toddy eighteen shillings a bowl with loaf sugar and sixteen shillings with brown sugar; and "that Tavern keepers for a Diner" might charge twenty-four shillings "with two Dishes one Roast one boyled and Suppers in proportion to the Dishes." Lodging was to be six shillings and a breakfast eighteen shillings; while the traveller's horse might be kept over night, with English hay, for eighteen shillings, and six shillings would give him a mess of oats at noon. The prices of other articles of use and wear were fixed, and the town clerk was directed to post the votes in the several quarters of the town.⁴⁶ After this the town appropriately "*voted* to adjourn this meeting into m^r Charles Hill's west Room," where the Rev. Mr. Thacher was chosen to meet with the delegates of other towns at Cambridge, "for the

⁴⁶ This was in furtherance of the acts of a convention which met at Concord, July 14, on the recommendation of the town of Boston. It was called to consider questions relating to the depreciation of the currency and the inflated prices of articles of necessity; and it was attended by representatives of most of the towns of the state, excepting those of the district of Maine and the county of Berkshire. Captain Benjamin Blaney was the deputy and it was "*voted* unanomisly that Cap^t Blaney vote for things in the above said Convention be lower'd in there prices." The town afterwards "*voted* Unanimosly to

accept of the Proceedings of the Convention," and chose the committee mentioned in the text. Besides the prices already mentioned as being fixed by the town committee, sole leather was rated at eighteen shillings the pound and green hides at three shillings. Men's good leather shoes were fixed at five pounds and two shillings and women's shoes at three pounds and twelve shillings. Six shillings per yard was allowed "for weaving Common yard wide" cloth; and oak wood was to be sold at ten pounds, and walnut wood at twelve pounds the cord, when delivered in the middle of the town.

sole purpose of forming a Convention for the purpose of framing a new Constitution or form of Government." The annual meeting of 1799 apparently found the voters in a convivial mood, for having performed their duties by the election of town officers, they adjourned "to M^r Stephen Waits⁴⁷ for one hour met & Adjourned to M^r Charles Hills West Room." Hill's continued to be known as the principal tavern in Malden until after the beginning of the present century. It is last mentioned under the date of March 14, 1804, when at a town meeting it was "*Vot^d* To adjourn to Hills to Seal up the votes for Governor Lieut. Governor & Senators & when done the Meeting Dissolved." Charles Hill died April 29, 1804, and the line of landlords of the Hill name was ended.⁴⁸

James Kettell, who married Elizabeth Wilson soon after his

⁴⁷ Stephen Waite, Jr., innkeeper, was in 1798 the owner of a part of the house which then stood next south of the First Parish meeting house. Here was his tavern and in an ell on its north side he had a shop where he sold West India goods and rum. The house had been recently built by Daniel Waite, in part from materials of the meeting house of the South Precinct. In 1840 it was removed to Baptist Row, where at the corner of Salem and Ferry Streets it remained for many years, until 1892, when it was again removed. It now stands on Eastern Avenue, near Main Street. In its former condition it was a good specimen of the better houses of the latter years of the eighteenth century; and its solid frame and brick lined walls bade fair to outlast many more modern buildings. It is said to have been the first house in Malden with window blinds; and its gratified owner, walking before it, is reported to have exclaimed, "Am I in Boston?"

It was not uncommon for town meetings to adjourn to private houses, as in 1808, when an adjournment was made to the house of Ebenezer Herring on Wilson's, now Bailey's Hill, and in 1816, when the voters proceeded to the house of William Haskins.

⁴⁸ He was the father of the late Charles, Isaac, and Benjamin Goodwin

Hill. The former is remembered as the constable whose stentorian voice had many terrors for the evil-minded boys of a former generation. Hill's Tavern was occupied during his life by Isaac Hill, a son of the last landlord, who died June 12, 1855. In 1857 the land was sold to the town, and the tavern gave place to the town house which is still occupied by the city. The old house was removed a short distance to Irving Street, where it now stands. Its age is not known, but it appears to belong to the early part of the eighteenth century. It was evidently not the first house which was built upon the land by the Hills or, perhaps, Coytmore, and which was doubtless the tavern of 1657. The present house has in it timbers which have been used in an earlier construction; and it is very likely that it inherited a portion of the material as well as the business of its predecessor. These timbers have been hewn to a surface upon one side only, otherwise they are still in the shape which nature gave them. Between the timbers the house is lined with clay, a prudent practice which gave way to the good old custom of "back-plastering," which in the recent undue cheapening of houses has nearly disappeared. The view represents the house as it appeared prior to its removal from Main Street.

departure from the Rising Eagle, opened a rival tavern in the old house of Joseph Hills at the corner of the Salem and Reading Roads, in which his wife had an undivided half-right. His connection with the Hill estate was not a matter with which the Probate Court alone had to deal; but it was carried before the church, into which he had been "admitted to the stated Enjoyment of christian Privileges" at the meeting which made choice of Mr. Thacher as pastor. A special church meeting was held, March, 11, 1778, "to hear the complaint of Bro John Dexter against Bro James Kettle 'for fraudulent dealing in delaying and denying to produce for examination certain receipts which he had heretofore implicitly acknowledged to be false, belonging to the estate of Isaac Hill deceased.'" After several meetings it was voted, "That Bro. Kettle has been guilty of fraudulent dealing in this regard. That he be suspended from the communion of the church till he shall give . . . christian satisfaction." It was six years before the church voted "1. That Brother Kettel having produced the receipts mentioned in Bro' Dexter's complaint, hath given satisfaction to the minds of the church with respect to said complaint; and therefore, 2. That Brother Kettell be restored to the charity and communion of the church."⁴⁹

Mrs. Elizabeth Kettell died in 1782; and Kettell's Tavern appears to have closed its doors in 1783. Dr. John Sprague purchased of James Kettell, in 1788, the easterly half of the house and the land adjoining, which was then described as containing about sixteen acres. He had previously bought the interest of the heirs of Tabitha Parker, the sister of Mrs. Kettell; and in 1797 he acquired of Kettell's administrator the westerly half of the house and the moiety of land connected with it. Here he resided until his death in 1803.

Robert Foster, who married a daughter of Dr. Sprague, occupied the old house in 1807 as a tavern; and under his management it appears to have become more popular than in the days of Kettell. A town meeting in April, 1807, was adjourned to meet at "Mr Robert Foster's house forthwith;"

⁴⁹ *First Church Records, in loco.*

and again, in 1811, "the Select Men sold at public Vendue at the house of Robert Foster Sundry Articles of Warring Apparel" to the amount of eleven dollars and seventy-two cents, which were "the effects of the late Elizabeth Fitz Jerrel." In 1812 a town meeting was adjourned to Foster's Tavern, and at a meeting in April of the next year it was

voted To adjourn to Fosters east room & Meet accordingly and seet up the Collectorship at Auction to the lowest bidder for the ensuing year — and it was struck of to Capl Uriah Oakes at two Cents eight Mills for the South part — and three Cents four Mills on a dollar for the North part of the town.

Foster's Tavern is mentioned in connection with a town meeting in 1815, and it may have been in existence several years later. The old house had by this time attained a good old age; and it is described by those who remember it as showing many of the corrosive marks of time. It finally disappeared about 1837.⁵⁰

Not less important in the service of the public was the well which still remained with its sparkling waters as cool and pure as when they quenched the thirst of Joseph Hills and his companions; and our sketch of the old house would be incomplete without the story of the old town pump.

At the beginning of the present century most of the Wilson land on the Salem Road had been sold to Benjamin Faulkner, who thus came into possession of the land on which the Converse Memorial Building now stands, and the adjacent land to the present westerly line of Sprague Street. The house and the land at the fork of the roads passed into the hands of William Barrett, who, at his death in 1834, was in possession of a large tract of land both east and west of Main Street, including the water privilege on which, in 1804, he had established his dye house.

In 1842 a committee of the First Baptist Society purchased

⁵⁰ In 1888 the position of the cellar of the house was shown while workmen were excavating for a line of water pipe to Wayte's Mount. It was found to be about twelve paces from the inner line of the sidewalk, a few feet east of the well, or in the centre of the roadway on the north side of the square. In 1894, when the well was filled in, the sidewalk was moved a few feet northerly. For the early history of this house, *vide* chap. vi. note 5.

for two thousand dollars the one acre of land, more or less, on which the church now stands. Previous to the transfer by the committee to the society, a portion of the corner, "with a well thereon," was sold to the town for fifty dollars. The limits of the land conveyed to the town may be clearly ascertained by projecting the easterly line of Main Street from a point, "three feet north of the inside stoning of said well," forty-six feet and six inches southerly and continuing easterly to a point in the northerly line of Salem Street made by the westerly line of the land of the Malden Public Library. By the deed in which this purchase was confirmed, the town was to "enjoy all the privileges of said well and land for the purposes of a watering place and as a common highway."

At a meeting in June, 1843, the selectmen were authorized "to procure a pump and trough for the Foster well, such as they think proper." John T. Cram furnished a pine pump for sixteen dollars and sixty-seven cents; and Simon Black was paid twenty dollars and twenty-two cents for "work, lumber, and [cash] paid for smithing for new pump."

The establishment of a public watering place had become a necessity, as the ancient one on the north side of Hill's Bridge had been destroyed, as had also that on the Boston Road at Lewis's Bridge. The roadside border of the mill pond on the Medford Road was convenient for horses and cattle when the pond was full; but the supply of water was precarious from the frequent drawing down for the uses of the grist mill at the dam where Middlesex Street now crosses the brook. Otherwise, the nearest watering place was at the old flaxing place in Harvell's Brook Lane, where the Eastern Railroad now passes Cross Street; while the foot passenger could find access to a spring in Green's meadow, west of Main Street and south of Bell Rock.

Thereafter, for more than fifty years, following its nearly two centuries of private use, the well of Joseph Hills ministered to the needs of a thirsty public—both of man and beast. Its cool water became known for miles around and few passed the old corner, by day or by night, during the warm season, without

taking a draught from the town pump. Well wrote a Malden lady: —

With all the joy, with all the sorrow, during all hours of the day and night, for friend and foe, in time of peace, and in time of war, the well has remained unailing and undefiled.

An attempt was made to remove the pump in 1885, and an order contemplating such an action was passed by the common council; but at a meeting of the aldermen protests signed by nine hundred and twenty-nine inhabitants were presented and the order was refused. One of the protests was signed by two hundred and six women who said: —

We, women citizens of Malden, respectfully protest against the discontinuance and closing of the Old Town Pump. It being a noted landmark of valuable historic relations and a fountain of beneficent hospitality and pure, unintoxicating drink, we beseech you to consider and heed this our protest and petition.

The local papers teemed with rhymes in which the old well appeared alternately as a foul cesspool and a source of health and life. Analyses of the water were made which vindicated its purity.

A substantial granite pump was presented to the city in 1887, by Walter P. Sheldon, which replaced the wooden pump which had been in service about ten years. It was said at this time that this well "is the only place in the centre of the city where one may slake his thirst with a drink of pure water fresh from the ground."

The pump and well were destroyed by the action of the City Council in April, 1894. There was nothing in the surroundings of the well at that time to make its water less pure than in 1885. All cesspools and sewers were at a distance, and the lines of strata, so far as they are known by excavation, must have carried all contaminations, not immediately around the well, in other directions.

The old well served us with honor and brought down to our day the memory of the fathers of Malden. Born in the shade of a primeval forest, it saw the beginning of our municipal life when it was simple and rude. It had been a blessing to us and

to our forebears, and it might have been preserved. It could have been preserved; but there is neither sentiment nor pity in city councils and the demands of street railroads.

The eldest and most important competitor of Hill's in its earlier days was Newhall's — the Half Moon, which stood on the Salem Road near the present easterly corner of Salem and Porter Streets. It is not improbable that it was occupied as an inn early in the eighteenth century by Thomas Newhall, Jr., who was licensed in 1707 and whose name appears as that of an innholder until 1716, soon after which he removed to Leicester. The sixteen acres of land on both sides of the road, running from the hills, which were then a part of the town commons, to the watercourse since known as Harvell's Brook, were a part of the farm of sixty acres which Joseph Hills sold to Thomas Newhall, the husband of his granddaughter, Rebecca Green, in 1681. On the death of Lieutenant Newhall in 1728, although no record of the division of his estate is known, this portion of his farm appears to have passed into the possession of his son, Daniel, who may have previously improved it and who was licensed as an innholder in 1731. In 1736 Chief Justice Benjamin Lynde, riding to Cambridge, "Stopped and baited at Malden, Half Moon." Five years later he records how he "went for Charlestown Court, and rid on our horses firmly over Penny Ferry, he [Coz. W^m Browne, Esq.] having paid our expenses at the Half Moon, Newall's." A few weeks later he "oated and drank" at the same place. His last visit appears to have been in the following July, when, in going to Cambridge, he "got to the Half Moon, Newel's, baited horse, and had cyder syllabub and bread and butter." His son, Judge Benjamin Lynde the younger, was an occasional visitor at the Half Moon in his journeys from Salem to Boston or Cambridge.⁵¹ The death of Captain Benjamin Blaney in 1750, at or near this house, is noticed in another place.

Daniel Newhall died February 3, 1760, aged seventy-five years; and his widow, Sarah (Fosdick), representing that "her said Husband was by the Court of Generall Sessions of the

⁵¹ *Diaries of Benj. Lynde and of Benj. Lynde, Jr., 78 et seq.*

Peace . . . Licenced to be an Inholder and to sell Wine & Spirits distilled for a year . . . in the House where he then and for many years before had kept a Publick Inn," petitioned the General Court, praying that she might "be empowered to keep an house of Publick Entertainment during the Remainder of the Term." Her petition was granted, "Provided she first obtain the approbation of the Selectmen for that purpose and recognizes before two Justices of the Peace (*Quorum Unus*) according to Law within fifteen days from this time for her keeping good Rule and Order and duly paying the Excise."⁵² Widow Newhall died December 12, 1763, and was succeeded by her son, Captain John Newhall, who maintained the hospitality of the Half Moon until 1769, when he sold the house to Dr. Jonathan Porter. Dr. Porter combined the exercise of the medical profession with the duties of a landlord until 1775, when the glories of a public house departed from the ancient tavern. Before its doors were finally closed to the public, they were opened to a number of wounded men from Bunker Hill, who were brought here for shelter and treatment at the hands of its master.⁵³ Dr. Porter died in 1783; and his homestead remained in the hands of heirs until 1826, when Uriah Chamberlain became the owner of the house and the sixteen acres of Daniel Newhall. Two years later he sold the house, with four acres around it on the north side of the road, to William Waite. The old house, unpainted and weatherworn, remained until 1844, when it gave place to a more modern dwelling, which has since been removed.

There was another competitor to Hill's which outlived its more successful rival. John Bunker, the saddler of Cambridge, who, near the close of the seventeenth century, by inheritance and purchase, came into the possession of a large tract of swamp and upland in Scadan, sold to Samuel Waite, Jr., in 1706, with other lands, "all that ffarme or parcell of Land," containing eighty acres, with a dwelling house, lying south of the Salem Road and east of the county way now known as Cross Street.⁵⁴

⁵² *Mass. Archives*, cxi. 467. *General Court Records*, xxiii. 234.

⁵³ *Bi-Centennial Book of Malden*, 176.

⁵⁴ *Midd. Co. Deeds*, xiv. 121.

The house, which stood on the south side of the road in a location now unknown, had been built by the first John Bunker on the two hundred acres which his father, George Bunker, had deeded to him upon his marriage with Hannah Mellows. Here Captain Samuel Waite is supposed to have lived, and his name appears as a licensed innholder in the years 1719-24. After his death in 17³⁹/₄₀, the place was occupied by his son, William, until his removal to Marblehead in the latter part of his life. Tradition indicates, with some appearance of probability, that the house was open for public purposes just before the Revolution and connects it with the story of Christopher Forbes and the British officer — which is related elsewhere — although I have found no record of a license for that purpose.⁵⁵ About this time, on a Sunday forenoon, the old house was burned to the ground with all that was in it, while the family were at the meeting house. It is said that they were much surprised when they returned and found “everything flat.”⁵⁶ A new house was built upon the north side of the road, which the second William Waite occupied as an inn in 1789 and perhaps a few years earlier. The town record says: —

Capt William Wait deceased on the 26th day of July 1809 aged 70 years he was driving a team with a load of hay from Medford in a shower of rain and was found dead on the [cause]way between Medford & Malden it was supposed he was sitting on the spire of the wagon and fell into a sleep & pitched under the wheel which passed over his neck and shoulder as appeared on examination.

Waite's Tavern remained open a few years longer and was finally closed by its owner, Aaron Waite, an eminent merchant of Salem and a brother of the late landlord. From him it passed through the hands of William Richardson and Joshua Webster to Levi W. Rockwell, by whom it was demolished in

⁵⁵ Here came Benjamin Peirce, of Salem, on the eventful morning of April 19, 1775. Being on horseback, he had preceded the Essex Regiment and stopped a few moments to greet his relatives, he having married Mary, daughter of Samuel and niece of William Waite. He was killed in the afternoon

while engaged in firing upon the enemy. This incident was used by the late Dr. Arthur D. Corey as the subject of a legendary poem. *Vide Corey, Arthur Deloraine Corey, a Memorial*, 210.

⁵⁶ *Information of the late Augustus D. Rogers of Salem, and tradition.*

the winter of 1891. Its position on Salem Street was nearly opposite Webster Street.



Besides the taverns already mentioned others existed at various times. One at an early date stood upon the old county road in Scadan and may have been that which was kept by Jonathan Sprague in 1701-06. Traces of its cellar and well might have been seen a few years ago in the field on the south side of Granite Street. Samuel Parker was an innholder in 1703 and Joses Bucknam was licensed in 1726-30. In 1731 the latter, in a petition to the General Court, represented that he had

for many Years past kept a Tavern in the s^d Town to the general Approbation & without being ever charged with any breach of Law, That he has this Year had the Consent of the Select men of the said Town for the Continuance of his License but the Iustices were pleased to disallow him without any just Reason that he knows of which is greatly to his Damage, And therefore praying that this Court would Grant him Liberty to keep a Tavern at Malden as He has done for many Years past.⁵⁷

For some reason his petition was disallowed and his license was never renewed. Samuel Sweetser was licensed in 1726-31

⁵⁷ *General Court Records*, xv. 126.

and was succeeded by Benjamin Sweetser in 1733-36; and Samuel Stower, who was at first a "retailer," was an innholder in 1736 and 1738, and was followed by his brother, John, in 1739-46. Bucknam, the Sweetsters, and the Stowers were inhabitants of the southern portion of the town.

Besides that of the innholders there was another class of licenses for those who were known as "retailers"—those who sold wine and spirits by authority. These were mostly of those who sold more important articles of subsistence; and their names are those of the earlier shopkeepers and traders of the town. Captain Ebenezer Harnden was licensed in 1744-51 and Jacob Bucknam in 1748-50. There was another, one Rudge, who in a perplexing way appears as John and Thomas at different times and places. As Thomas Rudge he was licensed in 1750 and so continued until 1758, when he appears both as John and Thomas in a petition to the General Court in which he made the following statement:—

Some Years Since being a Miller in the Town of Maulden aforesaid (in which duty he humbly Concieves he behaved to Good Satisfaction) never the less by an unlucky accident was so wounded in One of his Leges that he was Obligated to Submit (by the advice of Surgeons) to have the Same Cut off which Cost your [petitioner] almost all his Living and after all remained very much disabled for that or any other business whereby to Get his livelyhood must have Suffered Greatly had not the Town of Maulden and Mr. Whealright the owner of the mills been very Charitable.⁵⁸

Representing that "an Opertunity now offers of Retailing Liquors Coffee and Tea in the Town of Maulden," he asked for a license, and the court so far answered his prayer as to refer him to the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, by which he was licensed as Thomas Rudge.* His "Opertunity" was of short duration, for the next year, as Thomas in one record and as John in another, he was drowned between Boston and Winnisimmet, as is elsewhere related. His widow, Katharine (Welch), succeeded to his business and "retailed" to the inhabitants of Malden until 1765, when she was married to Isaac Townsend of Boston and retired to private life.

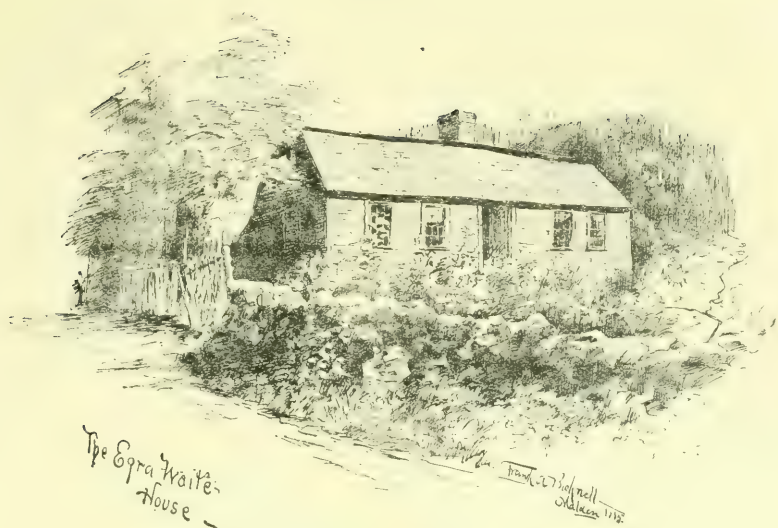
⁵⁸ *Mass. Archives*, cxi. 415.

Israel Cook, of Boston, who is said to have been a peddler at first, married Widow Hannah Upham in 174 $\frac{4}{5}$, occupied the house of his foregoer, which long stood at the corner of the present Green and Howard Streets in Melrose, and opened there the first store for the sale of rum and groceries in that part of the town.⁵⁹ He was licensed in 1757 and was in business in 1775 and perhaps later. Widow Abigail Barrett was contemporary with Rudge and Israel Cook and was in business in 1760 and as late as 1772. These names, with those of Nathaniel Sargeant and Jacob Upham, whose careers were of no long duration, are those of the rumsellers and shopkeepers of the provincial period. They divided with the innholders the doubtful honors of the grogshop, and with the more substantial farmers and mechanics, who bartered with their neighbors the surplus of their private stores of West India goods, the more honorable distinctions of a useful though humble business.

⁵⁹ This house, built by Phineas Upham, is noticed in chap. xii. note 39.

Hannah Cook died October 3, 1789, and Israel Cook, January 14 [or 20], 1790, after which John Haskins, a nephew of Israel Cook and the husband of Hannah Upham, a daughter of Hannah Cook by her first husband, appears as the owner of the Upham house. Here his daughter, Sarah Inman, occupying a portion of the house in 1792, continued the business of Israel Cook with a stock valued at eighteen

pounds, "the profits of which Stock in trade," she wrote, "with my other Labour neets me a Comfortable Suport." The old house passed into the possession of Ezra Vinton in 1811 and continued in his family until 1870, when it was sold at auction and torn down. A small field near by, still known as "the potash pasture," recalls the manufacture of that useful product of the fallen forests by Israel Cook, in connection with his other business. *Melrose Journal*, September 27, 1873.



CHAPTER XX.

MILITARY AFFAIRS AND THE FRENCH NEUTRALS, 1690-1775.

IN a former chapter we have followed the military affairs of the town to the beginning of the provincial period. In the numerous alarms and expeditions which followed, at intervals, the men of Malden bore their part; and the forests of the western frontiers or the bleak and inhospitable shores of Acadie and Cape Breton witnessed their toils and privations or their heroic deaths.

In 1690 Lieutenant Joseph Wilson was nominated and chosen a captain in the unfortunate expedition of Sir William Phips,¹ which sailed from Boston in August, and after a fruitless demonstration before Quebec, and a disastrous voyage on its return, resulted in loss and distress. This expedition was the immediate cause of the first issue of a paper currency, which under the name of bills of credit and their varieties of old and new tenor, cursed the Colony for more than two generations.²

¹ *Mass. Archives*, xxxvi. 135, 170.

iv. 58. Felt, *Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency*, 49 *et seq.*

² Palfrey, *History of New England*,

The peace of Ryswick, which followed the ten years' war of King William, was soon broken in America by the war with the French and Indians, which is known as Queen Anne's War, during which for another ten years the people of the New England provinces were continually disturbed by calls to military service. Agriculture declined, the usual vocations of life were neglected, and discouragement and general depression prevailed. Little is known of the part which Malden performed in this disastrous and troublesome war. Edmund Chamberlain, who was born six weeks after his brother and namesake, Edmund, fell at the great Swamp Fight in Philip's War, was in the company of Captain Abercrombie in the expedition which, in 1710, wrested Port Royal from the French and gave the province of Nova Scotia to the British crown. Returning to Malden he soon died and his widow, like many other hapless women, remained. Her rates were forgiven by a vote of the town, December 7, 1711; and in the meantime she had been the object of legislative action. The following letter is characteristic of the time: —

malden y^e 7 of June 1711

Sr: Aftar my saruic presented to your self: These may infrm you: That: we haue a poore woman liueth jn our Town: whose name js margret Chaimberlin:: her husband hauing ben sent To port: royal upon y^e late expedition: and came hom: again aliue: Tho uery weakly: and soon dyed Aftar his return:: now Sr: y^e Cause js thus this woman neuer Resaiued her husbands wages: Tho she might haue had jt: jf she would Administer on her husbands estate:: but the estate beeing so uery little and y^e charg would be Great she dare not doe jt:

This pore woman hauing discour'd with m^r James Taylor The Tresurer about this mattar: he said to her jf she would desier y^e help of y^e Representitiue of her town which was my self: and jf when y^e Generall Cort sate: J would come to him: he would go with me to the honord m^r Addington: he did not queten but make it bare y^t this pore wooman might haue her money This was befor y^e last sessions y^e last year: but y^t sessions begun and ended jn 4 days: And now jt has plesd god To lay his hand on me y^t J am still so weake J darnot go out of my dors:

now Sr: you understand this mattar as well as my self and jf you please to be a frend to her as J question not but you are: and discours with

m^r Tayler : about y^e mattar J hope your saruic will be well exepted jn
y^e sight of all which is y^e desier of your frend

JOHN GREENLAND.

for: Cap^t. John burrel of lyn:

Edm^d : Chamberlain under Cap^t Abercrombie 2 : o. 7: in y^e Roll.

In the House of Representatives June 12 : 1711.

Ordered That the wages due to Edmund Chamberlain upon Capt Abercrombies Roll, be paid Margret Chamberlain widow, relict, of the s^d. Edmund Chamberlain.

Sent up for Concurrence

JOHN BURRILL *Speaker*.

In Council *die prædicto* Consented to

SAMUEL SEWELL *p^r Order*.³

The name of James Hovey of Malden is on a "Roll of English Prisoners in the hands of the French and Indians at Canada,"⁴ which was brought by the messengers of the French Governor Vaudreuil in the winter of 1719¹; and it seems probable that he was taken in the year 1707.

The treaty of Utrecht, which closed the war in 1713, though not creditable to the English government in all respects, gave peace to the harassed inhabitants of New England, until the breaking out of Father Rasle's War by the burning of Brunswick and other depredations of the Indians in Maine. This war, which lasted four years [1722-1726], was prosecuted on the English side by volunteers, whose principal incentive was the bounty which the government offered for Indian scalps. There is no record of Malden men in this war, though some of the more uneasy may have found their way to the frontiers.

Peace ensued for nearly twenty years, during which time the people of Massachusetts were troubled by the small-pox, the paper currency, and a quarrel with their governor, Jonathan Belcher, which had begun during the term of the preceding governor, William Burnet. This quarrel arose from the question of a fixed salary for the representative of the king, which the General Court refused on the ground that "settling a salary would deprive the people of their rights as Englishmen."⁵ The home government instructed Governor Belcher to insist

³ *Mass. Archives*, lxxi. 785.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 369, 765.

⁵ Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts-Bay*, ii. 376.

upon the measure, declaring that the Massachusetts representatives "for some years last past, have attempted by unwarrantable practices to weaken if not cast off the obedience they owe to the crown and the dependence which all colonies ought to have on their mother country."⁶ At the same time the House claimed a right to audit public charges, which was stoutly resisted by the Governor, and on these issues the people were aroused. In the midst of these controversies the town of Malden held a special meeting, at which the only business transacted was the passage of the following vote: —

[September 15, 1731.] *vot.* that y^e Town will stand for there priviledges according to y^e charter.

A like spirit animated the whole province, and the representatives, supported by the country, firmly maintained their position. In the end the Governor was pleased to receive his annual grants in the form which the Province might allow, and they were not illiberal when the principle was fixed; but after the treasury had lain empty two years, the claim of the House to audit charges was disallowed and the representatives acquiesced in their own defeat.⁷ In such ways did the rising spirit of liberty assert itself and foreshow the events of later years.

The breaking out of the Old French War in 1744 introduced a new era of arms and arrested in a measure the growing opposition to the established government. This war, which was European in its causes, was opened in America by the destruction of the English fishing and trading station at Canseau, and was signalized by the reduction of the strongly fortified town of Louisburg by the farmers, the fishermen, and the artisans of New England in an expedition which was planned by a lawyer and led by a merchant.

The expedition against Cape Breton, under William Pepperrell, sailed from Boston, March 24, 1745; but it was the last day of April when the hundred vessels of New England

⁶ Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts-Bay*, ii. 372.

⁷ The rise and progress of the troubles between the governors and the repre-

sentatives may be studied to advantage in Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts-Bay*, ii. 332 *et seq.*; and Palfrey, *History of New England*, iv. 497-549.

entered the Bay of Chapeaurouge — the Gabarus Bay of the provincials — and the fortress was invested. The siege continued through forty-nine toilsome and weary days, and was ended by the capitulation of the town on the seventeenth of June, a day which, thirty years later, was rendered doubly memorable by the sons of those who fought at Louisburg. The hearts of the sturdy men of New England sank within them when, as they entered the town, they beheld the strength of its fortifications and realized the greatness of the victory which they had won. I have no knowledge of those who returned to their Malden homes; but the town records furnish a list of those who remained upon the field of their glory, "All of them Deceased in the year 1745 in and after the Seage when Cap brittan was taken by the Newengland forces."⁸ They were: —

JOSIAH HOVEY, an apprentice to Solomon Townsend.

JOHN NICHOLS, son of Nathaniel and Sarah, and husband of Agnes.

SAMUEL NICHOLS, son of Nathaniel and Sarah, and husband of Jemima.

JOHN STOWER, son of John and Sarah, ae. 24.

NATHAN STOWER, son of Samuel and Abigail, ae. 25.

JONATHAN SWEETSER, son of John and Martha, ae. 18.

EBENEZER WAYTE, son of Thomas and Deborah.

BENJAMIN WHEELER, an apprentice to Jacob Parker.

JOEL WHITTEMORE, son of James and Mary, ae. 23.

The next year an expedition projected against Canada caused a gathering of troops on the seaboard, of which about thirty-five hundred men were raised in Massachusetts. A vote taken in the General Court at this time relates to the disposition of a portion of them.

Mercurii 6. Die Augusti, A.D. 1746.

This House being informed that the Soldiers now arrived in Town from York may be subsisted at Malden at five Shillings per Week :

*Voted, That Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Foster, wait upon his Excellency the Governour, and acquaint him the House desire he would be pleased to give Orders that such Soldiers as are now in Town may be forthwith sent to said Town of Malden.*⁹

⁸ I have corrected the erroneous date of the records. The entry reads, "in the year 1735," and was evidently not made in the regular course, but long after the time to which it refers.

⁹ *Journal House of Reps., in loco.*

At the close of the war the roll of a troop of horse under Captain Caleb Brooks of Charlestown [at Mystic Pond] shows a list of men drawn mostly from the towns of Stoneham, Medford, and Malden. From the latter we may distinguish the names of William Pratt, Jr., Samuel Shute, John Harnden, Ezekiel Jenkins, Nathaniel Jenkins, Joseph Waite, Solomon Shute, Phineas Sprague, Samuel Upham, John Nichols, Stephen Paine, Benjamin Sprague, Joses Bucknam, and Samuel Green. Perhaps Cornet Ebenezer Harden [Harnden?], Corporal Thomas Lynde, and Trumpeter William Pratt, with several privates, who cannot be distinguished from their namesakes in the adjoining towns, may also have been of Malden.¹⁰

The wretched peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which restored Cape Breton to the French, was ratified in the fall of 1748. It was a cause of vexation and disappointment to the people of Massachusetts, who found themselves burdened with a large public debt, while the results for which they had labored were cast away when fairly won, and their hopes of a permanent peace upon the eastern frontiers were destroyed.¹¹ Yet though the results of the war were temporarily lost, it was productive of great and far-reaching consequences. The provincials had won their first great victory. They began to rely less upon the mother country, and the seed which bore fruit in the Revolution began to be sown. This war and that which soon followed were the nurseries of a race of soldiers who were to sever the British empire; and from thenceforth the people

¹⁰ *Mass. Archives*, xcii. 37.

¹¹ A leading result of the heavy expense which had been borne by the Province was a rate of taxation on polls and real estate, which was considered, not without reason, to be oppressive. To lighten the burden, an excise on spirits was proposed, which was generally advocated by the interior towns and opposed by those upon the seaboard. An unpopular feature of the bill was that which gave officers authority to enter and search dwelling houses on suspicion. The governor refused to sign the bill in its original form; and as but a small majority was in its favor, the Gen-

eral Court adopted the unusual course of sending it to the towns for their opinion. The result was so doubtful, in the divided state of public feeling, that the Court was obliged to take the responsibility; and the bill was passed, with some alterations, and signed by Governor Shirley.

The opinion of Malden was expressed in the following vote:—

"[May 13, 1754.] The question was put whether the town apprehend the excise bill on spiritous liquors lately passed by both houses be an equitabill and beneficial to the province. and it past in the affirmative."

began to be acquainted with the theory and practice of arms. Moreover, a spirit of ardent patriotism, which had at times broken out in flashes rather than in gleams of steady light, began to illumine the military ardor which pervaded the land. In the movements which then began the men of Malden were still found with their fellows, and their services and lives were freely offered wherever duty or danger called.

The brief interval of peace was distinguished by the retirement of the paper currency, which had been a bane to the Province for sixty years,¹² and the resumption of specie payments; and it was broken in 1754 by depredations of the Indians and the encroachments of the French upon the eastern and western frontiers. An expedition which was futile in its results, though costly, was planned by Governor Shirley and sent against the enemy on the Kennebec in the summer of this year. For this service six companies, with an aggregate of eight hundred men, were raised and placed under the command of Captain John Winslow, who received a commission as major-general. A conference with the Indians at Falmouth, the establishment of two forts which were useless in the succeeding operations either as a defence or for aggressive purposes, and a fruitless march into the forests beyond the Kennebec were effected with little danger, and the expedition returned to Boston. In this service the following Malden men were engaged: In the company of Captain William Pierce of Stow were Corporal John Martin, Drummer Jabez Howard, and centinels [privates] Christopher Forbes and William Pratt;¹³ and with Captain Joseph Wilson of Boston were centinels Ebenezer Tarbox and Samuel Wheeler.¹⁴

Early in the ensuing year an expedition was proposed in which the regular troops then in Nova Scotia and a contingent

¹² Cf. Felt, *Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency*, 118 *et seq.* Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts-Bay*, ii. 435 *et seq.* The numerous digressions on the subject of the currency in Douglass, *Summary, Historical and Political*, may be read with amusement not unmingled with profit. Paper currency,

which he styles "a fallacious and designed cheat," never failed to rouse the sarcastic doctor's deepest ire.

¹³ *Mass. Archives*, xciii. 132. Dr. Ebenezer Marrow of Medford was first lieutenant of this company.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 134.

from New England were to operate against the French forts at Beau Séjour and upon the St. John's River. The provincial troops, who were volunteers and mostly from Massachusetts, consisted of two thousand men and were formed into a regiment of which Governor Shirley was the nominal commander. Its two battalions were under Lieutenant-Colonels John Winslow and George Scott, the former having the immediate command of the whole. They sailed from Boston, May 20, and arrived at Annapolis Basin five days later. Here they were joined by a force of two hundred and seventy regulars under Colonel Robert Monckton, to whom was given the chief command. The expedition was successful at all points; and the French were driven from the province of Nova Scotia into Cape Breton, where a strong force had reoccupied the fortifications of Louisburg. In the returns of the regiment thus "raised for removing the French Incroachments From his Majesty's Government of Nova Scotia," the names of the following men, natives or residents of Malden, are preserved.¹⁵

Major Benjamin Goldthwait's Company.

William Pratt	Corporal	ae 37	born Malden	res. Malden	Cordwainer
John Martin	"	33	Plymouth [Eng]	"	Weaver
Nathan Cursens	Private	26	Malden	"	Cordwainer
Christopher Forbes	"	21	Boston	"	Laborer
[Forbes]					
Ebenezer Foster	"	18	"	"	Cordwainer
David Howard	"	17	Malden	"	Weaver
Benjamin Hallowell	"	18	Holliston	"	Blacksmith
Samuel Wheeler	"	21	Malden	"	Cordwainer
John Writeson	"	45	Dartmouth	"	Reedmaker
[Richardson]					

Captain Thomas Speakman's Company.

Daniel Floyd	Private	26	Malden	Malden	Laborer
John Coleman	"	24	"	"	Cordwainer

Captain Abijah Willard's Company.

Isaac Day	Private	17	Malden	Harvard	Cooper
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Major William Bourn's Company.

Stephen Payne	Private	42	Malden	Cambridge	Housewright
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The departure of the French forces from Nova Scotia left a population of several thousand inhabitants, who, while they

¹⁵ Winslow, *Journal*, 1755-56; i. 28 *et seq.*, in the library of the Mass. Historical So.

were French by birth and of the Roman Catholic religion, affected a neutrality between the conflicting powers. They had been allowed to assume this condition after the reduction of the Province in the reign of Queen Anne, and had observed or neglected its obligations as honor, self-interest, or inclination prevailed. Nearly, if not quite, exempt from taxation and retaining their own language and religion, they had prospered by industry and the influence of their simple manners; and their farms and scattered villages were the abodes of a thriving and contented people. Nevertheless, their sympathies were with the French, and their intercourse with the Indians was constant. Cases were not unknown in which material or timely aid had been rendered the enemy in time of war. Fifteen hundred men had been found in arms at the fort upon the Gaspereaux;¹⁶ and "it was the general opinion, that, if an attempt should be made by the French to recover the province of Nova Scotia, the whole body of the Acadians, some from inclination, others from compulsion, would join in the attempt."¹⁷

Under the circumstances it was determined to remove the people from the Province and disperse them among the English colonies; and the execution of this design was intrusted to Colonel Winslow and the forces of New England. The unfortunate Acadians were gathered together by an ambiguous proclamation and surprised without a chance of resistance or hunted into the woods. Their houses and barns were burned, their crops destroyed, and their herds and flocks wantonly slaughtered or left without care and shelter. The rigors of winter, privations, and poverty, with the separation of friends, sickness, and death, followed that which man had done unto this afflicted people; and the story of the French Neutrals in romance and verse has excited the sympathy and moved the tears or anger of the world. Nevertheless, the verdict of history sustains the measure as one of necessity in the settlement of

¹⁶ Haliburton, *Historical and Statistical Account of Nova-Scotia*, i. 168.

¹⁷ Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts-Bay*, iii. 39.

a great and important question, while it deplores the suffering which followed its execution.¹⁸

In the process of removal and distribution, about a thousand of the hapless French were landed upon the shores of Massachusetts Bay. Alien, both in language and religion, and lacking the necessities of life and means to procure them, they were thrown upon the mercies of a people who were not over-merciful even to their own poor, in an inclement season, and under circumstances which deserved pity even if sympathy were denied. One of them, speaking of his own case, said, "it was the hardest which had happened since our Savior was upon earth."¹⁹

It was late in 1755 when the vessels crowded with the despairing and heart-sick Neutrals arrived at Boston. The General Court was sitting; and after several days' delay, a resolve was passed distributing them among the several interior towns, and a law was made by which they practically became common paupers. Hutchinson says, "Many of them went through great hardships, but in general they were treated with humanity."²⁰ That they were housed and fed is true, and some of the more elderly and those who had previously enjoyed superior circumstances received, by the favor of the authorities, support without enforced labor; but the general tone of the records, in which they receive a scanty notice, and the petitions which they made show a condition of things which was neither honorable to the charity of the Massachusetts towns nor pleasant at this day to contemplate. They were everywhere considered a burden which it was desirable to shift upon some other town;

¹⁸ Mrs. Williams in her novel, *The Neutral French* (1841), Longfellow in *Evangeline* (1847), and other writers gave a direction to popular opinion which has not been adopted by the historians. Many writers have explained, with more or less fulness, the reasons and have related the effects of the expulsion. The story can be followed with advantage in Haliburton, *History of Nova Scotia*; Hannay, *History of Acadia*; and Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*. The MS. *Journal of Winslow* is in the

library of the Mass. Historical So., and is printed in *Nova Scotia Hist. So. Coll.*, iii. Richard, a descendant of the Acadians, in *Acadia, Missing Links of a Lost Chapter*, dissents from the views of Parkman and others, and his book, though needlessly severe, is worthy of notice for the light which it throws upon a transaction which may never be fully understood.

¹⁹ Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts-Bay*, iii. 40.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 41.

for though the Province reimbursed the towns to a certain extent, there were extraordinary expenses and a good deal of trouble, which were things of importance to the vigilant town officers of the last century.

Among those who were cast upon the mercies of the Malden selectmen, we may recognize in the distorted names which have come down to us, Jean Deshon [Deschamps?] and his wife; Pierre and Eleanor Tibodo, with their five children; and Germain Tibodo with his wife Madeleine. There was also "another french woman." Two of the women were sick, one with a fever, and required the attention of Dr. Simon Tufts of Medford, whose bill for two pounds, seven shillings, and eight-pence, was among the items which the town charged to the Province. The sick women were cared for by Stephen Tufts, who seems to have had an asylum for the poor at his farm on the west side of the North River, near Sandy Bank, where he kept the Widow Zibiah Sherman in 1764. Jean Deshon and wife, with the other 'french woman' were apparently sent to Stoneham in the spring and troubled Malden no more. Pierre Tibodo died, July 24, 1756; and his widow presented the following petition to the General Court soon after.

To his Excellency the Governour, etc.

The Petition of Eleanor Tibaudeau formerly an Inhabitant of Nova Scotia *humbly sheweth*: That your Petitioner with her Husband and Family was plac'd by the Government at a Town called Malden where she now continues to dwell:

That her Husband died about four Weeks since leaving her a disconsolate Widow with five small Children the youngest an Infant in her arms and the eldest but twelve years old, so that she was intirely destitute of help in her afflicted Condition:

That her Niece, a young Woman grown, hearing of her lonely Circumstances, came to her from Dorchester, and is willing to tarry with her, which would be very much to her Comfort, and assistance in a Strange Land, where all are strangers around her, except her poor, forsaken, fatherless Babes, but the Select men of the Town will not suffer it alledged that it will be a new Charge brought upon them:

Your Petitioner therefore prays that your Excellency and Honours would so far compassionate the Widow and Fatherless, as to cause that

she may not be denied the Small Request she makes of having her Niece to live with her :

and your Petitioner shall ever Pray

The Mark X of ELEANOR TIBAUEAU ²¹ Boston Aug^t: 23^d: 1756.

To the honor of the Court it may be said that the prayer of the poor woman was allowed and approved by Governor Shirley. In the fall and winter of 1756 the town was at the "Charge of Soporting nine French," who "By Reason of their Being Sick was Devided into Two families which augmented the Charges of house Rent and firing and other Charges for there Sickness." ²² Of these, Germain Tibodo was consumptive and six of the nine were children, the eldest of whom was not over twelve years old. There were two others, a nurse and Catherine Preshon, the latter living in a hired house with her sister, "the sick french woman," Madeleine Tibodo. It is not altogether clear that this young woman was not the niece mentioned in the petition of Eleanor Tibodo. It appears that she came to Malden for the purpose of nursing her sister and she was then about twenty-six years of age. She is referred to as "that person [who] hath ben here Six or 7 months Came from Dorchester named Caty Presher." ²³ Others were apparently put to service and so the town and Province were saved from expense. There was a "french Woman at Cap^t [Ebenezer] Harn-den's," and a "french Boy at [Isaac] Wheeler's." ²⁴ The charges of the town from August 17, 1756, to March 15, 1757, were fifty-one pounds and threepence, of which amount five shillings and eightpence were for "Rum Sugar and Biskit." From this claim, which was presented to the Province, the amount of thirteen pounds, being one-third of that paid for board, was deducted; ²⁵ but it was afterwards allowed on the following petition of the town representative: —

To the Honourable his majestys Council of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay sitting at Boston April 20th 1757.

The Memorial of Benjamin Hills in behalf of the Selectmen of Malden

²¹ *Mass. Archives*, xxiii. 187.

²² *Ibid.*, 370.

²³ *Ibid.*, 370.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 543.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 370.

Humbly Sheweth That whereas the said Selectmen have Exhibited an account of their Cost and Charge for the Support of a family of French people Destined in Said Town at three Shillings per week for each person: and they are informed that your Hon^{rs} have reduced the said Sum to two Shillings per week. Now your Memorialist begs leave to inform your Hon^{rs} that the said family Consists of one man and three women and seven [six] Children two of which are Infants the man is a Consumptive man and not able to do any thing (Considerable) for his Support and the rest are very Sickly and weakly and necessarily obliged the said Selectmen to be at Cost of three shillings per week as aforesaid for victuals, Drink, house, wood and Candles Your Mem^t therefore Humbly prays That your Hon^{rs} would be pleas to Reconsider the Case and allow the said Town to Draw out of the Publick Treasury the full Sum as is mentioned in the said account or otherwise as your Hon^{rs} in your great wisdom shall think fit & proper and your Memo^e as in Duty bound shall ever pray

BENJA HILLS.²⁶

Having succeeded so well in recovering the third shilling, the selectmen, who, whatever their private feelings may have been, were evidently inclined to save the last penny for the town, petitioned the Court still further, as follows: —

Province of the Massachusetts Bay. . . . *To His Excellency Thomas Pownall, Esq^r.: etc. in General Court assemble the 23^d Day of Nov^r. 1757.* The Memorial of the Selectmen of Malden in the County of Middlesex in said County *Humbly Sheweth* That your memorialists had by order of a Committee of this Court Eleven of the French, lately Inhabitants of Nova Scosua sent to them viz^t being two families one family, a widow with five young Children and a Single Woman the Other a man of Jll helth sick the Most of his time with a wife and child also a single woman that is Now Sick and hath been for Some times. When they Came To the Town of Malden they were Very pooly on it for Clothing and household furniture and we belive the most unable to help themselves as any family in the Province Your Memorialists further shew that the Town of Malden is so Situated that the Necesseries of Life viz^t firewood house rent and provisions are much Dearer there then in the Towns that are further in the Country and for that reason the Charge of Supporting said French riseis to a greator sum for the Province to pay then need be if they were removed to some Town where wood and provisions are plentiful and as there are many Towns in the province which have none

²⁶ *Mass. Archives*, xxiii. 392.

Your Memorialists Humbly pray that the whole or part of the said French may be removed to some other Town And Your Memorialists as in Duty bound shall Ever Pray

JOSEPH LYND	}	<i>Selectmen of Malden</i> ²⁷
JOHN DEXTER		
EBEN ^R HARNDEN		
EZRA GREEN		

I know of no action upon this petition, and the unreasonable French lived on in their enforced dependence in spite of the selectmen. They ate pork at three shillings and fourpence the pound and beans at thirty-five shillings and forty shillings the bushel. Nor were they content with these simple articles of diet and the added items of rye at twenty-eight shillings and indian corn at twenty-four shillings the bushel; but eleven persons, including the young children, consumed, in three months, "one Bushel of Pettaters @ 3/-."²⁸ During the next year they ate five bushels and half a "pect" of "pertates;" and strangely enough were weak and sickly — pining for their own homes and the religion of their fathers. They were a simple, honest folk, in whom the love of kindred and a yearning after old associations were strong; and their weaknesses and pains were the visible signs of a heart-sickness which the bleedings and purgings of Dr. Marrow and Dr. Tufts could never reach.

In 1759 the French colony in Malden still consisted of two families; and the town claimed of the Province for bills paid "Isaac Wheeler for house Reant for Jeriamiah Debuto and his famiely to Live in," and Thomas Burditt for house rent for "the wido Debuto and her famiely." The bill for the year ending March 6, 1759, was for forty-five pounds, eight shillings, and sevenpence; but it was reduced to forty-two pounds and eight shillings by the Province. At this time the selectmen again endeavored to obtain the removal of a portion of the burden; and their relation of the "Surckcormstances" is contained in the following paper: —

[March 6, 1759.] To the Hono^d Committ of the french Nutorles: The may Inforem you Jentelmen: as to the Surckcormstances of the

²⁷ *Mass. Archives*, xxiii. 531.

apparent high prices were based on

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 600, 631, xxiv. 154. The values in old tenor currency.

french Nutorls in Malden That are put theire by order: as to Iermiah Debuto and wife and two young Children: the oldest of them is about three years old: the man is often alding and not abale to mantan his famile: his wife is analding women: They ware both of them Sick Last Spring of the year almost two monthes: and under the Doctors hands: it cost the Select men Two Shillings and Eight pence per week for a french women to be with Them whilst they ware Sick

as to the wido Debuto and five Children: the oldest is about fifteen years old: The next about nine years old The next about Six or seven years old: The next oldest is about five years old and the youngest Child is about three years old: and it is a much or more then the women can Do to find her Self and Children In Close: The garl that is nine year old is a wekely garl: so that we are abliged to find them all they want Excpting Close Their is but one amongst the french that is put to Malden that is able To mentain them Selves: and that is the widow Debuto^s Son that is about fifteen years old: we have twelve of the french Nutrels in Malden: two: of Them was not put their by order: a women Caled Catan pershon She came from Dogester: and a boy about Six years old caled gredle Debuto: that Jerimiah Debuto brought from Boston last Somer and he will keep them both in his famiely we are not at any charge for the women: we have more of the french Nutrels: in Malden then is our perposhon by one half: according to other towns: Their is the town of Reading which is as Beg as two of Malden: that has but about thirteen of the french and Medford has about five of the french: and Charlestown has not one of the french nutrels: we Should be glad to have apart of them moved to Sum other town: Their is the wido Debuto and her four [five] Children we Should be glad to have moved out of Said town

EDWARD WAIT	} <i>Select men of Malden.</i> ²⁹
SAM ^{LL} GREEN	
SAMUEL GROUER	
EDWARD SPRAGUE	
BENJ ^A SPRAGUE.	

The next year the town charge for thirteen persons amounted to fifty pounds and ten shillings, of which three pounds were for house rent for the two families, and thirty shillings for "tending & nursing Catherine Pershen when sick."³⁰ Soon after the family of the widow Tibodo was transported to Boston and Eleanor Tibodo disappears, unless she may be

²⁹ *Mass. Archives*, xxiv. 156.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 200

found under the name of "La veuve aintoine thibodot 7 de sa famielle " in a list made in 1765, which begins: "*Voilas la listes de tout ceux qui vieulle passe au Colonis franses ainsis Signe.*"³¹

After this the burden was somewhat lighter. In April, 1761, seven Neutrals remained in the town. They were Germain Tibodo, aged twenty-six years,* with his wife Madeleine, aged twenty-four years, and their children, Marie and Isaac, aged two and one-half years and one year, respectively. With them were the boy, Gregoire Tibodo, aged seven years, and the single woman "from Dogester," Catherine Preshon, aged thirty years. Paul Miers, aged nine years, son of Francois and Jeanne Miers, who were detained at Reading, was with the Tibodos or at service. If the homely English name of Isaac had been given to the Tibodo baby in kindly remembrance of Isaac Wheeler, in whose house they lived, it shows that the foreigners were not wholly outside of the circle of human sympathy.

Little more is known of the French in Malden. "Jermain Tibodot & Madeliche" were on a list of the French who desired to go to France in August, 1763, where they appear with three sons and three daughters. If they were of the Malden family they had doubtless taken others under their protection, as they did the boy, Gregoire. Whether they went to France or to Canada with others of their brethren, I know not. Their feet last pressed our soil at the river's side; and as the clumsy boat of Aaron Bucknam passed Beacham's Point or White Island they left behind the fields of Malden and disappeared from her history forever. Only this remains concerning their departure: —

To Cap^t Ebenezer Harnden town treasurer you are desired to pay unto Aaron Bucknam twelve shillings and eight pence out of the town Stock in your hands in full for his transporting the french people from hence to Boston in the year 1760. And again in the year 1764 for his carrying goods down to the water side and boat[ing] them and the French people to Boston Dated in Maldon the 25 day of march 1765 By order of the Select men:

JOHN SHUTE town Clerk³²

³¹ *Mass. Archives*, xxiv. 514.

³² *Malden Town Records*, in loco.

"Ever since I have been Governor of this Province," wrote Governor Bernard in 1766, "I have had great compassion for this people, as everyone must who has considered that it was by the exigencies of War rather than any fault of their own that they were removed from a State of ease and affluence and brought into poverty and dependence."³³

During and after the operations in Nova Scotia in 1755, troops, consisting for the most part of Massachusetts men, were engaged in enterprises beyond the Hudson. A portion under Governor Shirley was directed against the French fort at Niagara and failed from unfavorable weather and lack of men. The other and larger detachment, under General William Johnson and General Phineas Lyman, was designed to attack the enemy at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, but was thrown upon the defensive by Dieskau and was productive of no great results. In 1756 a new expedition against Canada by way of Crown Point and the lakes was set on foot; and Colonel Winslow, who was recalled from Nova Scotia, was placed in command of the provincial troops; but the campaign was unfortunate in every direction. Oswego was taken by the French; and the small-pox, breaking out in the English army, destroyed more men than the arms of the enemy.

The operations of 1757 tended as little as those of the preceding year to advance the British cause in America. Early in the year enlistments were made for a third attempt upon Canada;³⁴ but it was delayed in consequence of a proposed attack upon Louisburg, which was finally relinquished. A portion of the Massachusetts levy, under Colonel Joseph Frye, proceeded to the lakes and formed a part of the garrison of Fort William Henry when it was attacked by Montcalm in August. The subsequent fall of the fort and the massacre which followed are matters of history. Here fell Lieutenant Simon Wade of Malden. The fears of General Webb, who lay at Fort

³³ *Mass. Archives*, xxiv. 560.

³⁴ At the annual meeting, March 7, 1757, it was voted:—"That the town will allow to those persons that may be sent for by authority and draw'd out by

the Commision officers to go upon any expedition against the enemy this year ten pounds per man." Edward Waite, Timothy Sprague, and John Wilson entered their "discent" against this vote.

Edward and might have prevented the disaster, magnified the danger; and a general alarm was sounded through the Province. The several regiments were put upon the march, but were stayed after a few days by the receipt of more reliable information. A company under Captain Michael Brigden of Charlestown, in which may be found the names of ten Malden men, then marched from Cambridge to Worcester.

New England took no part in the final reduction of Louisburg by General Amherst and Admiral Boscawen in 1758; but all its energies were directed against the enemy at the westward. Massachusetts raised seven thousand men, of whom forty-five hundred were from voluntary enlistments and twenty-five hundred were drafted from the militia; but the expedition under General Abercrombie failed of success; and the largest European army which had yet been gathered in America was repulsed before Ticonderoga, with the loss of nearly two thousand men. The loss of men and the large expenditure of money were heavy burdens to the provinces; but the success of Colonel Bradstreet in the surprise of Cadariqui, or Fort Frontenac, now Kingston, on Lake Ontario, raised the hopes of the people and incited the authorities to further exertions.

Sixty-eight hundred men were raised by Massachusetts in the following year for the several expeditions against the enemy and for garrison duty at Louisburg and in Nova Scotia. The frontier posts of Niagara, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point fell into the hands of the English; and an attack upon Quebec, in which the opposing generals, Wolfe and Montcalm, were killed, was followed by the surrender of that capital city of the French power in America. In the spring of 1760 the efforts to dislodge the enemy in Canada were renewed; and on the eighth day of September in that year the surrender of Montreal by Vaudreuil included the capitulation of all Canada, which has ever since remained a part of the British empire. Thereafter, until the Peace of Paris in 1763, enlistments were made in the provinces for garrison duty in the conquered country; but no active military operations took place.

In the expeditions and operations, which have been briefly

mentioned, the soldiers of Malden participated in various organizations. From rolls and records and other scattered sources of information has been gathered the following list, which, though imperfect as it must be, is honorable to the town and worthy of preservation.

SOLDIERS IN THE FRENCH WAR.³⁵

BARNES, THOMAS, son of William; private with Capt. Moses Hart of Lynn, March–December, 1762.

BARNES, WILLIAM, private with Capt. Moses Hart, March–December, 1762.

BATTS, JOHN, apprentice of Phineas Sprague; marched to Worcester with other Malden men under Capt. Michael Brigden on the Fort William Henry Alarm, August, 1757; private with Capt. Thomas Cheever at Fort Cumberland in Nova Scotia, March 31, 1759–November, 1760.

BLANCHARD, EBENEZER, with Capt. Michael Brigden on the Fort William Henry Alarm, August, 1757.

BREEDEN, JOHN, born in Malden, but then of Chelsea or Lynn, aged 22, a matross in Col. Richard Gridley's artillery, May, 1756; is on a roll of Capt. William Flint's company, in Col. Plaisted's regiment, in camp at Fort Edward, July 26, 1756, as having deserted from Brookfield; and again on a roll of Gridley's artillery, February, 1757, as being dead. His father, Samuel Breeden of Malden petitioned, April 12, 1757, shewing, "That Iohn Breden jun^r. the son of your Petitioner was a Soldier in the Expedition against Crown Point in the year 1756 in the Company of Capt. Edward Burbank in Col. Gridley's Regiment and as he the said John was Returning home he Died at Plymouth in his Passage from Albany to Boston."³⁶ The following petition explains the report of desertion.

³⁵ This list does not include the names of those who served in the expedition to Acadie in 1755, unless they were in service in later campaigns. Those who have been already mentioned are starred (*). The period of service

is given as nearly as circumstances will allow, and it sometimes represents that of the company rather than that of the individual.

³⁶ *Mass. Archives*, lxxvi. 674.

[April 14, 1757] The Petition of Elisabeth Breeden of Malden *Humbly Sheweth* That your Petitioners Husband John Breeden was Impressed and sent into the Expedition against Crown Point in the last Summer and was taken sick at Brookfield on his Journey and obliged to return home to Lynn and lay sick a Considerable time and your Petitioner paid to Doct^r Henschman for visits and medicines administered to the said sick thirteen shillings and four pence — and the said John on his recovery (as he thought it his Duty) he went to Fort Edward and took his place in the Army and there was taken sick and Died — and that after his Decease his Gun was Returned into the Fort by Lieu^t Eleazer Lindsey: and four pounds hath been Deducted out of the wages of the said Deceased for the said Gun Your Petit^r Therefore most humbly prays that she may be allowed to receive four pounds out of the Treasury as also the s^d Thirteen shill^s & four pence or otherwise releive your Petit^r and as in duty bound shall Ever pray

ELLESEBETH BREDEN.

In the House of Rep^{ts} April 22, 1757.

Ordered That the Treasurer pay to M^r Benjamin Hills for the use of the Petitioner the full wages of y^e said John Breeden his Arms not being returned notwithstanding. [*Passed both branches and approved by the Governor.*]⁸⁷

BREEDEN, JOSEPH, brother of the preceding, aged 26, was in the company of Capt. Moses Hart in Nova Scotia in 1762. The General Court allowed three pounds and two shillings on the following petition:—

[December, 1763.] The Memorial and Petition of Joseph Breeden of Molden in the County of Middlesex Laborer, *Humbly Shews*, that he was a Soldier in the Service of said Province in the Year 1762 Under the Command of Cap^t Heart at Nova Scotia, and was Regularly Discharged and Returned for New England, and in his Return he was Taken Sick With a Violent Feavor, while he was at sea That he arived at Salam sometime in November the Same Year, That His Father Samuel Bredeen Came to Salem and helped him home, That he was Extreem bad for about four Weeks at a Great Cost and for more then Eight weeks more Unable to help him Self to any Support, That his Extriordinary Costs was £5. 9 : 4. that he is Unable to pay the same, etc⁸⁸

⁸⁷ *Mass. Archives*, lxxvi. 690.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, lxxx. 401.

BROWN, JOHN, private with Capt. Ebenezer Marrow of Medford,²⁹ March–November, 1758.

³⁹ It is to be regretted that so active a man as Dr. Ebenezer Marrow, who served as a commissioned officer in at least three campaigns and was a practising physician in Medford, should have been entirely overlooked by the two historians of that town. A neighborly feeling prompts me to admit him here.

He appears as a lieutenant in the regiment of Colonel John Winslow, "for the defence of the Eastern Frontiers," April 23–November, 1754, in the expedition which established Forts Halifax and Western upon the Kennebec. *Mass. Archives*, xciii. 132. The next year he was again serving as lieutenant under Winslow, in the campaign which resulted in the removal of the Neutrals. He was at Beau Séjour, July 2, "under Indisposition of Body," and was granted leave to return to New England; but he returned to duty at Fort Cumberland, August 19. Winslow, *MS. Journal* in Mass. Hist. So. Library, 105, 186. In 1757 he was in the practice of his profession at Medford. *Mass. Archives*, xxiii. 543. His services in the campaign of 1758 are best described in the following petition.

"[May, 1764.] *Humbly sheweth*, The Petition of Ebenezer Marrow of Medford, That in the Year 1758 he went in the Expedition to the Westward as a Captⁿ in Col: Jonathan Bagley's Regiment, & was ordered to march from hence with his Company to Albany in the Month of May—

That he carried with him a Quantity of Med'cines to the Value of Twenty Pounds two Shillings & one penny lawful Money, and when he came to Albany some of the Soldiers fell Sick, & the Surgeons of the Regiments being without medicine (having put the Med'cine Chests on board a Vessell not then arriv'd) Col Bagley order'd him to deliver them what Med'cines they wanted, which he did—And, that afterwards he (your pet^r) marched to Fort Edward where he found the other Surgeons in want of Med'cine also, having the Sick & infirm of Seven Regiments left there,

some of them ill with the Small Pox: & those Surgeons not having had the Small Pox themselves, General Abercromby order'd your Petitioner to remain there with that Command, & order'd the Surgeons up to Ticonderoga with the Army—That he attended all the Sick there at said Encampment while the Army was gone to the Lake, & dressed near 300 of the wounded when they came down from the Lake; & continued in Said Service from the beginning of June to the last of November; in which Time he exhausted all his medicine (excepting a small Quantity as appears by his acct) & bought more at Albany, having Col. Bagley's Promise that he would endeavour the Province should pay him for them, & his Trouble also— That the Reason of his not petitioning y^r Hon^{rs} before the last Session was the Absence of Col Bagley, whose Assistance he very much wanted for informing your Honours of the whole Affair, nothing doubting but that your Honours were ever ready to do him Justice, as soon as he should shew the justness of his Cause, tho' at never so great a Distance of Time— He therefore at the last Session at Cambridge presented y^r Excell^y & Hon^{rs} with a Petition (of which the present One contains the Contents) w^{ch} petitⁿ passed the lower House, & was sent up for Concurrence; but before it was considered by the Council, it was unfortunately consum'd in the late Fire, so that your pet^r is under a necessity of presenting another; the which he hopes will meet with the like favourable Reception; and humbly prays that y^r Excell^y & Honours would be pleas'd to grant him such Allowance for his Medicines & extraordinary Service, as in your great Wisdom & Goodness you shall think proper & your petitioner as in Duty bound shall ever pray.

EBEN^r MARROW."

Mass. Archives, lxxx. 476.

In answer to this petition, he was allowed £21 2s. 1d. Of his after life I have no knowledge.

BUNKER, PHILIP, private, in place of Ebenezer Waite, with Capt. Moses Hart, March–December, 1762.

BURDITT, JOHN, Jr., husband of Jemima (Green); enlisted with Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, May 2, 1758, aged 35; died in service, September 23, 1758.

BURDITT, JOSEPH, private with Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, March–November, 1758.

BURDITT, SAMUEL, ensign in the company of Capt. Samuel Clarke of Braintree, September 15, 1755–January 1, 1756, service above Albany; was first-lieutenant, with Second-Lieutenant Darius Green and thirty-three non-commissioned officers and men of Malden in the company of Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, Col. Jonathan Bagley, “for the Reduction of Canada,” March–November, 1758. This company was engaged in the disastrous attack on Ticonderoga, July 8.

CHENERY, JOHN, private with Capt. Thomas Cheever, Col. Joseph Frye, in garrison at Fort Cumberland in Nova Scotia, after January 1, 1760, paid to November 25, 1760.

CLEWLY, ISAAC, private with Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, March–November, 1758.

COBURN, PATRICK, private with Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, March–November, 1758.

*COLEMAN, JOHN, aged 27, enlisted with Capt. Joseph Billings, for the expedition against Canada, before May 23, 1758.

CONERY, DANIEL, private with Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, March–November, 1758.

*COUSENS, NATHANIEL, private with Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, March–November, 1758.

EMERY, JONATHAN, drawn from Capt. John Dexter’s company, and served in the company of Capt. Thomas Cheever, Col. Richard Gridley, in the expedition against Crown Point, September 15–December 16, 1755.

EVANS, DANIEL, aged 21, laborer, born in Malden, now of Hopkinton, enlisted with Capt. William Jones, Col. Joseph Thacher, 1756.

FLOYD, EZEKIEL, son of Daniel and Margaret (Jenkins) Floyd, aged 28, enlisted with Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, May 2,

1758. A muster roll reports him as having died before October 25; but the town record makes him to have died October 28, 1758. A committee of the General Court reported an allowance of two pounds and twelve shillings on the following petition: —

[January 2, 1760.] The Petition of Margaret Floyd of Maldin in the County of Middlesex — *Humbly shews* that her Son Ezekiel Floyd enlisted into his Majesty's Service in the Year A. D. 1758. in the pay of this Province in a Company under the Command of Cap^t Marrow, of Col^o Bagley's Regiment and proceeded with the Said Company to the Westward & there faithfully performed his duty in said Company until the return of the s^d Company from the Service of the said year — That in his return home he was taken Sick of the Camp Fever or Distemper, and not able to travel on foot and sent to me the Petitioner to send him a man & Horse to assist him in getting Home — That your Petitioner accordingly Sent Ezekiel Jenkins with a Horse to his Assistance, and that the s^d Jenkins proceeded on his Journey to Number one, so called, & there found the s^d Ezekiel Floyd very Sick & unable to travel or be removed — and continued so for five Day's and then died there & That the s^d Ezekiel Jenkins was fifteen Day's in performing the s^d Journey and attending on the s^d Sick Soldier — for which Said Journey & Service including Horse hire & Some expences the s^d Jenkins hath Charged your Petitioner with the Sum of three Pounds fifteen Shillings & five pence.⁴⁰

*FORBES, CHRISTOPHER, private in the company of Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, March–November, 1758; in the company of Capt. Moses Hart of Lynn, March–December, 1762. He went from Malden to Samuel Waite's house in Charlestown in 1770; but he returned to Malden, and was here in 1775. A story concerning him is related elsewhere. He died here, April 2, 1815.

FULLERTON, NATHANIEL, private with Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, March–November, 1758.

GILL, WILLIAM, sergeant with Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, March–November, 1758.

GREEN, DARIUS, second-lieutenant with Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, March–November, 1758.

⁴⁰ *Mass. Archives*, lxxviii. 724.

GREEN, JACOB, private with Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, March–November, 1758.

GROVER, BENJAMIN, private with Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, March–November, 1758; was among those victualled by Beza-leel Eager of Westborough, innholder, “on their Return from the Province Service at Lake George In the Year 1758;” private with Capt. Moses Hart, March–December, 1762.

HALLOWELL, CALVIN, son of Edward, drafted from Capt. John Dexter’s company on order of April 15, 1756, for service against Crown Point under Capt. Hanners; and was in camp at Fort Edward in the company of Capt. William Flint, July 26, 1756. The General Court allowed thirty-one shillings, the next year, on the following petition: —

[May 25, 1757.] The Petition of Huldeth Holloway of Maulden Widow *humbly Shews* That her Son Calven Holloway Aged Seventeen years was a Soilder in the Company under Captⁿ Flint in the Regim^t of Coll^o Platsteed in the Crown Point Expedition and Joynd the Army at Lake George in y^e year 1756 where he was Taken Sick but Tarried untill the Army was dismissed That on his Return he Sold his Gun by reason whereof four pounds are witholden of his wages.

Now your Petitioner is a poor widow Ineed having Eight Children and Some but young and no Real Estate, etc.⁴¹

His name appears in a list of deserters from the company of Capt. Thomas Cheever, Col. Joseph Frye, August 12, 1757; and he received no pay on the final settlement. The offence was probably constructive rather than real. He was private in the company of Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, March–November, 1758, then called apprentice of William Pell; and again in the company of Capt. Moses Parker of Chelmsford, April, 1761–February, 1762, probably at Halifax.

HALLOWELL, EDWARD, born and resident in Malden, aged 49, was in camp, with his son Calvin, at Fort Edward in the company of Capt. William Flint, July 26, 1756; had enlisted and was hired by Lynn. He died before May 25, 1757.

HALLOWELL, JOSEPH, son of the preceding, and apprentice of William Pell, aged 17, private with Capt. Ebenezer Marrow,

⁴¹ *Mass. Archives*, lxxvi. 754.

March–November, 1758; with Capt. Moses Parker, probably at Halifax, April, 1761–February, 1762; with Capt. Benjamin Edwards at Crown Point, March–November, 1762.

HAY, JOHN, drafted from Capt. John Dexter's company on order of April 15, 1756, for service against Crown Point under Capt. Hanners.

*HOWARD, DAVID, apprentice of Timothy Sprague, marched with Capt. Michael Brigden on the Fort William Henry Alarm, August, 1757; private with Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, March–November, 1758; and with Capt. Moses Hart, March–December, 1762.

HOWARD, JOHN, born in Malden, enlisted, as of Lynn, with Capt. William Flint, and was in camp at Fort Edward, July 26, 1756, aged 22.

HOWARD, THOMAS, private with Capt. Israel Davis, Col. Jonathan Bagley, "serving Eastward," March 31–November 17, 1759; with same captain in service at Antigua, November, 1759–November 17, 1760, when he is entered as a deserter; was private with Capt. Moses Hart, March–December, 1762.

JACKSON, DAVID,⁴² apprentice of Phineas Sprague, private with Capt. Moses Hart, March–December, 1762.

JENKINS, JOHN, with Capt. Thomas Cheever, Col. Joseph Frye, at Fort Cumberland in Nova Scotia, March 31, 1759–November 26, 1760.

JENKINS, JOSEPH, husband of Jemima (Sprague), with Capt. Michael Brigden on the Fort William Henry Alarm, August, 1757; enlisted, May 2, 1758, then aged 56, with Capt. Ebenezer Marrow; died "at William Henry in the service," August 27, 1758.

JOHNSON, THOMAS, in list of men drafted from Capt. John Dexter's company, September, 1755, "Designed upon the Expedition against Crown Point;" and served in the company of Capt. Thomas Cheever, Col. Richard Gridley, September 15–December 16, 1755.

KNOWER, DANIEL, with Capt. Thomas Cheever at Fort Cumberland, March 31, 1759–November 26, 1760.

⁴² Phineas Sprague, Jr., notified the selectmen, March 24, 1758, that "ten days ago I took into this town a boy from Stoneham named David Jackson."

KNOWER, EDWARD, private with Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, March–November, 1758; with Capt. Sylvanus Bourne of Barnstable, November, 1759–January 20, 1760; enlisted in the company of Capt. Giles Harris for the expedition against Canada, February 15, 1760, then aged 18; in service until December 2, 1760; enlisted with Capt. Henry Young Brown of Haverhill and was in service at Halifax, April, 1761–February, 1762.

KNOWER, JOHN, son of John, aged 35, enlisted in the company of Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, April 24, 1758, and died in service September 14, 1758. His widow, Phebe, married, February 7, 1760, Amos Shute, who was by her husband's side when he was shot and brought the news of his death when he returned.⁴³

KNOWER, JONATHAN, brother of Daniel, private with Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, March–November, 1758; with Capt. Nathan Brigham of Southborough, March, 1762–January, 1763.

LINCOLN, WILLIAM, private with Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, March–November, 1758.

LYNDE, JACOB, private with Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, March–November, 1758; mustered, March 20, 1760, in company of Capt. Moses Hart, "for the total Reduction of Canada," then aged 43; served until December 8, 1760. "Titus Negro," his slave, was in service with him.

LYNDE, NATHAN, with Capt. Michael Brigden on the Fort William Henry Alarm, August, 1757.

[LYNDE,] TITUS, negro, *servant* of Jacob Lynde, aged 45, enlisted February 28, 1760, in the company of Capt. Moses Hart, and was in service until December 8, 1760.

MANSER, JOHN, son of Thomas, aged 25, is on a roll of May, 1756, as a matross in Col. Richard Gridley's train of artillery, having been drafted from Capt. John Dexter's company on the order of April 15, for service against Crown Point with Capt. Lord; and he remained in the army until December, 1756. He afterwards petitioned for the payment of four pounds stopped from his pay for the loss of his arms, stating that he

⁴³ *Information of William B. Shedd.*

was a Soldier in the Expedition towards Crown point in the year 1756 in the Company Commanded by Cap^t Chadwick in colon^l Gridleys Rigem^t: and was taken Sick at a place called y^e half moon: and was obliged to Leave his Gun & Bayonet their: which he Delivered into y^e storehous there.⁴⁴

He is on a list of deserters from Capt. Thomas Cheever's company, August 12, 1757, and received no pay on the final settlement; but his offence, which may have been one of record only, was overlooked, as he returned to Malden and served the next year with Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, March–November, 1758.

* MARTIN, JOHN, born in Plymouth, Eng., living in Malden, was drafted from Capt. John Dexter's company on the order of April 15, 1756, for service against Crown Point under Capt. Lord, and was a matross in Col. Richard Gridley's artillery, May, 1756, being in that service until the following December. He was a corporal in the company of Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, March–November, 1758; enlisted "for the Protection and Security of His Majesty's Dominions and Conquests in North-Amarica, 1761," being mustered April 24, 1761, then aged 38; and was private in the company of Capt. Leonard Whiting of Westford, March, 1762–January, 1763. He afterwards became sexton of the North Parish and died in 1793.

MOWER, EBENEZER, apprentice to Richard Dexter, corporal in the company of Capt. Benjamin Johnson of Woburn in the expedition against Crown Point in 1755. A petition in his behalf is given in the notice of Benjamin Shute.

MUDGE, SAMUEL, son of John and Mary (Waite) Mudge, who had removed to Lynnfield soon after 1748, was in the army and died in service in 1758.

NEWHALL, EZRA, son of Lieut. Samuel, removed to Lynn; was ensign in the company of his brother, Joseph, in the regiment of Col. Timothy Ruggles, February 20, 1760, then aged 27. He was a lieut.-colonel in the Revolution.

NEWHALL, JOHN, son of Daniel, the innholder, removed to Leicester. In August, 1757, he was a captain in the regiment

⁴⁴ *Mass. Archives*, lxxvi. 673.

of Col. John Chandler, and marched with his company to Sheffield on the Fort William Henry Alarm. He returned to Malden and was the landlord of the Half Moon Tavern here from 1764 to 1769. He probably died in Spencer.

NEWHALL, JOSEPH, son of Lieut. Samuel, removed to Charlestown, and in 1755 was an innholder at Newbury; was a captain in the regiment of Col. Jonathan Bagley, March 13–December 10, 1758, and in the regiment of Col. Timothy Ruggles in 1760. He died in 1761.

NICHOLS, SAMUEL, apprentice of David Parker, aged 19, enlisted May 2, 1758, with Capt. Ebenezer Marrow; was in service until November, 1758.

PARKER, DAVID, apprentice of Nathan Waite, private with Capt. Moses Hart, March–December, 1762.

PARKER, EZRA, son or apprentice of John Parker, private with Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, March–November, 1758; private with Capt. Thomas Cheever at Fort Cumberland, March 31, 1759–November 26, 1760.

PAINE, NATHANIEL, aged 54, enlisted April 24, 1758, in the company of Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, and was in service until November, 1758.

PELL, WILLIAM, came to Malden from Boston. His first service is stated in the following petitions, on the first of which the General Court granted him an allowance of three pounds; and on the latter he received twelve shillings "for the use of his Gun."

[April 1, 1757.] The Petition of William Pell of Malden *Humbly Sheweth* That your Petitioner was a Soldier in His Majestys Service in the Expedition against Crown Point in the year 1755 in the Company of Capt. Moore in Col. Bagleys Regiment and Inlisted himself again under the Command of Lieut Joseph Chaddock in Col. Gridleys Regiment in the Expedition against Crown Point So early in the year 1756 as to be Intitled (by the act of this Court) to half wages in the time of Intermission but yet was omitted that part of his wages in the Muster Roll, etc.⁴⁵

[August 16, 1757.] William Pell of Maulden humbly Begges leave to shew, That being a Soilder in Capt Morses Company in y^e Regemt of

⁴⁵ *Mass. Archives*, lxxvi. 504.

Coll^d Titcomb In the Crown point Expedition in 1755 He provided his Own Gun for which he has Rec^d no allowance⁴⁶

He was drafted from the company of Capt. John Dexter, by order of April 15, 1756, for service against Crown Point, under Capt. Hanners; and is on the roll as matross in Col. Richard Gridley's artillery, May, 1756, then aged 25; was in that service until December, 1756. He was in the company of Capt. Michael Brigden on the Fort William Henry Alarm, August, 1757; and was a corporal in the company of Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, March–November, 1758.

PHILLIPS, FRANCIS, born in Boston and then resident in Stoneham, but afterwards a prominent inhabitant of Malden, laborer, aged 17, enlisted in the company of Capt. William Peabody, Col. Plaisted, May 7, 1756, and was in service in the expedition against Crown Point until December 2, 1756.

PHILLIPS, JAMES, aged 26, husband of Elizabeth (Clepson); was drafted from Capt. John Dexter's company, on an order of April 15, 1756, for service under Capt. Lord, and enlisted as matross in Col. Richard Gridley's artillery. He is on the roll of this regiment, February, 1757, as being dead, having died, apparently, in service.

PRATT, AMOS, marched with Capt. Michael Brigden on the Fort William Henry Alarm, August, 1757.

PRATT, EZRA, aged 23, marched with Capt. Michael Brigden on the Fort William Henry Alarm, August, 1757; was in service with Capt. Simon Slocomb, Col. Joseph Williams, April 7–November 23, 1758; and was at the capitulation of Montreal, September 8, 1760. The following petition, on which he received an allowance of one pound and twelve shillings in full, relates his troubles in getting home:—

[March 5, 1761.] The Petition of Ezra Pratt of Maldon in the County of Middlesex most *humbly Sheweth*—That your Petitioner was a Soldier in the late Expedition against his Majesties Enemies in Canada under the Command of Coll Richard Saltonson Esq^r—That the Day after the Surrender of the Garrison at Mont Real he was taken ill of a fever and was by order thence transported Via Cart & Battoe to Crown Point where he continued sick above three weeks—

⁴⁶ *Mass. Archives*, lxxvii. 197.

That getting better he with difficulty got as farr as the Town of Sheffield where he had a relapse and lay more than 3 weeks longer; and as soon as in any measure recruited, he sent home to his friends to aid him in getting home —

That over and above his Charge of Doctor medicine &c he was at the expense of five pounds thirteen Shillings and four pence, as p^t inclosed account in getting home which was some pounds old ten^r less than he cou'd have got home for had'nt his Brother William Pratt befriended him —

That besides the above Charge he was a long time ill at home so weak that he cou'd do little or nothing for a subsistence. et^c ⁴⁷

PRATT, TIMOTHY, enlisted for the reduction of Canada, mustered, March 8, 1760, then aged 33, and served with Capt. Moses Hart until December 8, 1760; private in the company of Capt. Moses Parker, in service, probably at Halifax, April, 1761–February, 1762; and private with Capt. Moses Hart, March–December, 1762.

* PRATT, WILLIAM, private with Capt. Simeon Cary of Bridgewater, May 14, 1759–January 2, 1760.

RAMSDELL, JOHN, apprentice of Edward Waite, private with Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, March–November, 1758.

REED, HENRY, born in England, apprentice of Nathan Sprague, private in the company of Capt. William Peabody, Col. Plaisted, in the expedition to Crown Point, April 14–December 2, 1756, having been drafted from the company of Capt. John Dexter on the order of April 15; was with Capt. Michael Brigden on the Fort William Henry Alarm, August, 1757; private in the company of Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, March–November, 1758; enlisted, April 24, 1761, then aged 18, if the return may be believed, and served with Capt. Edward Blake, apparently at Halifax, until April, 1762; and was with Capt. Moses Hart, perhaps in the same service, until the following December.

SAWYER, HENRY, mustered from the company of Capt. John Dexter, September, 1755, "Designed upon the Expedition against Crown Point," and served in the company of Capt. Thomas Cheever, Col. Richard Gridley, September 15–December 16, 1755.

⁴⁷ *Mass. Archives*, lxxix. 574.

SHUTE, AMOS, brother of Benjamin and Daniel, marched with Capt. Michael Brigden on the Fort William Henry Alarm, August, 1757; was private in company of Capt. Ebenezer Marrow in the campaign of 1758, and was in service until October 9 of that year. Three days later his brother Daniel met him at Kinderhook "much indisposed" and "give him some refreshment, advised him to tarry till Ben came up."⁴⁸ He is further mentioned in the notice of John Knowler. A committee of the General Court reported an allowance of four pounds, ten shillings, and twopence on the following petition:—

[April 14, 1759.] The Petition of Amos Shute of Maldon *Humbly Sheweth* That your Petitioner was in the Province service the last summer in the Regiment of Collonel Bagley under the Command of Capt Marrow and continued in the service til the ninth day of october And then my health being impaired having liberty to repair homeward J had help by the teams in my way to Albany. And then not able to travel one of my fellow Soldiers procuered me a horse such a one as he was able to purchase and at the owners price. Said horse brought me home and that is all that he was worth to me. The first cost of said horse was one pound two shillings. 1. 2. 0
 The provender he eat by the way and my extraordinary charge to my support being very weak and low is eight shill : 0. 8. 0
 when J came home J was very Sick and under the Docters hands the Docters bill is one pound thirteen Shillings 1. 13. 2
 & two pence. Charge for nursing nine weeks two pounds fourteen shillings 2. 14. 0
 The whole of the above Said charge is 5. 17. 2
 Therefore your petitioner humbly requests, etc.⁴⁹

SHUTE, BENJAMIN, brother of the preceding, corporal in company of Capt. Benjamin Johnson of Woburn in the expedition against Crown Point in 1755. The following petition refers to his sickness at the end of the campaign.

[December y^e 6th 1756] The Petition of Richard Dexter Jn behalef of his prentice Ebenezer Moor who was Jn the Company of Capten Beniamin Ionson Jn the Regement of Collonel Plasted Jn the Expedition against Crown Point Jn [the] year 1755 *Humbley Sheweth*

⁴⁸ *Diary of Rev. D. Shute, in Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, xii. 150. ⁴⁹ *Mass. Archives*, lxxviii. 439.

that his the said Prentice Ebenezer moor was obliged to Tary at Fort William Henery one month after the Dismission of the Rest of the Company to Nurss one Benjamin Shute who was sick Nigh to Deth & the Jntreyteys of Said Shute was so Ernest & Strong that I would Stay to his asistence that I could not Deney him but to actualey Tarey & asiste my said Distresed frind for which servis I Never had one farthing your Pettioner therfore Humbley Prayes your Honour & Honours to alow him pay for one month for the servis above said as Jn Dutey Bound shall Ever Pray &c.

RICHARD DEXTER ⁵⁰

We learn from the diary of his brother, the Rev. Daniel Shute, that he was at Albany in June, 1758, "being much oppressed at y^e stomach," and at, or near, Kinderhook in the following October, probably being in the service.⁵¹

SHUTE, REV. DANIEL, who is noticed elsewhere, was pastor of the Second Church in Hingham when he was commissioned, March 13, 1758, "to be Chaplain of a Regiment of Foot commanded by Colonel Joseph Williams, raised for a general Invasion of Canada." He went with the regiment to Schenectady, where he remained during the unhappy expedition against Ticonderoga, and afterwards moved westward, where

Being in Danger of the Small Pox & under apprehension that he had taken the Infection, [he] obtained leave at the Oneida Station of General Stanwicks by the Consent of Coll^l Williams to retire to Schenactady for the greater Conveniency & better attendance of the Sick & soon after his Arrivall at Schenactady, viz: about the 20th of September he was taken ill of a Fever & continued so ill that he was not able to ride until the 11th of October when he left Schenactady & made the best of his Way home, etc⁵²

STAPLETON, PATRICK, mustered from Capt. John Dexter's company, September, 1755, for service against Crown Point in company of Capt. Thomas Cheever.

SWEETSER, STEPHEN, aged 18, marched with Capt. Michael Brigden on the Fort William Henry Alarm, August, 1757; enlisted with Capt. Nathan Brigham of Southborough, March

⁵⁰ *Mass. Archives*, lxxvi. 145.

⁵¹ *Diary of Rev. D. Shute*, in *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, xii. 134, 150.

⁵² *Mass. Archives*, xiv. 114.

Mr. Shute's diary or journal kept in this expedition is given in *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, xii. *Vide*, also, this vol., chap. xvii. note 3.

17, 1762, and was in service at Crown Point and westward until discharged, November 17, 1762.

TARBOX, SAMUEL, private on roll of Capt. Sylvanus Bourne of Barnstable, November, 1759—January 20, 1760.

WADE, SAMUEL, private in company of Capt. Moses Hart of Lynn, served five months and twelve days to January 1, 1762.

WADE, SIMON, lieutenant in the company of Capt. Samuel Clarke of Braintree, September 15—November 26, 1755. He afterwards preferred the following petition, on which a committee of the General Court reported an allowance of two pounds and six shillings in full.

[January, 1757.] The Petition of Simon Waide of Malden *Most humbly Sheweth*, That your Petitioner was a Lieutenant in Capⁿ Iudathan Baldwin's Company in Col^o Bagley's Regiment in an Expedition against Crown Point on which he Entered the 28th of November 1755—and received his Pay to y^e 21st day of May 1756—Now y^r Petitioner would most humbly Inform y^r Honour & Honours That he received a wound in his Leg at Fort William Henry in December 1755—which proved very Dangerous (as by the Surgeon's Certificates hereunto annexed will appear) and y^r Petitioner was thereby rendered Incapable of Further Service to his Majesty and his Country until this present time—He therefore humbly Prays this Hon^{ble} Court to take his Case into their wise consideration, and that they would be pleased to Grant him wages (as in his Majesty's Service) unto this time—as also an allowance for the Great charge he has been at to Doctor's Nurses &c occasioned by his wound received in his Majesty's service as aforesaid, etc.⁵³

Andover Jan^y 19: 1757

These may Certify Whom it may Concern that I John Kittredge of Andover afores^d Sometime in the Month of August Last I Saw L^t Simon Wade of Medford at the House of my Father in Tewksbury Which I found in Dangerous Circumstances by Reason of a Wound (as he Enformed me) he Received at Fort William Henry in the Late Expedition to Crown point my Father Enformed me that he was Doubtful whither he Would Recover of his Wound & to all Appearance his Wounds were Looked upon Incurable about the Term of three weeks (as my Father Enformed me) he Continued with him—During which Term my Father Enformed me that the Canker had Taken his sore & it eat to a Great Degree & Caused his Sore to Bleed half a pint in One Night & that he Despaired of his Recovery & Sometime in the month of Sept^r

⁵³ *Mass. Archives*, lxxvi. 239.

Last M^r Wade put himself Under my Care (by Reason that my Father was Labouring under Bodily Indisposition) & from s^d Month of Sept. To the Day of the Date hereof s^d Wade hath been under my Care & for the Greatest part of the Time his Wound was Very Bad I was obliged to take Several pieces of Bone out of his Leg & even now I Judge him to be Quite Incapable of Military Duty.

JOHN KITTREDG.⁵⁴

He recovered his health soon after, and re-entered the service as lieutenant in the company of Capt. Enoch Bayley of Newbury, "which were in the Capitulation at Fort William Henry," August 9, 1757; and he is supposed to have been killed in the massacre which followed.

Lydia Wade of Malden petitioned the General Court in January, 1759, for wages and allowance, "shewing, that She is Mother and Heir at Law to *Simon Wade*, Lieutenant of a company in the Expedition against Crown-Point, in the Year 1755."⁵⁵

WAITE, NATHAN, son of Benjamin Waite, aged 30, from Capt. John Dexter's company, enlisted with Capt. Joseph Billings, Col. Joseph Williams, "in the Intended Expedition against Canada," April 3, 1758. He was a sergeant until August 17, then a private until October 27, when he "deceast in the army." He left one child, his wife, Dorothy (Pratt), having died in 1755.

WAITE, STEPHEN, with Capt. Michael Brigden on the Fort William Henry Alarm, August, 1757.

WELCH, JAMES, with Capt. Thomas Cheever, in service at Fort Cumberland, March 31, 1759 – November 26, 1760.

WHEELER, ISAAC, mustered, with others from the company of Capt. John Dexter, in the company of Capt. Thomas Cheever to "reinforce the Army destined to Crown Point," September, 1755. The First Parish refused June 6, 1759, to choose a collector "in the Room of m^r Isaac Whellor who is an Enlisted Souldier in the present Expedition for Canada." His misfortunes in the service are related in the following petition, on which the General Court made him an allowance of twelve pounds and twelve shillings: —

⁵⁴ *Mass. Archives*, lxxvi. 241.

⁵⁵ *Journal House of Reps.*, January 12, 1759.

[April 16, 1760] The Petition of Jsaac Wheler of malden *Humbly Sheweth* that on the 16 day of april 1759 J was drawn by the Capten of said malden to go in an Expidition against Canadea: and J past muster on said day by the Hon^l Cornal Brattel & J was amedetly sent down to the Cassel and theare Continued a few days and then ordered to Point Shearly and so itt was when J was there a few days J was taken Sick and under the Docters hand for upword of one month and the Armeey J was to gow with saild before J was abel to goe and so J was left behind: and after J had recovered my helth the Cornal ordered me to march forth with to the Westard to Joyne the armeey there which Accordinly J travld to Westfield and there sesed with the Rumeties and there remaind unabel to travil aney forther which was so Judged by the Docter and I taried thear to the 23 of october and then returnd hom: which tuck me seven days to git hom: and so by that means J never was maid upon aney muster rooal at all Where foer your Petitioner Humbly Prays your Exelency and Honers would take my Case into your wise consaderation and order the Treasuer to pay me my wages for said time, etc.⁵⁶

WHITTEMORE, JAMES, husband of Mary (Sherman), private in company of Capt. Ebenezer Marrow; died in service, October 2, 1758, according to the muster roll, or October 18, 1758, according to the town records.

WHITTEMORE, JOSEPH, mustered from Capt. John Dexter's company for the expedition to Crown Point, and served in the company of Capt. Thomas Cheever, Col. Richard Gridley, September 15 - December 16, 1755.

WHITTEMORE, PELATIAH, aged 47, enlisted with Capt. Ebenezer Marrow, 1758. He was of Dunstable in the following year, when a committee of the General Court reported in favor of an allowance of twenty-six shillings on the following petition:—

[November, 1759.] *Humbly sheweth*, The Petition of Pelatiah Whittemore of Dunstable That your Petitioner served in the Expedition against Canada the last year under Cap^t. Ebenezer Marrow, and That falling Sick & being unfit for Duty was on the 23^d Day of September permitted to return home. That on his way home his Sickness prevailed upon him to such a degree that he was oblig'd to lay by, & was till the 30th of October getting home; and after he got home was Sick, & under the Doctors care Six Weeks. That he was at considerable Expence in his Sickness for nursing, Horse hire home &c.

⁵⁶ *Mass. Archives*, lxxix. 112.

That in Cap^t Marrow's Muster Roll he was made up & received Pay to the 29th of September and no longer.⁵⁷

The organization of the Malden militia had been continued from the days of Joseph Hills and John Wayte, as required by the colonial and provincial laws, with the exception of a brief period during the administration of Governor Andros.⁵⁸ By occasional references its line of officers may be ascertained, with more or less certainty, in the confusing array of captains, lieutenants, and ensigns which appear in the records. John Lynde appears to have been its captain about the beginning of the eighteenth century and to have been succeeded by Edward Sprague, who died while in command in 1715.⁵⁹ He was followed by Deacon John Dexter, who died in 1722. For a period even conjecture fails, but Captain Samuel Waite, who died in 1739/40, is mentioned in 1729 and 1732. Benjamin Blaney was lieutenant in 1743/4, and I cannot distinguish his superior officer; but John Dexter, a son of the former captain, was lieutenant in 1747/8, Lieutenant Blaney having become captain in May, 1746. Captain Blaney is mentioned elsewhere as having been engaged in the business of a tanner near the South Spring. He came from Lynn in 1724, and is said to have been a man of much energy and ability. The town records contain the following in relation to his death:—Captain Benjamin Blaney, aged fifty-one years, "husband to Abigail Blany about seven of the clock in the evening of the eighth day of february 1754, was taken up dead near Daniel Newhalls dore and it was thought by the Jury that he fell of his horse and that was a means of his death his scul by his temple was beat in." Tradition says that he had stopped at the Half Moon Tavern of Daniel Newhall to assist in quelling a fight which was then in progress

⁵⁷ *Mass. Archives*, lxxviii. 638.

⁵⁸ November 6, 1696, Edward Sprague, town treasurer, received four pounds and four shillings of the selectmen for "ye use of ye Town or Miletary company." *Malden Town Records*, in *loco*.

⁵⁹ Samuel Wade of Medford, who married Lydia, daughter of Lieutenant Thomas Newhall of Malden, "was an innholder, in whose tavern, 'at the sign

of the Fountain in Mistick,' on Monday, the 27 Dec., 1714, arose a brawl between Captain Edward Sprague and Thomas Newhall, jr., of Malden, resulting in the Captain being sadly bruised about the head, thrown to the floor, and barely escaping from being pitched out of the window. As usual, both parties seem to have been at fault." Waters, *Newhall Family of Lynn*, 36.

and that the injuries which he received at the hands of the brawlers caused his death.

After the death of Captain Blaney, John Dexter became the commanding officer of the Malden company, which was a part of the first, or lower, Middlesex regiment under Lieutenant-Governor Spencer Phips, who was soon after succeeded by Colonel William Brattle. Ezra Green was commissioned as its lieutenant, October 1, 1751. The company itself was not called into service, but men were drafted out of it, from time to time, as they were needed for the army. No roll of its membership earlier than the Revolution has been found; but the following paper gives the names of a portion of its men. As by a law of the Province bayonets were to be carried by one half of the enrolled militia, it may be supposed that this list represents that portion of the company. Some of the names have been mentioned as those of men in service.

Malden Nov^r 30th 1758.

Province of the Massachusetts Bay &c. Dr. to John Dexter.

1758. to 67 Bayonets which I procured by order and Delivered to the men hereafter named.

£23. 9.0
1.13.6

21.15.6

Viz :

Amos Upham
Darius Green
Ezra Sargeant
Uriah Oaks
Benj^a Waitt ^{jnr}
Benj^a Bucknam
Nathⁿ Howard
Ioseph Ienkins
Edward Sprague
Will^m. Linckorn
Solomon Townsend ^{jnr}
Vnite Cox
John Tufts
Isaac Wheeler ^{jnr}
John Pain
Sam^l Baldwin
Daniel Knower
Ioseph Whittemore

Nathⁿ Waitt
Stephen Waitt
Nathⁿ Dexter
Ezekiel Ienkins ^{jnr}
Richard Shute
William Waitt ^{jnr}
John Green
Iames Bucknam
Amos Pratt
Tho^s Waitt ^{jnr}
Eben^r Pratt
John Nichols
David Sargeant
Tho^s Sargeant
Eben^r Barritt ^{jnr}
Nehemiah Blany
Nathⁿ Sprague
Jonathan Howard y^e 3^d

Silas Sargeant
 Will^m. Pratt
 Nathⁿ. Lynds
 Benonj Vinton
 Phinehas Green
 John Harnden
 Will^m. Pell
 John Chinere
 Iabez Lynds
 John Howard
 Sam^l. Waitt
 Ezra Green
 Timothy Waitt
 John Caide
 Will^m. Gill
 Patrick Coburn
 Amos Shute

John Grover
 Sam^l. Sprague
 Ezekiel Floyd
 John Burditt ^{jnr}
 James Whittemore
 Joseph Paine
 Tho^s Burditt ^{jnr}
 Sam^l. Grover
 John Knower
 Benj^a. Sprague
 Richard Pratt ^{jnr}
 John Colman ^{jnr}
 Eben^r. Blanchard
 John Dexter

Errors Excepted p^r. me

JOHN DEXTER, Capt.⁶⁰

Ebenezer Harnden, who was lieutenant in 1755, is called captain in 1756 and afterwards, but his office may have been temporary or in connection with some other organization. In December, 1763, an official roll makes the officers of the Malden company to have been, Ezra Green, captain; Jabez Lynde, lieutenant; and Thomas Hills, ensign. In September, 1765,

Ezra Green's Town Clerk

commissions were issued to Jabez Lynde, captain; Amos Upham, lieutenant; and

Benjamin Blaney, ensign; and in 1774 the officers were reported to be Captain Benjamin Blaney, Lieutenant Nathan Lynde, and Ensign William Waite.⁶¹ These were the last to hold the king's commissions; and on the nineteenth of April, 1775, they led the eager men of Malden by the house of their former captains, the John Dexters, and over the Medford plains to intercept the British troops at Menotomy. When they returned to their homes, for a brief season, a new era had dawned; the Revolution had begun, and an empire of free states was about to be born.

⁶⁰ *Mass. Archives, Bayonet Rolls.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, xcix. 72, 403.



CHAPTER XXI.

THE OPENING OF THE REVOLUTION.

IT is my purpose to relate, in their own words, when possible, the story of the part which the people of Malden took in the political and military strife out of which came the independence of the American Provinces. I shall not overstep the bounds of local history to relate the details of battles or to explain the plans of campaigns, nor will events of national importance, if mentioned at all, receive more than a passing notice. They who lived in the scattered dwellings of this country town were simple farmers and mechanics. They were neither statesmen nor warriors, and they were not always in accord on the great questions which, being of present moment, did not at all times appear to them as they appear to us, now that time has magnified them by showing the greatness of their results. Sometimes, led by the zeal and fire of their pastor and their own inclinations, they were ready to stand in the van of the opposers of oppression; sometimes they were ready to halt and were in doubt and perplexity. Tradition says that they were sometimes divided in their assemblies and that prudent or timid men were often alarmed and advised caution to their more patriotic or reckless brethren. So, in the rapid and often-shifting current of events they moved; and the records of

their doings remain — records of patriotism and unflinching assertion of their inalienable rights, made sometimes with doubting hearts, but fearless in their declarations and still fresh and glowing after the lapse of years.

The attempted enforcement, in 1760, of the old Sugar Act of 1733, which, oppressive in its inception, had fallen into desuetude or been evaded for a generation, and the publication of the intercepted letters of Sir Francis Bernard, the royal governor of Massachusetts, soon after, were the first notes of warning to the American colonies. Later the odious excises on sugar and other articles were made perpetual; and in 1765 the tyrannical and unwise Stamp Act was passed by the British Parliament. Then wrote Benjamin Franklin, "We may still light candles. Frugality and industry will go a great way towards indemnifying us." "I much fear, instead of the candles you mention being lighted, you will hear of the works of darkness," replied Charles Thomson of Pennsylvania.¹

The passage of the Stamp Act, although it had been foreseen, caused a storm of indignation to sweep over the land. Resolutions favoring non-intercourse during the continuance of the obnoxious laws were passed. Even associations were formed to forbear the use of black clothes in mourning and of lamb's meat for food. This was to curtail the importation of cloth from England and to promote the growth and manufacture of wool in the colonies. As a practical measure it was of little moment, but it served to indicate the course of public opinion. In Boston a mob, which was increased by men from the neighboring country towns, broke out at last into open violence and destroyed much valuable property. They burned the records of the Vice-Admiralty Court, sacked the house of the Comptroller of the Customs, and left that of Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson in ruins. Such lawless acts, however, were condemned by most men; and the mob, itself, when sober, became quiet.

How to obtain the repeal of the obnoxious laws and guarantees for the future by peaceable and constitutional means was

¹ Sparks, *Life of Benjamin Franklin*, 294.

the absorbing object. To few, if to any, did a serious thought of separation and independence come in those early years. The people of Malden, true as well to their ancient as to their more recent reputation, were slow to act; and when they spoke their utterance was one of patriotism and peace. It was not until the middle of October, seven months after the passage of the Stamp Act, that the town by any act of its own gave evidence of the interest of its inhabitants in the condition of the country. Then was voted the following letter of instructions to its representative.

At a Publick town meeting in Maldon the 17th day of October 1765

Voted that the following instructions be given to Cap^t. Ebenezer Harnden of said Maldon our present representative in General Court (viz) That you promote and readily join in such dutifull remonstrances and humble Petitions to the King and Parliment and other decent measures as may have a tendency to obtain a repeal of the stamp act And of the heavy Burdens thereby imposed on the American British Colonies we are of opinion that the act of parliment called the stamp act by which a very burdensome and in our opinion unconstitutional tax is to be laid upon us all and we subjected to numerous and Enormous Penalties to be prosecuted sued for and recovered at the option of an informer in A Court of admiltray without A Jury Sir these are our sentements of the stamp act we therefore the inhabitants of said town being legally assembled for this purpose must injoin it upon you not to comply with any measures or proposals for countenancing the same or assisting in the Execution of it but by all lawfull means consistant with our Allegency to the King and relation to Great Britain to oppose the Execution of it til we can hear the sucesse of the crys and petitions of America for releife And we would inculcate upon you our desires that all extraordinary grants and Expensive measures may upon all occasions as much as Possible be avoided at this time And we would recommend perticularly the strictest care and the utmost firmness to prevent all unconstitutional draughts upon the Public treasury.

The Stamp Act went into effect on the first day of November, amid the tolling of bells and other signs of sorrow. The opposition was deep and wide-spread. Its effect was not unfelt in England; and, joined with the petitions of the Continental Congress, which now came into existence, and an

*John Shute
Town Clerk*

opportune change in the ministry, it brought about a repeal of the hated law in the following spring, a repeal which was hailed with extravagant expressions of joy, although with it was coupled the declaration that "parliament has a right to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever."

It was now proposed to compensate the losers by the riots of the preceding year. This measure, though at first refused, was finally granted by a small majority of the General Court, in a manner which was not entirely pleasing to the imperial government; for the act which relieved the sufferers carried a pardon to those who caused their losses. The inhabitants of Malden were at first disinclined to favor the sufferers; and at a meeting held, October 27, 1766, they refused to "make up the Town Stock of powder," which had been spent in the recent rejoicings, and "*Voted* that Cap^t Eben^t Harndin their Representative shall not act in feavour of the provinces paying the Losses that the Suffirers have Sustained by the Late Disturbances at Boston in the year 1765." Five weeks later, by a chance which often occurs in town meetings, a change took place; and a loyalist or Tory element, which seems to have possessed a little strength in the town at first, appeared and obtained a majority. It was then "*Voted* to Reconsider their Vote passed on the Twenty Seventh of Oct^r last Respecting their Instructions to Cap^t Harnden their Representative," and

Voted Doc^t Porter Cap^t Dexter Esq^t Green Cap^t Chittenton m^t Kittle be a Committe to Draw Instructions & Report

then the Town ajorned for two hours to meet at m^t Kittles

Att the ajornment the Committe made Report, and the Town *Voted* the Following Instructions be given to Cap^t Eben^t Harnden the Present Representative

That he Do use his Interest that full and ample Compensation be made to his Honour Tho^s Hutcherson Esq^t for his Losses & Sufferings in the Late time of Disturbance and in the most Equitable manner the General Court in their Great Wisdom shall see meat & as to the Other three Gent^l (Viz) the Honourable Andrew Oliver, Benj^a Hollowell j^{ur} & Will^m Storrer Esq^{rs} we Leave the consideration thereof Respecting their Sufferings at said time to the above Representative to act as he shall think meet and proper.²

² Hutchinson received a grant of £3,194 17s. 6d. for his losses, and other sufferers received in the same proportion. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, i. 306.

At the next annual meeting the town, influenced by Tory sympathy or an unpatriotic parsimony, refused to "pay for the powder spent at the Rejoyceing for the Repeal of the Stamp act" by its more public spirited citizens.

There is little to indicate the course of private opinion or of public action in the town for the next year or two. We cannot doubt, however, that the events which were steadily preparing the way for a new empire were closely watched, with eagerness or keen regret, and that the idea of a national independence was slowly taking form in the minds of many as a thing possible and to be desired. Two entries, only, in the records of 1768 contain allusions to the condition of the country or evince an interest in its welfare. The town refused to "build a work house to imply the poor in," laid out roads, and warned strangers away from its borders as if no public danger existed; but it was voted

[March 7, 1768] That Ezra Green, Esq^r m^r Kettel Docter Porter Cap^t: Dexter & Cap^t: Harnden shall be a Committee to draw up how far they shall think proper that this town should comply with what the town of Boston have don in their incourriging manufactures in this Province and the preventing the importation of goods into it. And make report at may meeting in order to the towns coming to a vote upon it.

It does not appear that this committee ever made a report; and no further action was taken except that

At a town meeting in Maldon the 21st day of Sept: 1768 *Voted* Cap. Ebenezer Harnden To be a Committee man to Joyn in a convention with those Gentlemen that have been chose by the town of Boston and may be chose by other towns to consult what may be for the safty of our king and the wellfair of his subjects in this Province in this dark and difficult season.⁸

⁸ The convention met in Faneuil Hall, September 22, and continued in session until September 29. The members voted an address to the governor, which he refused to receive, and derided the message, which he returned. They repeated a former protest against unjust taxation and other grievances, and renewed a petition to the king. They committed themselves to "Him who

ruleth according to his pleasure, with unerring wisdom and irresistible influence, in the hearts of the children of men," and dissolved the convention. "I doubt whether they have been guilty of an overt act of treason," said the Solicitor-General of England, "but I am sure they have come within a hair's breadth of it." Cf. Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts-Bay*, iii. 208-212;

Nor in 1769 was there any important public action in relation to the great questions which were being discussed; and the business of the little town went on in its humble way, as it had gone on for many years. Only at "a publick Town meeting in malden the 18th of May 1769," taking to themselves the instructions of Cambridge, which are to the historian of that town unknown, though worthy of preservation, the inhabitants

Voted, Capt. Ebenezer Harnden to represent the Town at y^e Great & General Court; and voted y^e same Instructions which the Town of Cambridge have voted their Representative which are as follows First. We expect that you will to the utmost of your Power, Support, maintain, and defend His most Sacred Majesty George y^e Third, our rightful Sovereign, his Crown, Dignity & Family. Secondly, You are to use your best Endeavors, that our invaluable Charter Liberties, Priviledges & Immunities, dearly purchased by our Ancestors, and all the Rights derived to us from y^e invariable Law of God and Nature, be transmitted inviolable to the latest Posterity. Thirdly We apprehend, that no Power on Earth can justly deprive us of our essential Rights, & that no Man can be safe either as to his Life, Liberty or Property, if a contrary Doctrine should prevail; therefore we recommend to you a firm but prudent Opposition to all unconstitutional measures. Fourthly, We enjoin that by no Means you vote for the Draft of any money out of y^e publick Treasury, unless the Occasion be emergent and warranted by the Maxims of Equity, the Principles of our happy Constitution, & Precedents justly resulting from the same.

A greater interest and a more patriotic spirit seemed now to animate the people, although the allusions in the records to matters outside of the local affairs of the town for several years are few and far between. The attempted enforcement of the revenue laws added a fresh excitement. Non-importation leagues were formed and measures were discussed by which home products and manufactures were to be fostered and sustained. In Boston the merchants met in Faneuil Hall and voted to cease the importation of British goods and to publish the names of those importers "who audaciously continue to counteract the united sentiments of the Body of Merchants

throughout North America.”⁴ It was in allusion to this meeting that the town at its annual meeting, March 5, 1770,

Voted, That this Town do give their Hearty Thanks to y^e Merchants, for their prudent & spirited Measures pursued by them for the good of this Province & Land.

Voted, That we will not by our Selves, or any for or under us, directly or indirectly, purchase any Goods of y^e following Persons, viz. John Bernard, James MacMasters, Patrick M^cMasters, John Mein, Nathl Rogers, William Jackson, Theophilus Lillie, John Taylor, & Anne & Elizabeth Cummings, all of Boston; or of any other Person whatsoever that shall import Goods, contrary to y^e Agreement of y^e Merchants, till a general Importation takes Place.

Voted, That we will not use any foreign Tea, nor countenance y^e use of it in our Families, (unless for Sickness) till y^e Revenue Acts are repealed,

The next morning strange rumors were heard in the quiet lanes of the town. Excited horsemen, sent by the patriots of Boston, had come out at midnight into the country; and as the day wore on rumors became certainty, and it was told how honest patriots had been shot down by British soldiers and that the life-blood of Americans stained the snow in the streets of Boston. It was the morning after the Boston Massacre; and thenceforth the spirit of patriotism was strengthened and an unswerving determination carried the men of Massachusetts and of the colonies steadily onward to the end, which many in secret began to foresee. Little could country folk, situated as were those of Malden, do at this period of the political strife. But that little they did. They fanned the fire in their own

⁴ The town of Boston, at a meeting, October 4, 1769, “solemnly *Voted* that the Names of those Persons *few* indeed to the Honor of the Town, viz. John Bernard, Nathaniel Rogers, Theophilus Lillie, James McMasters and Company, John Mein, Thomas Hutchinson Junr and Elisha Hutchinson — be entred on the Records of this Town, that *Posterity* may know, who those Persons were that preferred their little private advantage to the common Interest of all the Colonies, in a point of the greatest Im-

portance; who not only deserted but opposed their Country, in a struggle for the Rights of the Constitution, that must ever do it honor: And who with a design to enrich themselves, took Advantage of the generous self denial of their Fellow Citizens for the Common Good.” *Boston Town Records, in loco*. A list of the obnoxious importers printed in Edes and Gill’s *North American Almanack* for 1770 is identical with that in the Malden vote. Drake, *History and Antiquities of Boston*, 767.

town, and they could make their voices heard in the councils of the Province through their representative, Captain Ebenezer Harnden. Always patriotic and true, for ten years he held his office with honor to himself and the men of his town, and in him they trusted. So, little appears in the records of the town at this time, though the people were alive to the knowledge of the great questions which were being thrust upon the provinces. Their new minister added the fire of his courage and youthful zeal to their inclinations and they were preparing for the struggle which was to come.

At length, November 2, 1772, Samuel Adams, standing on the floor of Faneuil Hall, offered that celebrated motion which, in the words of a recent writer, "gave visible shape to the American Revolution, and endowed it with life and strength."⁵ In the words of the record

It was then moved by Mr Samuel Adams, That a Committee of Correspondence be appointed to consist of twenty one Persons—to state the Rights of the Colonists and of this Province in particular, as Men, as Christians, and as Subjects; to communicate and publish the same to the several Towns in this Province and to the World as the sense of this Town, with the Infringements and Violations thereof that have been or from time to time may be made—Also requesting of each Town a free communication of their Sentiments on this Subject.⁶

"The end in view," says Bancroft, "was a general Confederacy against the authority of Parliament; the towns of the Province were to begin; the Assembly to confirm their doings and invite the other Colonies to join."⁷

On the twentieth of November the report of the committee was presented to the town of Boston and the addresses were adopted. That to the towns was masterly and convincing, and the towns responded with enthusiastic ardor. Committees of Correspondence were chosen in most of the towns in the Prov-

⁵ Porter, in *Memorial History of Boston*, iii. 42. Bancroft, *History of the United States*, 18th ed., vi. 429, says that this motion "included the whole revolution."

⁶ *Report of the [Boston] Record Commissioners*, xviii. 93.

⁷ Bancroft, *History of the United States*, 18th ed., vi. 429.

ince, and their replies to the Boston letter were energetic and their purpose was not to be mistaken.⁸ On the fifth of January, 1773, the men of Malden met to consider the letter of Boston and their own duties in the crisis. "It is more than time to be rid of both tyrants and tyranny," Samuel Adams had written.⁹ "With our best blood and treasure," said the farmers of Malden. The record which follows contains the first in that series of patriotic papers in which the fearlessness and fire of Peter Thacher may be traced — a series of which Malden may well be proud to her latest day.

At a legal Town meeting in Malden y^e 5th Jan^y 1773. Voted, Capt Ebenezer Harnden Moderator

Voted Capt. John Dexter, M^r Thomas Hills, M^r James Kettell, M^r David Sargeant, M^r Ezra Sargeant, M^r Samuel Sprague, Ensⁿ Benjⁿ Blany, M^r John Grover jun^r M^r Ezekiel Jenkins, M^r Joseph Howard, & M^r Samuel Waitt, Be a Committee to take into consideration the request of the town of Boston respecting y^e late alarming report that Stipends are affixed to the offices of y^e judges [of the] Superiour Court of Judicature in this Province, added to many other grievances under which this people have for some years groaned; & also to draw up instructions for their Representative, and lay y^e whole before the town for their acceptance.

Voted, That this meeting be adjourned to Thursday y^e 14th instant at 2 o'clock P. M.

Jan^y y^e 14th Being y^e time to which this meeting stands adjourned.

Voted, Nemine contradicente, To accept the report of the committee, chosen to take into consideration the request of y^e town of Boston, respecting our late grievances, and that the same be recorded in the Town Book.

Voted, Nemine contradicente, To accept the instructions drawn up by the committee for their Representative, & that y^e same be recorded, and a copy thereof transmitted to him.

Voted Capt. John Dexter M^r James Kettell M^r Thomas Hills M^r Samuel Sprague & Capt. Ebenezer Harnden Be a committee of Corrispond-

⁸ See the addresses in *Report of the [Boston] Record Commissioners*, xviii. 95-108. Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts-Bay*, iii. 370, says: "Thus, all on a sudden, from a state of peace, order, and general contentment, as some expressed themselves, the province, more or less from one end to the other, was

brought into a state of contention, disorder, and general dissatisfaction; or, as others would have it, were roused from stupor and inaction, to sensibility and activity."

⁹ Bancroft, *History of the United States*, 18th ed., vi. 431.

ence to communicate & correspond with the committee of y^e Town of Boston, & any other towns on y^e Subject of our present difficulties.¹⁰

Voted, That this meeting be adjourned to thursday next at 5 o'clock P. M. in order for the Selectmen to prepare a letter of thanks to the town of Boston.

Jan^y the 21st Being the time to which this meeting stands adjourned :
The Moderator & Clerk being absent,

Voted, M^r Ezekiel Jenkins Moderator for this time.

Voted M^r Ezra Sargeant to serve as Clerk.

The following letter was then read.

To the Respectable Inhabitants of the town of Boston. It is with the utmost satisfaction & pleasure, that we have from time to time observed your sollicitous care and prudent endeavours to suppress all appearances of tyranny & oppression, & to maintain the just rights and priviledges of a distressed people ; And particularly of late, that you have not been intimidated by y^e alarming reports that have reached our ears ; but as our fears and distresses increase, your zeal and resolution abounds. We give you our hearty & sincere thanks for all the salutary measures you have adopted for the common safety. And we heartily wish and desire, that every town in this Province, and thro' the land, may have such a sense of danger & of duty, as readily to lend a helping hand in this time of need. By the papers transmitted to you herewith, you will find that a committee has been chosen by this town to correspond with yours on matters of publick concernment. We trust you will always find them and us as ready to receive any intimations of this nature from you, & to join in such measures as may be tho't best. And may the great overruler & disposer of all events, so direct & succeed your wise endeavours, as that y^e yolk of tyranny may be entirely broken, and New England yet enjoy her invaluable priviledges inviolate

¹⁰ The Committee of Correspondence, or, as it was finally called, of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety, existed until the annual town meeting in March, 1786, when no provision was made for its continuance. Its members were :—

Captain Wymond Bradbury, 1782-84.
Captain John Dexter, 1773-76.
William Dexter, 1780-82.
Lieutenant Bernard Green, 1779-82.
John Green, 1777-79.
Captain Ebenezer Harnden, 1773-77.
Thomas Hills, 1773-77 ; 1784-86.
John Jenkins, 1779-80.

James Kettell, 1773-77 ; 1783-86.
Captain Jonathan Oakes, 1782-84.
Francis Phillips, 1777-78 ; (Lieut.) 1784-86.
Dr. Jonathan Porter, 1779.
David Sargeant, 1778-79.
Amos Shute, 1777-82.
Jonathan Sprague, 1777-80.
Samuel Sprague, 1773-77 ; 1779.
Dr. Elisha Story, 1775-76.
Rev. Peter Thacher, 1775-76.
John Tufts, 1777-78 ; 1780-82.
Lieutenant John Vinton, 1779-80.
Micah Waite, 1777-79 ; 1780-82.
Samuel Waite, 1777-78.
Captain William Waite, 1782-83.

to the latest generations. May all vice and immorality be suppressed, & piety and virtue reign triumphant. And may you in particular, the respectable Inhabitants of Boston, thro' the propitious smiles of heaven, see the happy fruits of your unwearied diligence, in the cause of liberty. May you always be deemed among the early projectors and constant pursuers of those legal & constitutional methods, which may establish our charter rights on a basis durable as the foundations of the earth; and may posterity yet unborn rise up and call you blessed.

Voted, That the above letter be accepted.

Voted, That a copy of the proceedings of this meeting be sent by the town Clerk to the committee of Correspondence in Boston.

At a legal meeting by adjournment of the Inhabitants of y^e Town of Malden Jan^y 14th 1773 the committee who were chosen by y^e town at their meeting Jan^y 5th to consider what is best for y^e town to do in this day of darkness, & cruel oppression in which almost everything worth living for is in danger of being wrested from us, report as follows.

Having taken into serious consideration the state of y^e rights of y^e Colonists, & of this province in particular, as men as christians, & as British Subjects; and also the list of the infringements & injurious violations of those rights transmitted to us from the vigilant and patriotick Inhabitants of y^e town of Boston, by their committee of correspondence,

Resolve, as far as we are capable of judging, that y^e said rights, & also y^e list of infringements, and violations of those rights, are exhibited in a just point of light; and therefore with hearts deeply penetrated by the cruel oppressions & indignities, with which we are treated by our elder brethren at home, and with y^e shuddering prospects before us, under y^e present critical situation of our publick affairs; the alarming inquisitorial Court appointed at Rhode-Island; also replete with deep concern for our posterity,

Resolve, That we will at all Times and upon all just occasions, with our best blood & treasure, in conjunction with our brethren of this province, & y^e other provinces pursue every justifiable and constitutional measure for the obtaining a redress of our insupportable burdens, & in y^e defence and support of our invaluable rights, Civil and Religious, purchased by our ancestors, at y^e expence of their treasure & their blood: and therefore,

Resolve, that our Representative be instructed to use his utmost endeavours in the General Assembly that the Honourable Constitutional Judges of the Superiour Court of Justice in this province, should have a support equal to their importance, Also that our Representative use his endeavours that an address be again made to our gracious Sovereign, for the restoration of our invaded rights & priviledges, &

that this people may be treated, as indeed they are, loyal subjects of Great Britain. Moreover, Since it hath pleased the great Governor of y^e Universe, of late to answer y^e prayers of this people by terrible things in righteousness,

Resolve, That our Representative be instructed to use his endeavours that a day of humiliation be appointed, for our many & great iniquities ; and to seek of him a right way for us, & for our little ones, and for all our substance : and that a letter of grateful acknowledgments be sent to our worthy Brethren the inhabitants of Boston, for their vigilence & spirit, upon this & many other occasions ; with hearty good wishes and prayers that they may see good days, according to the time in which they have, in a peculiar manner, seen insult and massacre.

JOHN DEXTER *per order*.

To Capt Eben^r. Harnden

Sir, The right of choosing a Person to represent us in the General Assembly carries in y^e nature of the thing a right to instruct him. And tho' we reposed the highest confidence in you when we chose you into this office, yet we then reserved this right to our selves, to be made use of on extraordinary and alarming occasions. Such an occasion we esteem that to be on which we now instruct you : This is the late rumour which has prevailed of salaries being affixed to the Honourable judges of y^e Superiour Court &c. paid to them by the King independent of y^e people, out of a revenue unconstitutionally raised upon us. This we esteem an intolerable grievance, a grievance which strikes at y^e root of our Liberties. We now Sir, desire & instruct you to make use of every legal method in your power to obtain redress hereof. Particularly to exert your utmost influence in y^e General Assembly that an ample & honourable support be offered to them, out of y^e treasury of this province, that those who are inimical to us may not have it to alledge, as a reason for this grievous proceeding, that they have not such a support from y^e people of this province. We also instruct you to forward in y^e General Assembly an humble adress and remonstrance to our gracious Sovereign, begging from his royal clemency & justice, relief under this unconstitutional proceeding. This, we hope will reach not only y^e royal ear, but heart also ; & will be followed with y^e best effects. When we chose you to represent us in y^e General Assembly, we did it esteeming you a stanch & firm friend to our civil & religious liberties. We have no reason to alter our sentiments concerning you in this regard. Yet that your own opinion & sentiments may be confirmed by having these of your constituents, we now, Sir, instruct you to exert your self to the utmost, in order to obtain a redress of our present grievances, & a confirmation of those rights & privileges, which to enjoy without molestation, induced our fore

fathers to emigrate from their native land, and plant that in which we now dwell. We trust, Sir, we shall always find you in the number of those members of the General Court, who, while they feel & express the warmest loyalty to their Sovereign, steadily & firmly maintain y^e rights of their constituents.

As we cannot but think that the prevailing iniquities of our land have induced a righteous God to permit men of violence thus to harrass us, so, Sir, we instruct you to use your utmost influence in the General Assembly, that some effectual measures may be taken, in order to carry y^e good & wholesome laws of this province, for y^e suppression of immorality into more full & complete execution; & also that a day of humiliation may be observed thro' y^e province on account of his frowns upon us in these regards, to deprecate his displeasure & ask his divine interposition in favour of our sinking land.

JOHN DEXTER *per Order.*

The replies of the towns evinced the tenacity with which the people of Massachusetts held to the idea of local government, and indicated most plainly a drifting towards a future independence. A union of the colonies, which had been foreshadowed by the first meeting of the Continental Congress, became an immediate object; and its furtherance or hindrance divided the two great parties of Whigs and Tories.

The non-importation agreements, beside other effects upon British interests, had caused large quantities of tea to gather in the storehouses of the East India Company; and to relieve that company, and to enforce its own pretended rights, Parliament passed an act by which tea could be exported to America free of all English duties. Large cargoes were accordingly shipped to several ports, but a uniform sentiment animated the American people. If the cargoes were landed the duty would be paid; and that duty, though small, was a tax which represented the principle that the colonies might be taxed without their consent. Therefore, it was determined that the tea should not touch the American soil and that it should return to England in the ships which brought it. The first ship, the Dartmouth, arrived at Boston, November 28, 1773, and two others followed a few days later. The men of Boston now stood between the country and the danger which became more imminent day by day. "Brethren," they had written to the other towns, "we

are reduced to this dilemma, either to sit down quiet under this and every other burden, that our enemies shall see fit to lay upon us, or to rise up and resist this and every plan laid for our destruction as becomes wise freemen. In this extremity we earnestly request your advice.”¹¹

To this appeal the towns replied with spirit; and Malden, after a while, with characteristic slowness, followed their example. “Now that danger was really at hand,” says Bancroft, “the men of the little town of Malden offered their blood and their treasure; for that which they once esteemed the Mother Country, had lost the tenderness of a parent, and become their great oppressor.”¹² Their answer was as follows:—

At a legal Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Town of Malden the 13th of Decem^r. 1773.

To hear and consider sundry papers received from the Town of Boston, relating to the Importation and landing the Article of Tea, & to act thereon as they should find occasion:

Voted Capt. John Dexter Moderator.

The said Papers being read & attended to, it was voted, that a committee of nine Persons should be chosen to draw up a report for the Town's Acceptance: and accordingly,

Voted, that Capt. John Dexter, M^r Ezra Sargeant, Capt Eben^r Harn-den, Doctor Jonathan Porter, M^r Thomas Hills M^r Ezek^l Jenkins, M^r James Kettell, Ensign Benj^s Blany & Capt. Naler Hatch, be a Committee for said Purpose.

The Meeting was then adjourned, for one Hour.

Said Term being expired, & the Inhabitants again convened, the Committee brought in the following Report:

The Town of Malden, alarmed at the present melancholy Aspect of our public Affairs, & esteeming themselves bound to give the utmost Support & Countenance to the patriotic Town of Boston in their strenuous exertions to oppose the progress of despotism, At a legal Meeting by adjournment Dec^r 13th 1773, came into the following Resolutions;

Resolved 1. That this Town does cordially & entirely approve of the Resolutions entered into by the town of Boston, & the measures taken.

¹¹ This appeal to the country towns was authorized by the joint committees of the towns of Boston, Dorchester, Roxbury, Brookline, and Cambridge. Bancroft, *History of the United States*, 18th ed., vi. 476; Frothingham, *Life and Times of Joseph Warren*, 252-253.

¹² Bancroft, *History of the United States*, 18th ed., vi. 482.

by that town relative to the landing of certain Teas, sent by the East India company into the port of Boston, & which are subject to an unjust and unconstitutional duty.

Resolved 2. That the Inhabitants of this Town are ready at all times, and upon all occasions to shed their best blood and treasure, in defence of their just rights & priviledges, & to support the town of Boston in the late stand they have made, & in any other constitutional one, which they may hereafter be called to make against the illegal oppressions & exactions laid upon us by that which we once esteemed our mother country, but which now seems at least to have lost the tenderness of a parent and to have become our great oppressors.

Resolved 3. That as this Town cannot but be of opinion, that the success of the measures now taking by the colonies, to prevent the baneful influence of these acts of parliament, by which we esteem ourselves aggrieved, depends in a great measure upon individuals, therefore they would express their wishes and desires, that every inhabitant of the town would prevent the consumption of tea in his family, and discourage as much as lies in his power the use of that herb, so long as it shall be subject to the duties laid upon it; and all those persons that shall hereafter be concern'd in buying or selling the same, while subject to duty, shall be esteemed enemies to their country, and treated as such.

Resolved 4. That the committee of correspondence of this town be directed to transmit a copy of these resolutions to the town of Boston forthwith.

The report being read, it was accepted by a full and general vote.

The Meeting was then dissolved.

The events which followed the arrival of the tea ships in Boston Harbor have become a part of the history of the country, and they need not be recited here. The execution of the Tea Act was defeated, as had been that of the Stamp Act; but it was followed by the Boston Port Bill. The offending port was closed to commerce; its harbor was guarded by British men-of-war; and both rich and poor, together, saw their usual means of support destroyed. This oppressive act was followed by others. A Regulating Act placed the appointment of the Council in the hands of the Crown, authorized the Governor to appoint and remove judges of the inferior courts and other minor officers, and, lastly, forbade the assembling of town meetings, except for the choice of officers,

without the permission of the Governor; while another, known as the Murder Act, provided for the transporting of offenders and witnesses to other colonies or to Great Britain for trial.

It was now that discontent changed to vigorous action, and forcible resistance began to appear as inevitable. The prohibition of town meetings was unheeded by men who had begun to act as well as to think for themselves. They continued to be held, and patriotic resolutions, addresses, and instructions multiplied; but of more importance than patriotic votes and addresses and of sterner significance were the replenishing of military stores by the towns and the mustering and drilling of the militia. The action of Malden during the summer and fall of 1774 was taken in a series of meetings, the records of which are here copied in full.

At a Town Meeting August 25th 1774;

To know the mind of the Town, whether they will act any thing concerning our Grievances, which we now are labouring under, with respect to Great Britain's Conduct with the Colonies, and to act on all other matters & things that may come before them: And in particular,

To see if they will choose a Committee or Committees to act on any measures relative to the Town, County or Province affairs, respecting our Grievances; and that they should act as occasion may require.

Voted, M^r Ezra Sargeant Moderator.

It was then put to vote, whether the Town will act any thing upon this warrant respecting our grievances; & it passed in the affirmative.

Voted, That it is the opinion of this Town, that the late acts of the British Parliament, & particularly those by which the Charter of this Province is vacated, are very unjust, unreasonable and cruel; and by no means to be submitted to; And that it is the indispensable duty of all persons of every denomination to use their utmost endeavours in their several Capacities, by all proper and Constitutional ways, to prevent as far as may be, said acts taking place.

Voted, That the Committee of Correspondence for this Town, viz; Capt. John Dexter, M^r James Kettell, M^r Thomas Hills, M^r Samuel Sprague & Capt. Ebenezer Harnden, or any three of them, shall attend a general meeting of the Committees of the several Towns in this County, to be conven'd at Concord the thirtieth instant, to con-

sult and determine what is expedient to be done at this very critical Juncture of affairs; and that the said Committee of Corrispondence shall from time to Time, as there may be occasion consult and advise with the Committees of any other Towns in this County, or Province, on the affairs of our publick grievances.

The meeting was then adjourned to friday the 2nd day of Sept^r at 4 o'clock P. M.

Sept^r 2nd 1774. Being the time to which this meeting stands adjourned, the Inhabitants being convened,

Voted, That this meeting be adjourn to friday next, at 4 of Clock P. M.

Sept^r 9th Being the Time to which this Meeting stands adjourned, the Resolves of the Committees for this County convened at Concord the 30th & 31st of August being read,

Voted, Unanimously, that the Town does accept of said Resolves.

The Meeting was then adjourned to Sept^r 20th at 3 of Clock P. M.

Sept^r 20th The Inhabitants being convened

Voted, { Capt. Ebenezer Harnden } Delegates to attend a provincial
 { Capt. John Dexter }

Congress to be holden at Concord the second Tuesday in October next.

Voted, In consideration of the expediency of a good understanding & agreement between the members of society, especially at such a critical time as this, that there be a standing committee of advice chosen, who may hear & consider any matters of controversy that may arise in this Town between man & man, between party & party, & use their wise & prudent endeavours for an amicable & pacifick accommodation of such differences, and if possible promote that love peace & friendship, which will so much strengthen the common cause, as well as prevent unnecessary and expensive lawsuits; and that the town will support said committee in their determinations, so far as they shall appear to be just, & in such manner as shall be tho't proper.

<i>Voted</i> ,	{	Capt. John Dexter,	Mr David Sargeant,	}	Be
		Capt. Ebenezer Harnden,	Capt. Benj ^a Blany,		
		Deacon Joseph Perkins,	Mr Joseph Howard,		
		Mr Ezra Sargeant,	Mr John Bucknam,		
		Mr John Grover jun ^r ,	Mr Ezekiel Jenkins,		
		Mr John Waitt,	Leu ^t Amos Upham,		

a Committee for said purpose, & that seven of them shall be a Quorum.

The meeting was then adjourn to this day four weeks at 4 of Clock P. M.

At a Legal Town Meeting the 20th of Sept^r. 1774.¹³

To see if the Town will choose one or more persons to represent them in a great & general Court according to the precept, & give him or them particular Instructions.

Voted, Capt. Ebenezer Harnden Representative.

Voted. The Rev^d Peter Thacher
Capt. John Dexter,
M^r James Kettell,
M^r Thomas Hills,
Doctor Jonathan Porter,
M^r Ezra Sargeant,
M^r Samuel Sprague,

Be a Committee to draw up Instructions for the Representative.

The Meeting was then adjourned to Friday next a 5 of Clock in the afternoon.

Friday Sept^r 23rd 1774, Being the Time to which this Meeting stands adjourned.

Voted To accept the following Instructions.

To Capt. Ebenezer Harnden,

Sir, The trust devolved by your fellow Citizens upon you at this time is the greatest & the most important which you could at any time receive. Our all now lies at stake, & if the Machinations of the enemies to our publick happiness should succeed we may bid adieu to all these flattering prospects we have hitherto indulged of enjoying our selves & transmitting to our posterity these rights & liberties, which our Illustrious ancestors purchased at the greatest expence, & which they transmitted to us an ample a fair Inheritance.

The Subversion of the Charter of this province, & the usurpation of Seats round the Council board, by a number of men, whose ambition & avarice (we are constrained to say) have induced them to betray their Country, & stain their own names with indelible infamy, demands our most watchful attention at this day, and it is upon these heads that we now especially instruct you. And, Sir, we give it you in most Solemn charge, as you would not act a part abhorrent to your Constituents, as you would not bring upon your self the execrations of millions that in no sence nor manner whatever, acknowledge these men as Councillors

¹³ It will be noticed that a "legal Town Meeting" and an adjournment of the meeting of August 25 were held on the same day, September 20. The former was adjourned to September 23, when it was dissolved; and the latter was continued from time to time until

December 4. In the town records the entries relating to the latter meeting are in ii. 67, 68, 70, and those of the former on pages 71, 72. In the text I have given them their proper chronological sequence.

of this province, that you do not give them the smallest degree of Countenance, but that you treat them with that contempt, indignation & abhorrence, which their unparalleled perfidy most justly deserves. We do not, we are perswaded, feel or express an undue resentment of these unhappy men, but to see men acting such a part as they have acted towards their native Country, calls forth the highest Indignation of every virtuous, of every brest.

We also instruct you, if it shall be agreeable to the sentiments of your respected fellow senators (in whose wisdom & integrity we have the highest confidence) that you desire the members of the constitutional Council of this province, to resume their seats, to meet together, & proceed to such acts of advice & authority, as they shall deem meet, to which we promise to yield the same regard as though the hand of power had not driven them from their seats, or the mean the contemptible wretches we but now mentioned had not usurped them.

We need not inform you of our firm, our deliberate resolution, rather to risque our lives & fortunes than to submit to these unrighteous acts of the British Parliament, which pretend to regulate the government of this province: Nor need we instruct you in your legislative capacity, to make the utmost opposition to them. Had we not had full confidence in you, that you detested these acts of power & injustice, we should never have chosen you to represent us in the general Assembly. The people in this province are a free and a brave people, & we are determined in the strength of our God, that we will, in spite of open force & private treachery, live & die as becomes the descendants of such ancestors as ours, who sacrificed their all that they and their posterity might be free.

Oct^r. 18th Being the time to which this meeting stands adjourned:

Voted, That it be recommended to all the Inhabitants of this Town, whom their age or other infirmities do not incapacitate, to make themselves acquainted with military discipline.

Voted, That all the Inhabitants be desired to turn out on the muster the 1st of Novem^r next.

Voted, That there be a Committee chosen to wait upon the Commission Officers in this Town, and desire them to muster the Inhabitants, not disqualified, as afore said, the following winter, as often as they shall think convenient.

Voted, The Rev^d Peter Thacher, D^r Elisha Story, M^r Ezra Sargeant, M^r James Kettell & M^r Ezekiel Jenkins be a Committee for that Purpose. The meeting was then adjourned to friday Nov^r 4. after lecture.

Nov^r 4th 1774. Being the Time to which this Meeting stands adjourned;

Voted, To accept the following Report.

To the Committee appointed by the Town of Malden —

Waited upon the Commision Officers of the Company of Foot in said Town, and request them to muster the soldiers under their Command as often as they shall think convenient, during the following Winter :

Said officers answer to the Request in the following manner.

That they are willing to exert themselves to the utmost in the service of the Town, & of this oppressed Land, & are hereby willing to muster their Company, and attend upon their service once a Fortnight, until the latter end of December, & the remaining part of Winter once a Month, if the Weather is such as it will do to muster in, provided the Gentlemen in the Town will encourage said Officers & Company in their Muster

BENJ^r BLANY

NATHAN LYNDE

WILLIAM WAITT.

Nov^r 4, 1774.

Voted, The Rev^d M^r Peter Thacher, Capt. Ebenezer Harnden, Capt. John Dexter, M^r James Kettell, Doctor Elisha Story, Be a Committee to prepare an Agreement to be signed by all persons both in the Alarm list, & in the training list, respecting their obedience to their officers.¹⁴ The Meeting was then adjourned to Thursday next at 10 o'clock in the forenoon at the house of Ensign William Waitt in this Town.

Nov^r 8, 1774. The Town being convened according to Adjournment,

Voted, To accept the Agreement drawn up by the afore said Committee, which was immediately signed by the Commission Officers, & most of y^e Jnhabitants present.

The Meeting was then adjourned to Thursday y^e 17th instant at 5 o'clock P. M.

Nov^r 17. 1774. The meeting was further adjourned to munday next at 5 o'clock in the afternoon.

Nov^r 21. 1774. The meeting was further adjourned to this day fortnight in the evening.

Dec^r 4. 1774. Very few persons attending, the meeting was dissolved.

¹⁴ By a recent resolution of the Provincial Congress one quarter, at least, of the militia was enlisted to "equip and hold themselves in readiness to march at the shortest notice." These were the minute men, who under Captain Blaney marched on the morning of the Lexington Alarm. With the commissioned officers they numbered seventy-five men, which indicates three

hundred men as the number of the enrolled militia of the town. This was stated as the actual number by the late James D. Green, of Cambridge, who derived his information from his father, Corporal Bernard Green, of the minute men. Those who were not in the company of minute men were placed upon the alarm list.

The First Provincial Congress of Massachusetts convened at Salem, October 7, 1774, and was dissolved at Cambridge, December 10. In it Malden was represented by Captain Ebenezer Harnden and Captain John Dexter. The former had been the town's representative in the General Court since

Ebenezer Harnden.

1765. The latter had preceded him in that office, and both had commanded the Malden militia. Each had reached the allotted age of man and they had long been known as among the ablest and most patriotic of the men of the little town. The Provincial Congress, in its several sessions, existed until July 9, 1775, when the occasions which had made it necessary were past, and it was dissolved, giving place to the House of Representatives, which resumed its sittings, July 19, and in which Malden was represented by Ezra Sargeant.

The long town meeting, which was dissolved December 4, 1774, was followed by another, which held its sessions at times from December 19 to February 9. In January the town voted, "To accept the Resolves of the Continental & Provincial Congresses so far as they are come to the knowledge of the Town;" and a strong committee, with the representatives at its head, was chosen to "Be a Committee of Inspection and Observation, who are to use their Endeavours to carry said resolutions into Execution."¹⁵ Later it was "*Voted*, That the Town will adhere to the laws of the province, as if they could be executed, and discountenance those that violate them."

About the same time a collection was made for the relief of those who were suffering from the operations of the Port Bill in Boston; and the Rev. Peter Thacher, the Rev. Eliakim Willis, and Nathaniel Jenkins, Jr., were chosen "to take Care of the Money that may be collected for the Town of Boston, & to write a letter of apology, if the smallness of the sum shall render it, in their opinion necessary." The contribution of the town

¹⁵ This committee was composed of William Waite, Captain Benjamin Captain John Dexter, Captain Ebenezer Blaney, Ezra Sargeant, David Sargeant, Harnden, Joseph Howard, Ensign Samuel Baldwin, and Dr. Elisha Story.

was received in Boston, January 24; and the records of the Boston committee present in detail the humble offering of the farmers of Malden to their suffering brethren in Boston.

Malden, Rev. Mr. Willis' parish,

2 loads wood, 1 pr. women's shoes, 1 Ton of hay, £3. 1.

Malden, Rev. Mr. Thacher's parish, £9. 13.¹⁶

In the frequent meetings of the winter and spring votes in relation to military matters are common; for the townsmen, like their fellows of the other towns, now saw that the days of remonstrance and petition had passed.

[Jan. 6. 1775] *Voted* To recommend to the commission officers, (when they shall think proper) to make a critical review of the arms, ammunition & accoutriments, of every Jnhabitant of this Town.

[Feb. 9.] *Voted*, To recommend to Capt. Blany, that he calls his Company together once next week for military discipline, & twice a week afterward till march meeting.

Voted, That Capt. Blany shall regulate his list according to law, exempting none under 60 years of age, but those that are exempted by law.

[March 13.] *Voted*, That each person who shall enlist to train one half day every week, till the first of May next, shall be entitled to one shilling for each muster, in Case he exercises three hours.

Voted, That the Captain shall enlist any able bodied men above 16 years of age & under 50, who for the service above said shall be entitle to said pay.

[March 27.] *Voted*, That some part of the Town's stock of Ammunition be made up in Cartrages.

Voted, That if any Intelligence should arrive that shall render it necessary in the Judgment of the Selectmen for the town in general to be together at or before the adjournment that they order the Constables to warn the Inhabitants to attend.

On Monday, April 17, the town again met, when Dr. Elisha Story¹⁷ and the Rev. Peter Thacher were added to the Com-

¹⁶ Abstract in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, xxx. 376.

¹⁷ Dr. Elisha Story was a son of William Story, who was deputy-register of the Court of Vice-Admiralty at the time of the Stamp Act riots in 1765. He was born in Boston, December 3, 1743, and was a pupil of John Lovell at the Latin School. After leaving school

he studied medicine, joined the Sons of Liberty, and was one of the Mohawks who destroyed the tea at Griffin's wharf. In 1774 he removed to Malden with his family, and took an active part in the affairs of the town, especially in those affairs which were connected with the political questions of the day. He joined in the assault on the British

mittee of Correspondence; and the meeting was adjourned to the following Thursday. Before the voters met again the shot which severed the colonies from Great Britain was fired. Early on the morning of April 19, it is said, a horseman came furiously along the Medford Road, crying, as he came, in the stillness of the night: "The regulars are out!" When he came to the door of Kettell's Tavern no one was stirring; but in a short time its west room began to fill with the excited villagers. The meeting house bell was rung; messengers were hastily despatched to the other parts of the town; and the horseman departed to spread the news farther away. The minute men were mustered, as they came, on the little green in front of the tavern, in which their officers were in consultation; and during the morning they were ordered by Colonel Thomas Gardner to march to Watertown. Women and children, says tradition, followed them as they marched to the beats of Winslow Sargeant's drum across the bridge and up the hill which has now nearly disappeared. Along the same hill had marched their fathers to former wars, and over the same way have marched their descendants at a later day — all in defence of that which makes life a blessing.

troops during their retreat from Lexington, and was at the battle of Bunker Hill as surgeon of Colonel Little's regiment. He passed the night after the latter battle in caring for the wounded on Winter Hill. He took part in the campaign around New York, and was at the battles of White Plains and Trenton. Removing his family from Malden, he settled at Marblehead, and was a successful physician until his death, August 27, 1805. He was twice married, and had twenty-one children, of whom the eldest was the celebrated jurist, Joseph Story of the United States Supreme Court.

Although Dr. Story was a member of an important committee of the town, as stated in the text, and was taking a prominent part in public affairs, the selectmen did not hesitate to give him the warning which was usually served

upon new comers, by which the town escaped possible liabilities under the pauper laws.

"To Mr. Joseph Lynde, jun^r, Constable of the Town of Malden, Greeting.

"In his Majesty's name you are required forthwith to warn Doctor Elisha Story & Ruth his wife, who came into the Town from Boston about the middle of June last, that they forthwith depart out of this town, & that they carry with them their children, viz. John, Tabitha, Abiel, Elisha & William, that none of them be any longer resident herein. And then make return of this warrant with your doings hereon to me the Subscriber. Dated in Malden y^e 2nd day of June 1775. By Order of the Selectmen.

NATH^L JENKINS *Town Clerk.*"

The warrant was served the next day.

THE MINUTE MEN OF MALDEN.

A Role of the Company of the Militea that Went to Watertown By order of the Late Col^d Gardner upon the alarm on the 19 Day of april 1775 and from there to Resist the Ministeral troops under the Command of Cap^t Benj^a Blaney.

Benj ^a Blaney Cap ^t		
Nathan Lyndes Lieu ^t	William Wait Second Liu ^t	
✕ Amos Shute Serjant	Nehemiah Oaks Serjant	
Jabez Lyndes Serjant		
Micah Wait Cor ^l	Bernard Green Cor ^l	
Jacob Parker Cor ^l	Nathan Eaton Cor ^l	
Winslow Sargeant Drum ^{er}		
John Ramsdel	Ezra Sargeant	Daniel Breeding
Joseph Lyndes J ^a	Ezra Hawkes	Elnathan Breeding
Ezra Howard	James Wade	Benj ^a Brown
John Vinton	Robert Burdit	Peter Brown
Jacob Sargeant	Gidion Williams	Charles Hill
William Sprague	Jacob Pratt	Phinehas Sprague J ⁿ
Benj ^a Lyndes	Daniel Chadwick	Edward Newhall
John Pratt	Thomas Wait y ^e 3	James Green
Eben ^r Payne	William Upham	Silas Sargeant
John Grover y ^e 3	Ezra Upham	Ezekiel Jenkins
John Wait J ⁿ	Ezekiel Jenkins J ⁿ	John Grover, J ⁿ
David Wait	Joseph Floyd	John Gould
William Dexter	William Low	Naler Hatch
Jonathan Gardner	Joseph Hollowell	Daniel Waters
Stephen Tufts	John Jenkins	Joseph Jenkins
Samuel Wait	Francis Phillips	Phinehas Sprague
Unite Cox	Bernard Newhall	David Bucknam
Benj ^a Grover	Nathan Parker	William Gill
Eben ^r Wait	Richard Dexter	John Grover y ^e 4
Joseph Barret J ⁿ	Timothy Tufts	Stephen Pain J ⁿ
David Howard	Samuel Hollowell	Benj ^a Sprague J ⁿ
		Joseph Lyndes
BENJ ^A BLANEY <i>captn.</i> ¹⁸		

¹⁸ *Mass. Archives: Rev. Rolls.*, xi. 209. They were paid for one day's service at the following rates: captain, 4s. 4d.; lieutenant, 3s.; second lieutenant, 2s. 8d.; sergeants, 1s. 8d.; corporals, 1s. 6d.; drummer, 1s. 6d.; and privates, 1s. 4d. The last fourteen names were allowed for

twenty miles travel, "out and home," and the others for thirty-four miles. The total amount was £15 4s., for which the Council ordered a warrant to be drawn, February 7, 1777. Captain Blaney's company was the fourth in the first regiment of Middlesex militia.

It was late when the Malden company marched from Kettell's Tavern; but small parties of exempts or of men who belonged to the militia, but were not enlisted with the minute men, preceded them by several hours. When the company reached the bridge in Medford they were met by an officer who halted them for some time, to await, it is supposed, information of the movements of the troops; and it was nearly noon when they were ordered to march to Menotomy, now Arlington, towards which the country people had been moving all the morning, at first from curiosity and later with the intention of cutting off straggling parties or annoying the troops on their return.

During the forenoon reinforcements under Lord Percy had gone out from Boston to the assistance of the expedition, which, after the affairs of the morning at Lexington and Concord, was now threatened by the uprising of the country at all points. In their rear, too far for their safety as it proved, was a sergeant's guard of twelve men conveying two supply wagons loaded with ammunition and provisions. They became separated from the main body in Cambridge, and at Menotomy were brought to a stand by a number of country people, who are said by some authorities to have been led by the Rev. Phillips Payson, the pastor of Chelsea. Others, on the authority of town traditions, claim that Daniel Lamson, variously called a half-breed Indian and a mulatto, conceived the plan of capturing the guard. The Americans, however, were unable to accomplish more than to annoy and impede the men, who were bewildered and supposed they were out of their road. The wagons were halted near the meeting house, not far from the junction of the Lexington and Medford Roads; and although the men were confused, they held at bay the country people, who were indulging in desultory firing from behind a wall. They had been in this condition some time when the Malden men coming up, unperceived until close at hand, made several prisoners and took their stores and arms with little difficulty. In this affair two of the guard were killed and several wounded by the country people before the minute men arrived.¹⁹

¹⁹ For the statements here made I of Cambridge, whose father, Bernard was indebted to the late James D. Green, Green, then a corporal of the Malden

The fugitives from Concord met Percy's command near Lexington about two o'clock; and after an hour's rest, of which they were sorely in need, the retreat was resumed. Their route was marked by butchery and pillage. They were pressed and harassed by the militia and farmers of Middlesex and Essex, who hung upon their rear, came upon them out of unexpected cross-roads, or fired upon them from fences, hedges, and trees. Tradition is silent as to the part which the Malden men performed in the work of the afternoon, except that the minute men kept together and followed the retreating troops to Charlestown Neck.²⁰ As they passed over Winter Hill, the bayonets

company, was an eye-witness of the events and a participator in them. The story of the capture of the guard at Menotomy has been told in many ways. *The Pennsylvania Journal*, May 24, 1775, says it was made by "a party of the militia," and later, August 2, it says, "The Rev. Mr. Payson, of Chelsea, in Massachusetts Bay, a mild, thoughtful, sensible man, at the head of a party of his own parish, attacked a party of the regulars, killed some and took the rest prisoners." These statements may be found in Moore, *Diary of the American Revolution*, i. 66. Gordon, *History of the Rise, &c., of the Independence of the United States*, i. 313, a useful but often inaccurate author, gives the leadership to Mr. Payson; while Thaxter in *The United States Literary Gazette*, cited by Everett, *Orations and Speeches*, i. 102, claims it for the Rev. Edward Brooks of Medford. Everett, who was by marriage a relative of Brooks, does not credit the story. Frothingham, *Siege of Boston*, 75, repeats Gordon's statement and says that Lamson, "a half Indian, distinguished himself in the affair." Bancroft, *History of the United States*, 12th. ed., vii. 307, following Gordon, says that the wagons "were waylaid and captured by Payson, the minister of Chelsea." Smith, *West Cambridge on the Nineteenth of April, 1775*, 28, 29, gives the honor of the capture to twelve exempts, led by Lamson, who is now called a mulatto; but his too circumstantial account followed by the ridiculous story of the inglorious surrender of

six grenadiers to "mother Batherick," who in the midst of the excitement was peacefully digging dandelions on the banks of Spy Pond, has not gained credit with later writers. Hudson, *History of Lexington*, 199, says that while Lamson may have been the leader at Menotomy, Payson may "have been the instigator, and an active leader at some other point;" while Paige, *History of Cambridge*, 411, alludes to the story only in a note of seven lines, and credits the exploit to "a dozen exempts." Almon, *Remembrancer*, 1775, 69, says: "At Menotomy, a few of our men attacked a party of twelve of the enemy, (carrying stores and provisions to the troops) killed one of them, wounded several, made the rest prisoners, and took possession of all their arms, stores, provisions, &c., without any loss on our side." The Chelsea militia, under Captain Samuel Sprague, marched in a company on the Lexington Alarm, but a body of Mr. Payson's parishioners, with their pastor, may have joined themselves with the Malden company and been at the attack. The story, as given in the text, is not inconsistent with the other accounts. Corporal Green was a man of intelligence and character, and his statement is entitled to credence.

²⁰ Thomas, Timothy, and Ezra Vinton of the Vinton neighborhood, now Melrose Highlands, but then a part of Stoneham, marched with the minute men of the latter town. Some of the north end men marched with the minute

of the British advance were glinting in the rays of the descending sun on the slope of Bunker Hill, and the regiment of Colonel Pickering was seen pushing rapidly along the Medford Road. Had the Essex men not been obliged to stop for rest and refreshment in Malden, they would have intercepted the British force before it could have got around Prospect Hill, and the greater part of the troops, suffering as they were from exhaustion, might have been captured. However, a merciful Providence may have averted a serious disaster to the American cause; for the ease with which the British troops could have been reinforced from Boston and the exposed and helpless condition of the town of Charlestown suggest possibilities of a great calamity. It is thought that some such considerations influenced General Heath when he ordered the provincials to cease the pursuit at Charlestown Common.

Some of the Malden men returned to their homes that night. Others remained until the next day. They bivouacked on the Somerville hills or the plains of Cambridge, and formed, with others, the first of that rapidly increasing army which in a few days encircled Boston from the hills of Chelsea to Dorchester Point.²¹

men from Kettell's Tavern, while others took a shorter route across the country to the Lexington Road. After they had left the women filled saddle-bags with food and despatched Israel Cook, with a horse belonging to Phineas Sprague, after them. Meeting the British on their retreat his horse was killed; but he shouldered the bags and wandered about until he met his friends, who were in need of the refreshments which he carried.

Among those who went out upon the early alarm was John Edmunds, who lived in the north-east part of the town, near the Chelsea line, and a boy named Breeden, who was probably from Chelsea, near Black Ann's Corner. The latter was about eighteen years old, and was unarmed, but he said he would get a gun if they would let him go. While they were following the troops in the afternoon, he became so daring that

Phineas Sprague, one of the minute men, called attention to him several times and remarked that he would be killed. Observing one of the soldiers lagging, he borrowed a gun and followed him. When the others came up he had killed the soldier and was eating the ration which his dead enemy had provided. Artemas Barrett, in *Melrose Journal*, April 17, 1875.

When the Malden company passed the foot of Prospect Hill the body of a British soldier lay on the grass before a house in which he had been killed. He was seen to enter the house and was followed by some Americans who despatched him with their bayonets. This is the story as told by Bernard Green. Frothingham, *Siege of Boston*, 78, states, on the authority of William B. Shedd, that the soldier was "shot through the window as he was pilfering."

²¹ Wright, *Historical Discourse*, 20,

On the approach of the British troops in the afternoon, great consternation prevailed among the inhabitants of Charlestown, and many, especially women and children, fled along the marsh to Medford or across Penny Ferry to Malden. Later others from Boston and Charlestown joined them, and many strangers claimed the hospitality of the Malden people. Those who were able to do military duty were obliged to join the militia of the town for the common defence.

When the time arrived to which the town meeting had been adjourned, it is said that those of the voters who had returned to their homes were too tired or too busy to attend to town matters; and the clerk was obliged to make the following record: —

April 20, 1775, Being the time to which this meeting stands adjourned, Being but few persons present the meeting was further adjourned till to-morrow morning at 9 o'Clock.

On the morrow the town met, and the selectmen were instructed to "make provision for a military watch for a fortnight at the Town's Expence;" and a committee, composed of Deacon Joseph Perkins, Ebenezer Barrett, Captain Ebenezer Harnden, Lieutenant Amos Upham, Captain John Dexter, Joseph Lynde, and Thomas Waite, was chosen "to supply the military company of this Town with provision if called to action."

This meeting, which was convened March 6, was not dissolved until May 8. By it the Rev. Peter Thacher, Captain Benjamin Blaney, and Ezra Sargeant were sent to the Committee of Safety at Cambridge "for directions in regulating the guard in this Town, and in any other matters that may concern our Safety." A guard was raised, composed of twelve men, who were to be paid at the rate of six dollars a month for their services;²² and Naler Hatch, who had followed the sea in his

says that the alarm list, comprising about sixty men under Captain Naler Hatch, was posted at Beacham's Point during the day. "Returning to town at night, a number requested leave to go to Concord; and before morning, they were on their way to join their friends

and brethren in battle." This is absurd. The enemy was safe in Charlestown; and the whole company was moving towards Boston — not away from it.

²² This is the first mention of dollars in the records of the town.

early life and was already in command of the alarm list, "a stout built man, rather rash in temper, and fiery in zeal," was appointed its captain.²³ About the same time the provincial Committee of Safety passed the following resolution.

[April 24, 1775.] *Resolved*, That the inhabitants of Chelsea and Malden be, and hereby are, absolutely forbidden to fire upon, or otherwise injure any seamen belonging to the navy under the command of Admiral Graves, unless fired upon by them, until the said inhabitants of Chelsea and Malden receive orders from this committee or the general of the provincial forces so to do.²⁴

This was probably intended to prevent immediate hostilities, which the provincial leaders were hardly ready to meet, and which might have been brought on at any moment by a collision between the inhabitants or the militia and small parties from the ships, which lay at the mouth of the Mystic, who might attempt to forage upon the neighboring shores. The Malden men had occupied Beacham's Point to protect the town on the day of the Lexington Alarm, and still continued there.

Two days later the Committee of Safety, being better prepared or assured that the people of Mystic Side and Winnisimmet could defend themselves,

Resolved, That the resolve of the twenty-fourth instant, respecting the inhabitants of Chelsea and Malden, be reconsidered, and *Ordered*, that it be immediately remanded; also,

Resolved, That the inhabitants of Chelsea and Malden be hereby desired, to put themselves in the best state of defence, and exert the same in such manner, as under their circumstances, their judgments may direct.²⁵

Soon after the inhabitants, in view of the exposed condition of the southern portion of the town, at a meeting, May 1,

Voted, Rev^d. Peter Thacher, Capt. Benj^a Blany, M^r Ezra Sargeant, be a Committee to go with the Committee of Chelsea, or without them, to the Committee of Safety, & request of them some assistance for our Safety.²⁶

²³ Wright, *Historical Discourse* (1831),
²⁴ *Journals Committee of Safety*, 522.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 523.

²⁶ Some communication was held be-

tween the inhabitants of Malden and those within the British lines as late as the last of May. The following paper relates to a pass which had been obtained from the English admiral for

The answer to this request is given in the following: —

In Committee of Safety May 3^d. 1775 Cambridge. Voted, that two Companies be raised in the Towns of Malden & Chelsea for the defence of the Sea Coast of said Towns, the said Companies to be Join'd to such Regiments in future, as they may be ordered to, should there be occasion or discharge them from service as soon as the publick good will admit of it and that Capt Benjamin Blaney [*of Malden*] & Capt [*Samuel*] Sprague [*of Chelsea*] be furnished with a set of beating Orders each for said purpose.

WILLIAM COOPER *Secy*.²⁷

In accordance with this vote a second company was raised in Malden, which, under the command of Captain Hatch, was posted at Beacham's Point, watching the landing places there and at Penny Ferry. Under the date of May 15 the Committee of Safety

Voted, That Capt. Naler Hatch [with the] Malden company be assigned to Col. Gardner's regiment, but they are to remain in Malden until the special order of Col. Gardner shall be received for their attendance elsewhere.²⁸

some purpose. From the situation and condition of the recipients, it is not impossible that they were engaged in furnishing supplies to the inhabitants of Boston; yet it seems hardly reasonable to suppose that such could be the case, as the provincial leaders had already determined to take the live stock from the islands and destroy such supplies as could not be removed. Ebenezer Pratt was a boatman by occupation and lived near Moulton's Island; and John Nichols, Jr., occupied one of the houses at Beacham's Point which were vacated to make room for the men of Captain Hatch.

"To the Honourable Committee of Safety sitting in Cambridge.

Gentlemen This may Certify you that Mr. Ebenezer Pratt Mr. John Nickols, Mr. John Barrett & Mr. John Nickols Jun^r are persons who may be confided in, that they will not take any advantage of a Pass which has been obtained for them from Sam^l Graves, Vice Admiral of the Blue, to the disadvantage of the Common cause in which we are all engaged, desiring at the Same time that you will lay them under such restrictions in every respect as you shall Judge necessary.

Signed by order & in the name of the Selectmen, the Committees of Correspondence & Inspection of the Town of Malden

PETER THACHER
BENJA^s BLANEY
ELISHA STORY.

Malden, May 25th, 1775."

Mass. Archives, cxxxviii. 76.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, cxlvi. 39.

²⁸ *Journals Committee of Safety*, 548.

A roll of this company shows the following list of officers and musicians.

Capt. Nailer Hatch	Maulden
Leut. Nathan Eaton	do
Ensign John Vezee	Boston
Sergt. Elijah Caswell	Maulden
Sergt. Benj ⁿ Grover	do
Sergt. Barnabas Newhall	do
Sergt. Unite Cox	do
Corpl. Edward Thompson	Lynn
Corpl. Charles Hill	Maulden
[Fifer] Naler Hatch	do
Drum: Oliver Donnell	Lynn.

Of the privates from other towns, there were two each from Boston, Charlestown, and Reading, including "Baccus a Negro" from the latter place, and one each from Stoneham, Newbury, and Townsend.

At a meeting of the Committee of Safety, held May 14, it was

Resolved, as the opinion of this committee, that all the live stock be taken from Noddle's island, Hog island, Snake island, and from that part of Chelsea near the sea coast, and be driven back; and that the execution of this business be committed to the committees of correspondence and selectmen of the towns of Medford, Malden, Chelsea, and Lynn, and that they be supplied with such a number of men as they shall need, from the regiment now at Medford.²⁹

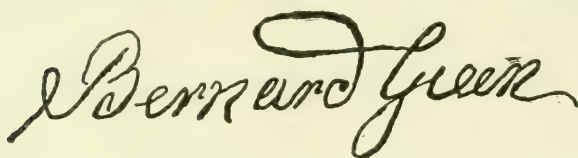
The expedition which marched to the islands during the forenoon of Saturday, May 27, to carry into execution the determination of the committee, was not entirely a military one, as it required the services of drovers as well as soldiers, and many Malden men were with the party in the former capacity; while the militia company of Captain Blaney is said to have formed a portion of the small detachment which supported it. Later a reinforcement of three hundred men under General Israel Putnam, who was accompanied by Dr. Joseph Warren, with two pieces of cannon, was sent to Winnisimmet. This affair, which continued until Sunday forenoon, has been dignified by the name of the battle of Noddle's Island, of Hog Island, or of Chelsea. Bloodless on the side of the Americans, with the exception of four wounded, it resulted in the recovery of three or four hundred cattle, the burning of a house and barn and a schooner, the taking of twelve swivels and four small cannon from the enemy, and a major-general's commission for General Putnam.³⁰ Its success increased the ardour of the troops and contributed not a little to prepare the way for the attempt to fortify and hold the heights of Charlestown.

During this eventful year the town met often, continuing its meetings from time to time by adjournment that the helpful machinery of the town meeting might be always in order. Thus the meeting, the transactions of which we have followed unto May 8, was succeeded by one which continued from May 20 to July 6, and that was followed by another, which held its sessions at times from July 10 to September 1. At a meeting, June 8, it

²⁹ *Journals Committee of Safety*, 545.

³⁰ See a contemporary account of this affair in Moore, *Diary of the American Revolution*, i. 85. Cf. Frothingham, *History of the Siege of Boston*, 109; and Sumner, *History of East Boston*, 371-389.

was recorded that in view of an adjournment, "Rev^d M^r Thacher be desired to mention it on Sabbath evening." At the same time, as the necessity seemed imminent, Samuel Sprague, Samuel Sprague, Jr., and Bernard Green were chosen "to make



part of the Town's Stock of Ammunition into Cartridges." Francis Phillips, Samuel Merritt, and Amos Shute were added to this committee at the next meeting.

On the ever-memorable June 17 the company of Captain Hatch still lay at Beacham's Point, although their comrades of Gardner's regiment participated in the battle. Here they were joined on the morning of that day by the militia company of Captain Blaney.³¹ From this spot the whole eventful scene was in full view, and the advance and retreat of the contending forces, and all the details of the conflict were discernible. There Peter Thacher saw the battle, a statement of which he afterwards prepared, at the request of the Committee of Safety, for transmission to England and for the information of posterity.³²

³¹ Bernard Green was with his company, and, in after life, often described the battle as seen from this advantageous point. Colonel Thomas Gardner, of the Middlesex regiment was wounded on the hill and died July 3.

"[July 4, 1775.] Colonel Gardner is to be buried to-morrow, at three o'clock, P.M., with the military honors due to so brave and gallant an officer, who fought, bled, and died in the cause of his country and mankind. His own regiment, except the company at Malden, to attend on this mournful occasion." Extract from Washington's orders, in Frothingham, *History of the Siege of Boston*, 180.

³² "The honorable the Congress of this colony, having passed a resolve that this committee be appointed to draw up and transmit to Great Britain, a fair and impartial account of the late

battle of Charlestown, as soon as possible; and this committee being exceedingly crowded with business, therefore, *Resolved*, that the Rev. Doct. Cooper, Rev. Mr. Gordon and the Rev. Mr. Peter Thacher, be desired to draw up a true statement of said action, as soon as may be, and lay it before this committee." *Journals Committee of Safety*, 594.

The statement, which was prepared by Mr. Thacher, is pronounced by authorities to be remarkably accurate. It is printed in Frothingham, *History of the Siege of Boston*, 382, and elsewhere. In the library of the American Antiquarian Society is an original manuscript of Mr. Thacher, in which he says, "The following account was written by a person who was an eye witness of the battle of Bunker's hill. Some of the circumstances the intervention of the

While the battle was in progress great alarm prevailed in Malden. Mrs. Hannah Green, wife of Samuel Green, who lived at the north end, near the Chelsea (Saugus) line, on hearing the cannon went into convulsions and died.³³ During the day, and afterward, many of the inhabitants, especially those of the southern portion of the town, removed their families and effects to less exposed localities, some going as far as Reading and others along the Salem Road to Black Ann's Corner and the secluded nooks of Scadan.³⁴ From the favoring crest of Wayte's Mount, many of the inhabitants of the northern and central parts of the town witnessed the distant battle. A number of wounded men were afterwards brought to the tavern of Dr. Jonathan Porter, as has been stated.

Soon after the Lexington Alarm the Committee of Safety had

Voted [April 21, 1775.] That the field pieces be removed from Newburyport, and deposited for the present, in the hands of Capt. Dexter of Malden.

Voted, That orders be given to Capt. Dexter to conceal the cannon committed to his care, which was accordingly done.³⁵

The cannon were brought to Malden and placed for a short time in the hay in Captain Dexter's barn; but circumstances soon made secrecy no longer necessary, and their presence became known to the inhabitants, who

Voted, [June 13.] That some part of the Town's stock of powder be made up in Cartridges for the Cannon to be used upon necessity.

hill prevented him from seeing, for he stood on the north side of Mystic river." This important manuscript, which was the basis of the narrative prepared for transmission to England, is carefully printed in full, with all its corrections indicated, in the *Historical Magazine*, iii. (Series 2), 381.

³³ Cf. Green, *Descendants of Thomas Green*[e], 40, and Artemas Barrett in *Melrose Journal*, April 17, 1875.

³⁴ William Tudor, writing from Cambridge, June 23, said, "Since the Fight at Charlestown, Brooklyne, Cambridge, Medford, Lynn & Salem, Chelsea & Malden are deserted by the Women & Children, whilst the Houses back in the

Country are crowded with the wretched Refugees from British Fury & Cruelty." *Historical Magazine*, iii. (Series 2), 377. This is undoubtedly exaggerated; but many women and children, and sometimes whole families, retired farther into the country.

There is a tradition that on the night of June 16 the Malden meeting house was filled with fugitives from Boston and Charlestown, who were glad to lie upon the floor. In the morning no breakfast was provided, but a dinner for all came at noon. *Malden Evening News*, June 15, 1895.

³⁵ *Journals Committee of Safety*, 520.

The day before the battle of Bunker Hill Captain Ebenezer Harnden and Dr. Jonathan Porter were chosen "to repair to Head quarters & request that a person be sent to view our cannon, & advise where to make an Entrenchment, for our own defence." Three days later the battle had been fought, the British troops were in possession of the heights of Charlestown, and their boats occupied the Mystic.³⁵ The inhabitants were still more fearful of an incursion upon their southern borders, and it was then

Voted, That the Inhabitants of Boston & Charlestown, resident in this Town be desired to attend at the next adjournment of this meeting in order to give their reasons (if any they have) why they should not do military duty with the Inhabitants of this Town for the common defence.

Voted, That Capt Daniel Waters be desired immediately to prepare y^e cannon in this Town for use.

Two days later Captain Daniel Waters and Ezra Sargeant were instructed

to apply to the Hon^{le} provincial Congress for direction in using the artillery in this Town, & request that Capt. Daniel Waters may have orders to enlist a sufficient number of men to make use of them if necessary, & also to request some assistance from the army for our defence in our very dangerous situation.

An answer to their request was soon given by the Congress in the following order and report: —

[June 23, 1775.] *Ordered*, That Capt. Sprague, Capt. White and Doct. Whiting, be a committee to take into consideration a petition from the town of Malden.

[June 23, 1775.] The committee appointed to take into consideration the request from the town of Malden, reported as follows, which

³⁵ The English batteries often fired upon the inhabitants or houses from the river. While ploughing upon the farm of Captain Solomon Corey, between the present Chelsea and School Streets in Everett, a chain-shot with the British mark was turned out, and others have been found on the Nichols farm and at other places in the vicinity.

Thomas Waite, of Scadan, was fired upon while getting hay from the Mystic

marshes. He mocked the reports of the cannon in a loud voice and received the name of "Rim Bim," which he carried through life from that circumstance. He possessed a very strong and clear voice; and tradition says that he could be heard calling to his oxen from Lewis's Bridge to his house at the corner of Salem and Lebanon Streets. He died August 13, 1828.

was accepted, viz. : the committee beg leave to report, that the inhabitants of the town of Malden be [directed] to make the best use of their artillery they can, for their defence, in case they shall be attacked by the enemy, and that they make their application for assistance to the general of the army, who, doubtless, will furnish them with such detachments from the army, as they shall judge necessary and expedient.³⁷

An earthwork had already been thrown up at Beacham's Point, commanding the landing place there; and another, to command the road from Penny Ferry, was now constructed, enclosing the Sprague house, since known as the Flagg house, which stood near the junction of Main and Bow Streets in Everett. Some traces of the latter work were visible in 1831, and the marks of a ball, which was fired by the enemy from the river, might be seen upon or within the house when it was demolished in 1894. The defence of these slight works was assigned to Captain Hatch, who perhaps had with him the company of Captain Blaney. The artillery which was in the keeping of the town may have been placed there, but there is no statement, either of record or tradition, to indicate it. The men who formed the guard at the Sprague house were quartered in that and the Sweetser, now Lynde, house and the barns near by.³⁸ At Beacham's Point one house, at least, was demolished for firewood during the winter; and another, in which the men were quartered, lost all its movables to the window sashes and doors, and would soon have followed its neighbor had not the evacuation of Boston and the consequent ending of the siege sent its warlike and destructive inmates back to their homes.

The company of Captain Hatch remained on duty at Beacham's Point and Penny Ferry during the siege, although Bond's, formerly Gardner's, regiment, to which it belonged, was stationed across the Mystic at Prospect Hill; and guard duty at the neighboring points in Chelsea and Medford was per-

³⁷ *Journals Provincial Congress*, 381, 382.

³⁸ Wright, *Historical Discourse*, (1831), 21. He says: "Apertures were made in the buildings, through which the men were able to fire upon the approaching foe." At the time Wright wrote one

individual, Amos Sargeant, alone remained "of those who composed Capt. Hatch's company, at the time of the occupation of these fortifications." He died August 12, 1836, aged 78. He was grandfather of Albert F. Sargent, for many years town clerk.

formed by the regiment which on the day of the battle was commanded by Colonel Gerrish.³⁹ It was soon discovered that a single company was inadequate upon a shore which was so open to incursions of the enemy. On July 23 Christian Febiger, the Danish adjutant of Gerrish's regiment, reported as follows: —

Capt Hall & one of his Officers gave me the following Information about the Malden Station.

Capt Hatch of Colo^l Gardners Regiment is there with one Company & has to mount 20 men on Guard every Day without Officers. three Relieves is 20 men privates mounting every Day & then they have no Sentries on the River which by the Description and the Situation of the place wants at least 4 Centries every Night.⁴⁰

In consequence of this report the station was reinforced by a company under Captain Eleazer Lindsey of Gerrish's regiment, which had been doing duty at Winnisimmet. That this added no real strength was soon proved.

[Sunday, August 6, 1775.] Just after meeting [A. M.] two floating batteries came up Mystic River and fired several shots on Malden side, and landed a number of regulars, which set fire to a house near Peny ferrys which burnt to ashes. One Capt. Lyndsly who was stationed there, fled with his company, and got before the women and children in his flight. We were all alarmed, and immediately manned our lines, and our people went down to Temple's Point with one field piece, and fired several shot, at the regulars, which made them claw off as soon as possible. Gen. Gage, this is like the rest of your Sabbath day enterprises. About sunset we were discharged.⁴¹

A paper of the day chronicles this little affair in a few words.

³⁹ Colonel Samuel Gerrish was severely criticised for his conduct at Bunker Hill, and a few weeks after at Sewall's Point, during an attack by a floating battery in the evening. He was tried by a court-martial, August 19, 1775, found guilty and cashiered. He was succeeded as colonel by Loammi Baldwin of Woburn. This regiment, originally known as the 38th, was designated as the 26th upon the reorganization of the army near the close of 1775, and remained in service with Washington until the beginning of 1777. The continental establishment, ordered by Con-

gress in the latter part of 1776, provided for eighty-eight regiments, of which seventeen were raised in Massachusetts. From the old 26th and other sources Major James Wesson of that regiment raised a new regiment, which was known as the 9th in the Massachusetts continental line. *MS. letter of Francis S. Drake. Cf. N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, xxv. 187-190.

⁴⁰ *Mass. Archives: Rev. Rolls*, xxii. 152.

⁴¹ *Journal of Benj. Craft*, in *Hist. Coll. Essex Institute*, iii. 56.

Last Sabbath the Enemy set Fire to the House at Penny Ferry, Malden side, which was consumed. This building was commanded by their Cannon on Bunker-Hill.⁴²

Frothingham, on the authority of John Kettell's diary, says it was the ferry house which was burned;⁴³ and Timothy Newell, writing in Boston, adds a little to the story. "[Aug.] 6th Skirmishing up Mystic river, several Soldiers brought over here wounded. The House at Penny ferry Malden side burnt."⁴⁴

Captain Lindsey's men, who were mostly from the county of Essex, recovered themselves; and on the thirteenth, when two barges and two sail boats, on their way from Boston to the floating battery in the Mystic, came near Beacham's Point, they opened fire and forced the enemy to retire. While passing down the river the barges became engaged with Gerrish's men at Winnisimmet and a hot fire was exchanged. Kettell, remembering, perhaps, the former stampede, says: "Our brave Yankees, so called, played the man, and beat them."⁴⁵ Of Captain Lindsey an additional record is found.

Head-quarters, August 16, 1775. Captain Eleazer Lindsey of Colonel Gerrish's regiment, tried by a general court-martial for absent-

⁴² *The New-England Chronicle*, August 10, 1775.

⁴³ Frothingham, *History of the Siege of Boston*, 232.

⁴⁴ *Newell's Journal*, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxxi. 265.

⁴⁵ Frothingham, *History of the Siege of Boston*, 232. Newell writes: "[August] 13th Several Gondaloes sailed up Mystic river, upon which the Provincials and they had a skirmish, many shots exchanged but nothing decisive." *Newell's Journal* in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxxi. 265. Captain William T. Miller of Rhode Island, writing to his wife from Prospect Hill, August 13, says: "We are at present Very Peacable here there hath been one Regular Deserted from Bunkers Hill Last Night and two to Day by Swimming a Cross Mistick River to Malden and 2 Boats that were armed from Bunkers hill were Sailing up Mistick River and were Drove back by the

brisk firing of Some field pieces from Malden this day which Caused them in a Very great Hurry to Retreat and Run ashore on Bunkers hill Shore." *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, xi. 139.

Other mention is made of the deserters who came across the river from the British lines. "Sunday [August] 13th Two Regulars deserted from Bunker's Hill, swam over to Malden, and were carried to Royal's, General Washington's headquarters. Friday, [August] 25th In the afternoon three men from the Regulars' floating [battery] there swam at Malden, and one came through Charlestown." "*Paul Lunt's Book*," in *Mass. Hist. So. Proc.*, February, 1872, 198. "[September 7, 1775.] It was reported that fourteen regulars deserted from Bunker's Hill, last night to Malden, for truth of it cannot say." *Journal of Benj. Craft*, in *Hist. Coll. Essex Institute*, iii. 137.

ing himself from his post, which was attacked and abandoned to the enemy; the court, on consideration, are of opinion that Captain Lindsey be discharged the service, as a person improper to sustain a commission.⁴⁶

Those of the town who were not within the lines were useful in furnishing or transporting supplies or in other ways assisting the army. Thus Samuel Sargeant, John Vinton, Nathaniel Lynde, and others were employed in carting fish; Aaron Blaney received one hundred and thirteen pounds, fourteen shillings, and threepence for building ovens; and John Waite, Ezekiel Jenkins, and others were paid for carting bread, perhaps from Blaney's ovens. Prisoners were quartered upon James Kettell, and prisoners and Indians upon William Waite, at their respective taverns; and they and others received compensation for billeting.⁴⁷ In the summer of 1775 thirteen thousand coats were ordered by the Provincial Congress for the Massachusetts troops, and, of these, forty-five were apportioned to Malden. These the selectmen were to procure and they were to "cause a certificate to be sewed to the inside of each coat, purporting from what town it came, and by whom the coat was made, and, if the cloth was manufactured in this country, by whom it was manufactured."⁴⁸

Malden lay upon the highway between the eastern extremity of the American lines and the headquarters at Cambridge; and detachments of men and wagons with supplies, or officers upon duty were constantly passing and repassing between them, or coming in from the more distant towns beyond.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ *Henshaw's Order Book in Mass. Hist. So. Proc.*, October, 1876, 144.

⁴⁷ "Memo. of the sums passed by the Court's Committee on a/c since the Council undertook to Record them;" in the office of the Secretary of State.

⁴⁸ *Journals Provincial Congress*, 456. The towns were to be allowed five shillings and fourpence per yard for good plain cloth of seven-eighths of a yard wide, "preference to be given to the manufactures of this country," and four shillings for making each coat, without buttons. The Committee of Supplies

was to "cause all the coats to be buttoned with pewter buttons," stamped with the number of the regiment. Each non-commissioned officer and private in the Massachusetts forces was entitled to one coat. The orders and receipts used in this distribution are preserved in the office of the Secretary of State, and form a valuable record of the eight-months' men of 1775.

⁴⁹ The detachment of Colonel Benedict Arnold marched from Cambridge on the evening of September 13, and a portion came to Malden, where they en-

The situation of Powder Horn Hill gave the Americans a great advantage by the ease with which they could overlook from its crest the harbor of Boston and the surrounding country. Here Washington often came with his officers for observation, and on the way was wont to stop awhile at the hospitable home of Captain Dexter, beneath the stately elm which still bears his name.⁵⁰

Travelling upon the Sabbath became a great annoyance and a grief to the inhabitants of Malden, who at a meeting, held July 10, chose the Rev. Peter Thacher, Captain Ebenezer Harnden, and Captain John Dexter, in company with a committee of Lynn,

to wait upon y^e Committee of Supplies at Watertown, or upon y^e honourable provincial Congress, informing them, 'That with great grief they observe the breach of the Sabbath made by multitudes of teams travelling upon that day, & other persons unnecessarily journeying, and to desire that they would take effectual measures to prevent the same for the future.

The result of the committees' errand does not appear. It is easy to suppose that the necessities of the camps and the curiosity of the country people proved stronger than the committees of Lynn and Malden.

camped that night. The next morning, very early, they marched and encamped the next night at Beverly. Another portion of the detachment camped the first night at Medford, and marched through Malden the next morning. This detachment, which was destined to join the expedition against Quebec under General Montgomery, threaded the wilderness of Maine, in the midst of privations and suffering which have seldom been equalled. Cf. Joseph Ware's *Journal*, in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, vi. 129; *Journal of Major Return J. Meigs*, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xii. 227.

⁵⁰ The noble avenue of elms before the house which now occupies the site of the old house of Captain John Dexter is well known to the present generation. It shows the unmistakable signs of age, and has lost much of its former

beauty. The largest of the trees stands near the house, and is that which is known as the Washington elm. The following incident is said to have happened beneath its wide spreading branches.

Passing through Malden with some of his officers Washington stopped for refreshment at the house of Captain Dexter. As they came out one of the company accidentally knocked a stone off the wall which ran before the house. Washington said he ought to replace it. "No," replied the other, "I will leave that for somebody else." Washington then went quietly and put the stone back, saying, "I always make it a rule, in visiting a place, to leave things in as good order as I find them." Rev. John G. Adams, in the *Myrtle*, n. d.

At the annual town meeting, March 4, 1776, a committee, composed of Captain John Dexter, Samuel Sprague, Lieutenant Nathan Lynde, and Captain Ebenezer Harnden, was chosen "to Estimate the damages Sundry Persons of the Town have sustaned from the Counantall Soldiers Stationed in the Same."⁵¹ The report of this committee has not been found and the result of its investigations is known only by the following communication, which was evidently written by the authority of the Committee of Correspondence.

Gentl^m. At the Desire of our Representative I have Giuen you an account of the Estimation of Damages Done in the Town of Malden Since the 19th of april, 1775. as near as Can be ascertain^d at present the foot of said Acc^t is £ 262. 13. 4 L. money.

JAMES KETTELL *Clark of Said Commity*.⁵²

Malden Sept^r 9, 1776.

⁵¹ This meeting was held at a time of great excitement. During the succeeding night the heights of Dorchester were occupied by the American forces; and in the morning the British general saw the commanding hills crowned by earthworks that the haze of early dawn magnified to his astonished eyes. Then began the movements which resulted in the evacuation of Boston.

In spite of the general anxiety which prevailed during the day, the inhabitants of Boston who were outside of the British lines, met at the meeting house in Watertown, where "An *Oration* to com-

memorate the Horrid Massacre of the 5th of March, 1770, & to impress upon the Minds of the Citizens the ruinous Tendency of standing Armies being placed in free & populous Cities in Time of Peace, was delivered by The Rev^d Peter Thacher to a numerous Audience, and received by them with the greatest Applause." *Boston Town Records, Report of the Record Commissioners*, xviii. 226. This oration of the Malden pastor was printed, and has been considered as one of his ablest productions.

⁵² *Mass. Archives*, cxxxviii. 347.



CHAPTER XXII.

MALDEN IN THE REVOLUTION.

THE departure of the British troops from Boston and the consequent removal of the army from the American lines carried the scenes of military activity and strife from this vicinity. The fugitive farmers returned to their homes in the lower parts of the town and the old ways of life were resumed. Yet Malden bore her part in the conflict unto the end; and her men, both young and old, beardless youth and veterans of the former wars, hesitated not to stand with their brethren of other towns and other colonies in defence of their common rights. We shall see how two hundred and thirty-one of the sons of the little town upheld her honor in the dark days and gave their strength, sometimes their lives, in the cause of liberty. It has been already stated that the white inhabitants of the town in 1776 amounted to but one thousand and thirty individuals. If we consider that from this population we must eliminate the women and children and the aged and sick, we may realize the heavy demand which was made upon the able-bodied men of the town, and may understand how poverty and suffering prevailed. Manufactures, such as they were in those days, declined; the farms were insufficiently tilled; and all the vocations

of life, save as they were served by unwonted laborers, were neglected.

In the spring of 1776 the subject of independence became prominent in the minds of the people. The events of the past year had closed the ways to a peaceful settlement and had given the colonies new ideas of the resources and the spirit of their people. In May the Massachusetts House of Representatives, by a resolution, called upon the towns to advise and instruct their representatives upon this great question. For once in its history the men of Malden, urged and impelled, perhaps, by the impetuous and enthusiastic pastor of the North Church, responded to a public call before their fellows of other towns. Frothingham says, "The instructions of Malden and Boston were the earliest I have found in the newspapers;"¹ and it is a matter of pride to me to add that the instructions of Malden preceded those of Boston by three days, placing the little Middlesex town foremost in the expression of public opinion. The instructions then given form the last in that series of public papers which illumines the records of the town and is one of its most glorious monuments. It has been printed several times since it appeared in the *Boston Gazette*, from which it was quoted by Chief Justice Marshall;² but it has never before appeared in the form in which Dr. Jonathan Porter, acting as clerk, entered it upon the records of the town.³

At a Legal Town meeting in malden may 27 1776

To see if the Town will Choos a Committee to Advise the Person Chosen to Represent them in the Next General Court whether that if

¹ Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*, 507. The instructions of Boston were adopted, May 30. *Report of the [Boston] Record Commissioners*, xviii. 236-238.

² This paper was lithographed in 1831 by a subscription obtained by the efforts of the Rev. Sylvanus Cobb, and might once be seen on the walls of many Malden houses. It is now seldom found, but a copy appropriately hangs in the Converse Memorial Building for the benefit of posterity. Chief Justice Marshall quotes its spirited declarations with approval in his *Life of George Washington*, 1804, ii. 407; and it may

be found in Niles, *Principles and Acts of the Revolution*, 131-132; and *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, iii. 279. Remarks by George S. Hale on the occasion of the presentation of a copy of the lithograph are in *Mass. Hist. So. Proc.*, December, 1884, 335-339.

³ At a meeting, March 11, 1776, Dr. Jona. Porter was chosen clerk, *pro tempore*, in the absence of Nathaniel Jenkins, the town clerk and schoolmaster. Eight days later Master Jenkins died and Dr. Porter appears to have acted as clerk until the election of Samuel Merritt at the next March meeting.

the Honorable Congress Should for the Safety of the Coloneys Declare them Independent of the Kingdom of Great Britain they the Said Inhabitants will Solemnly Engage with their lives and fortunes to Support them in the measure

Voted Mr Ezar Sargeant Modarator

Voted to Choos a Committee to Advise the Representative

The Town Resolved themselves into a Committee the Rev^d mr Willis was Choozen Chairman the Committee Proceeded to Consider the matter and Prepared the folowing Instructions for their Representative and Reported the Said Instructions to the Town for their Consideration and the Question was Put whether the Report and Instructions Prepared By the Committee be agreable and it Pasd in the affirmative By a unanamus vote

To Mr Ezra Sargeant

Sir

A Resolution of the Late Honnorable House of Repesantatives: Calling upon the Several Towns in this Colony to Express their minds, with Respect to the Important Question of American Independence is the occasion of our now Instructing you. the Time was Sir when we loved the King and the People of Grate Briton with an affection Truly fillial we felt our Selves Interested in their Glory: we Shared in their Joys & Sorrows we Chearfully powered the fruit of all our Labours into the lap of the mother Country & without Reluctance Expended our Blood and our Treasure in their Cause

These ware our Sentements Towards Grate Britan while She Continued to act the Part of a Parant State we felt our Selves happy in our Conection with hir Nor wishd to Desolved but our Sentements are altred it is now the Ardent wish of our Soles that America may become free & Independent States:

A sence of unprovoked Injuries will arouse the Resentment of y^e most Peacefull. Such Injuries these Colonies have Received from Britain unjustifiable Claims have Ben made by the King & his minions to Tax us without our Consent, these Clames have Been Prosecuted in a manner Cruel & unjust to the highest Degree the Frantick Policy of Administration hath Induced them to Send fleets and armies to america that by Depriving us of our trade & Cutting the throats of our Breathrean they might awe us into Submission & Erect a Systim of Dispotism in America which Should So far Enlarge the Influnce of the Crown as to enable it to rivit their Shakles upon the People of Grate Britan

This was brought to a Crices upon the ever memorable Ninetenth of april we remember the fatal Day the Expiring groans of our murdered Countrymen yet Vibrate on our Ears! we now behold the flames of their Peasful Dwellings asending to Heaven we hear their Blood Cry-

ing to us from the Ground Vengeance & Charging us as we Value the Peace of their manes to have no further Connection with a King who can unfeelingly hear of the Slaughter of his subjects & Composedly Sleep with their Blood upon his Soul :

The manner in which the war has Been Prosecuted hath confirmd us in these Sentiments: Piracy & murder Robbery & breach of faith have Been Conspicuous in y^e Conduct of the Kings troops Defenseless Towns have Been attacked & Destroyed: the Ruines of Charlestown which are Daily in our Vew Dayly Remind us of this: the Cryes of y^e widow & y^e orphen Demand our Attention they Demand that y^e hand of Pity Should wipe y^e tear from there Eye & that the Sword of their Country Should Avenge their rongs

We long Entertaind hops that the Sperit of the British Nation would once more Induce them to Assert their own and our Rights & Bring to Condine Punishment the Elivated Villins who have Trampld upon y^e Sacred Rights of men & affronted y^e Majesty of the People.

We hop^d in vain they have lost their love to freedom they have lost their Spirit of Just Resentment we therefore Renounce with Disdain our Connection with a Kingdom of Slaves, we bid a final adue to Britan Could an Accomadation be Now affected we have Reason to think that it would be fatal to the libertyes of america. we Should Soon Catch y^e Contagon of Vanality & Disapation, which hath Subjected Britons to lawless Domination, ware we Placed in the Situation we ware in in the year 1773 ware the Powers of appointing to office & Comanding the militia in the hands of Govennors our acts Trade and manufactor would be Cramped :

Nay more than this the life of every man who has Been active in the Cause of his Country would be Endangered for these reasons as well as many others which might be Produced we are Confirmed in y^e oppinion that the Presant age will be Deficent in their Duty to God their Posterity & themselves if they do not Estabilish an american Republick this is y^e only form of Goverment which we wish to See Established for we Can never be willingly Subject to any other King than He who Being Possessed of Infinite wisdom Goodness & Rectitude is alone fit to Possess unlimited Power :

we have freely Spoken our Sentiments upon this Important Subject but we mean Not to Dictate, we have unbounded Confidence in the wisdom & uprightness of the Continantall Congress with Pleasure we recolect that this Affair is under their Direction and we now Instruct you Sir, to give them the Strongest Assuerance that if that they Should Declare america to be a free & Jndependant Republick your Constituance will Support and Defend the measure to the last Drop of their Blood & the last farthing of their Treasure.

So spoke the men of Malden in a paper which is not second to any which the fearless spirit of revolutionary New England produced. That Peter Thacher was the author of the instructions I have no doubt. Mr. Willis is mentioned by Dr. McClure as the chairman of a committee which reported the paper, and by implication is given credit for a share in its authorship.⁴ I cannot see that he was possessed of the spirit and ability to produce its clear statements and ringing sentences. Moreover, it will be seen that no committee, save that of the whole town, of which he was made chairman, considered it; and, I think, it is clear that it was already prepared and only awaited its presentation and acceptance by the town. Ezra Sargeant, the moderator of the meeting, was the representative of the town; and he could not properly preside over a committee which was to give him special instructions; nor is it likely that Mr. Willis would have been chosen to receive a paper of his own composition. His place would have been upon the floor. I suspect that Mr. Thacher presented and read the paper which he alone had prepared. That the instructions could have been prepared by the voters of the town, acting as a committee, as stated in the record, is impossible; and the circumstances, as well as the document itself, in its sentiments and style, point to the pastor of the North Church alone as its author.

After the departure of Washington and the army for New York there were frequent alarms in Boston and along the seaboard, occasioned by the presence of several British ships, which remained in the lower harbor. Earthworks were thrown up in positions best adapted for the double purposes of offence and defence. That at Noddle's Island was built by volunteers from the neighboring towns, of whom some were from Malden. The public danger appearing most imminent, the Province raised three regiments and six companies of artillery for service around the harbor and on the islands, while the continental regiments, which had remained for the protection of the town, were posted in Boston and upon the heights of Charlestown

⁴ *Bi-Centennial Book of Malden*, 167.

and Dorchester, which overlooked it. The latter were under the command of General Artemas Ward, while the former were under the immediate direction of General Benjamin Lincoln, as chairman of the committee of the Province. In addition to this force the militia of the neighboring towns was held in readiness to march to any threatened point.

Early in June it was determined to drive the enemy from the harbor; and on the thirteenth detachments of the continental and provincial troops, with a body of the militia, took possession of the islands and headlands of the lower harbor, from whence a sharp fire was opened upon the fleet. On the next day, finding it imprudent to remain, the enemy, with the exception of two or three vessels, which were captured, went to sea after destroying the lighthouse on the Little Brewster.

There is in existence *A Role of the Company of the Militia that Went to Point Shirley June the 13 1776 Under the Command of Cap^t Benjⁿ Blaney of Malden, By Order of General Lincoln.*⁵ This company, which numbered fifty-seven officers and privates, contained many who had marched upon the Lexington Alarm. Its service was performed in three days and its members were credited with twenty miles of travel. Tradition, which preserves the trivial quite as often as it remembers that which is important, says that the women and children, who followed them on their departure met the returning heroes at Lewis's Bridge, and that the company was dismissed on the little green at the side of Kettell's Tavern, when its famous west room was undoubtedly filled with the thirsty patriots of the town.

Soon after the evacuation of Boston the company of Captain Naler Hatch marched with its regiment, then known as the twenty-fifth of the continental line. This regiment was stationed at New York until April 20, when it was sent up the Hudson to Albany, and joined the unfortunate expedition which, under General John Thomas of Massachusetts, attempted the invasion of Canada. Upon the retreat upwards of four hundred men of the regiment were taken with the small-pox; and Ensign Elisha Cox of Captain Hatch's company, "a good

⁵ *Mass. Archives: Rev. Rolls, xvii. 73.*

officer," died June 25.⁶ Colonel Bond, writing to his wife from Ticonderoga, August 10, says:

Last Monday a most sorrowful accident happened, at Crown Point, on board one of the gondolas. One of Capt. Hatch's men, after having discharged a cannon once, was loading her again, and as he was ramming down the cartridge, it went off and blew him to pieces.⁷

At the last of June the Province was called upon for five thousand men for six months. Further calls for reinforcements for the army at New York and in Canada were made early in July, and an additional levy of every twenty-fifth man was ordered. In September the demands of Washington were still more pressing and to meet them every fifth man was called out by the General Court.⁸

The town met these various calls with promptness. At a meeting, held July 8, it was voted to pay eight pounds in addition to the province bounty "to Each man that shall Inlist to go on the Canady Expidation;" and the polls of enlisted men were not to be taxed for this expenditure. In September it was voted to "Give Incouragement to those men that shall be Draughted to go to the Assistance of the army at New York;" and an additional bounty of four pounds was granted to each man.

Under the call for five thousand men Malden furnished twenty-four of the two hundred which were drafted from the first Middlesex regiment. This contingent marched in two companies under Captain Edward Harrington and Captain Josiah Warren, from July 25 to August 3, and proceeded to Ticonderoga.⁹ The following letter was written by Mr. Thacher to the Malden men.

Malden, Sept. 10th. 1776.

My Dear and Beloved Friends: — It was with very great satisfaction that I, last Saturday night, received your letter, in which you inform me

⁶ *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, iv. 71.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 72.

⁸ In writing of the many calls for troops made upon Massachusetts, Bradford, in his *History of Massachusetts*, has

been my most helpful authority. Later and more pretentious writers have utilized his labors, and sometimes his words, with scanty acknowledgment.

⁹ *Mass. Archives: Rev. Rolls*, xli. 122.

that you are all well ; it was truly refreshing and agreeable to me for I feel myself tenderly concerned for you all, for your temporal but especially for your spiritual welfare.

Your friends here are all well. We have had but one death since you left us and that is, Mr. Thomas Prat who was near his end when you left us : your wives and families are all well, and there is no one sick in my whole parish that I know of, except old Mr. Falkener who seems to be wasting away with old age.

I would hope and trust that you will avoid the sins of the place you are in and remember the advice I was enabled to give you when I spoke last to you in public ; oh do not forget that you are under obligations to keep yourselves from the pollutions that are in the world thro' lust ; the eyes of all will be upon you as professors of religion, and if you should fall away, what a disgrace would it be to it ; pray for strength against temptation, that when sinners entice you, you may not consent, and that you may be enabled to do your duty in action ; do not let us hear that any of you refuse to express yourselves in the cause of God and your country.

Your friends at home are daily praying for you and I hope you are praying for them, we may help one another, in this way, when we are at the greatest distance.

We hear it is sickly at Ticonderoga, I pray God you may all be preserved from it and returned in safety. May God bless you all and every one with the best of his blessings, especially with life forevermore — so wishes and prays your affectionate friend and pastor

PETER THACHER.

*To Mr. John Ramsdal and Mr. Francis Phillips and all who left Malden.*¹⁰

Of the levy of the twenty-fifth men Malden's quota was five of the thirty-four men who were drafted and marched, September 5, under Captain Nathan Sargeant of Malden, with the regiment of Colonel Fox.¹¹

Under the call for the fifth men the drafted men for the lower Middlesex regiment were formed into a regiment under

¹⁰ *Malden Messenger*, date unknown. Thomas Pratt, who is mentioned, died August 20, 1776. "Old Mr. Falkener" is perhaps an error of the printer. Anna (Sprague) Faulkner, widow of Benjamin Faulkner, died October 26, 1776, aged 80 years. Mr. Thacher soon after visited the army near New York.

¹¹ *Mass. Archives: Rev. Rolls*, xli. 122.

Mr. Thacher wrote from Fairfield, Conn., in September, to have the Malden men hurried forward, as they were much needed. The roads were filled with Connecticut men who were going home. Bancroft, *History of the United States*, 5th ed., ix 57, speaks of the conduct of the Connecticut troops at this time.

Colonel Eleazer Brooks, of Lincoln. It was ordered to march to Horse Neck, September 26, and took part in the battle of White Plains, October 28. The first company of this regiment was commanded by Captain John Walton of Cambridge, and contained the following Malden men: —

Bernard Green, *First Sergeant*,
Timothy Tufts, *Third Corporal*,

David Deland,	John Grover,	Henry Kelly,
William Sprague,	John Sweetser,	William Upham,
Benoni Vinton,	Jonathan Lynde,	Robert Oliver. ¹²

Another draft was made later in the year; and the levy, under Colonel Samuel Thacher of Cambridge, was ordered to march, December 16, to Fairfield, Connecticut. The first company of this regiment was composed of eighty-eight men, of whom nine were from Malden; and it was officered as follows: —

Benjamin Blaney, of Malden, *Captain*,
Stephen Hall, of Medford, *First Lieutenant*,
John Marean, of Newton, *Second Lieutenant*.¹³

In a return of Colonel Dike's regiment at Dorchester, September 21, Malden is mentioned among the "Towns that have not sent any."¹⁴ This was a militia regiment raised from the neighboring towns for the temporary purpose of replacing the continental troops, which had been posted in and around Boston. That Malden had so large a proportion of her men in more active service may account for the seeming neglect. Had they been present they would have been found in the company of Captain Caleb Brooks of Medford.

The fall and winter of 1776 was a season of great discouragement and fear to the American people.¹⁵ The reverses around

¹² *Mass. Archives: Worcester Rolls; Mass. Archives: Rev. Rolls*, xxiv. 3.

¹³ *Mass. Archives: Rev. Rolls*, xli. 107.

¹⁴ *Mass. Archives: Rev. Rolls*, xxvi. 77.

¹⁵ In the winter of 1776 the General Court passed "an Act to prevent Monopoly & Oppression," which was designed to check speculation and a spirit

of extortion, which, as is usual in times of public distress, began to appear. Under this act Ezra Sargeant and Jonathan Sprague gave information, on oath, to the Board of War, "that they have good Reason to suspect that in the Houses of Mary Emmerson Widow & Jacob parker Housewright or Gentleman, both of Malden aforesaid there is

New York dispirited men who had trusted in their own courage and a favoring Providence rather than in material strength and military discipline; and the army, which had been formed by levies made for short periods of service, was threatened with an early dissolution. It then began to be seen that the country, however averse its farmers and mechanics might be to a military life, must make the work of war a business, and that only an army enlisted for a long period could attain to a discipline that would enable it to oppose with success the hardy veterans of European wars; and the continental line was ordered to be reorganized and filled by regiments raised for a service of three years or for the war. At the close of the year the bold attacks and brilliant successes of Trenton and Princeton revived the courage and hopes of the people, and, as Mr. Bancroft remarks, "turned the shadow of death into the morning."¹⁶

In Massachusetts under the new requisition every seventh man was called and the General Court prepared an address, which was read at the head of the militia companies and to the congregations assembled on the Sabbath. "We entreat you," it said, "for the sake of religion, for the enjoyment of which our ancestors fled to a wilderness, for the sake of freedom and social happiness, to act vigorously in this critical state of our country."¹⁷ The proportion of each town was fixed and each

considerable number of yards of Woolen & Linnen Cloth, which Cloth is absolutely necessary for the use of the Army & that the said cloth in said Houses the owner refuses to sell or dispose of at reasonable price."

On this information a warrant was issued, upon which the following return was made, March 19, 1777.

"In obedience to the within Precept I have made Search In the house of the widow Mary Emerson & have found in said house forty three yards one Qr. & one 8. of a yard of Checked woolen Cloath & twenty five yards one half & 1.8. of a yard of Tow Cloath & after taking the same into my care the Agents appointed by the Selectmen of malden agreed with the said mary for the

Cloath & purchased it at the State price. I Dident proceed to go to mr Parkers house by reason it was not Suspected that any of the Goods had been Removed there

"pr me JOHN VINTON Constable "
Papers on file in the office of the Secretary of State. Mrs. Emerson was the widow of the Rev. Joseph Emerson, and Jacob Parker was their son-in-law. After the death of Mr. Emerson his widow and daughters appear to have kept a small shop for the sale of goods in their house near the meeting house.

¹⁶ Bancroft, *History of the United States*, 5th ed., ix. 235.

¹⁷ Bradford, *History of Massachusetts*, ii. 131.

was obliged to furnish its quota by draft or otherwise. At a meeting held February 24, 1777, Malden

Voted To Give Each man that shall Inlist into the Contenantall army for three years or During the war Ten Pounds unanimously.

In April this bounty was extended to those who had previously enlisted, it being

Voted, that the Committe Pay those men the Town Bounty who Inlisted into the Continantial army before the 24 of February Last if they procure a Certificate that they have not Received any other Extraordinary Bounty.¹⁸

The presence of the enemy at Newport and in the waters of Narragansett Bay caused frequent alarms and several calls were made upon the militia of Massachusetts for service in Rhode Island. At a meeting, held May 2, the town

Voted to give those men forty shillings that will goe to the asistance of the army at Providence or else whare in any of the New England States for two months.

The rolls contain the names of seven Malden men who served under Captain Stephen Dana of Colonel Josiah Whitney's regiment, in Rhode Island in May and June of this year.¹⁹ Soon after the entire militia of the state was held in readiness to march at the shortest notice; and later, on an urgent call, every seventh man was called out to reinforce the northern army, which was retreating before Burgoyne. Meanwhile, in the face of pressing calls for militia service, the enlistments for the regular regiments proceeded slowly; and the towns were perplexed by the frequent demands. To overcome its own difficulties Malden passed the following votes: —

[August 15, 1777.] *Voted* to Raise a Sum of Money for the Incouragement of the men that shall Inlist or that shall be Draughted to goe to the assistance of y^e army.

Voted to give to those men that shall Inlist or that shall be Draughted Six pounds to Each man

[August 20.] *Voted* to Choos a Committe to hire our Proportion of men for the presant Service in the Best manner Possible

¹⁸ This was in addition to the continental bounty of twenty dollars and a grant of land, and twenty pounds offered by the Province. Cf. Bradford, *History of Massachusetts*, ii. 129.

¹⁹ *Mass. Archives: Rev. Rolls*, i. 185.

The committee was composed of Lieutenant William Waite, Joseph Barrett, James Howard, John Waite, and John Tufts; and five days later the town raised two hundred and forty pounds, in addition to the bounty already offered, for the purpose of obtaining ten men. It appears that the quota of the town was finally filled; and the names of thirty-one men were enrolled in 1777 for a service of three years.²⁰

About this time Dr. Jonathan Porter, the last landlord of the old Newhall Tavern, temporarily removed to Boston, or to Medford, whither his son Jonathan had gone in 1773. He had taken part in the affairs of the town during the troubles of this period, serving on various committees, and for aught that can now be discovered he was as patriotic as his neighbors. The following, from the bitter pen of a most vehement newspaper writer of the day, connects his name with the Tories and intimates that his absence from Malden was not without cause. It may have been that some of the old leaven of the earlier days remained in him and that he was forced to leave the town for that reason. At this time the feeling against those who sympathized with the royalists ran high, and, as is not unusual at such times, public opinion was not always just. In some places the offenders were harassed or driven from the town, and in others harsher measures were adopted.²¹ However it may have been with Dr. Porter, he returned to Malden, was chosen a member of the Committee of Correspondence in 1779, and died, January 1, 1783, aged sixty-two years. It is remarkable that, while the record of the meeting held May 19, 1777, is apparently fully and carefully written, there is no notice of the vote that endorsed the character of Dr. Porter, which I copy from the Boston newspaper in which it was published. Difficult is it at the present day to decide whether it ought to be considered as a complete vindication.

²⁰ *Mass. Archives: Rev. Rolls*, xxvii. 100 *et seq.*

²¹ In March, 1779, the property of Andrew Cazneau, absentee, situated in the south-east part of the town, on the Winnisimmet Road, was leased at auction for one year to Jabez Burditt. He

was of Boston and had bought the westerly half of the homestead of Elder Thomas Burditt in 1767, which was the property leased. He was a man of character and education, a barrister-at-law, and a Judge of Admiralty. He was proscribed in 1778, having left the coun-

JOYCE Junior

PRESENTS his most respectful compliments to those chosen few, who early and faithfully engaged in the Cause of Liberty and their Country, to oppose those Sons of Tyranny who took Shelter behind the British Tyrant's Edicts, and Band of Hireling Vassals, That he is once more returned from Correcting those Miscreants, after almost two Years Absence; That he will meet them at the *old Place* of Rendezvous to Morrow Evening, 7 o'Clock, in Order to Consult the most effective Ways and Means to carry into Execution the Act of this State to prevent Monopoly and Oppression; To see what is best to be done with those shameless Brass Faced Tories, who have the Audaciousness to remain among this much abused and insulted People, and still carry on their Treacherous Designs; To take the best Methods to get rid of a Set of abandoned Miscreant Tories, who have been drove out of the several Towns in this State for their Villainous Doings, and have taken Shelter in this Town; To take some effective Method to prevent their frequent Meetings, and Act upon all such Matters as shall come before them.

N. B. I desire you would make a proper Enquiry of a Rescinding Calf, a Malden Porter, a Cape-Ann Serjeant and a Refugee Upham.²²

At a Meeting of the Town of Malden, voted, *nem. con.* That the Piece signed Joyce, jun. published in the Paper of the 17th of March last, so far as it respects the Character of Doctor Porter, late an Inhabitant of this Town, is false and groundless.

Attest, SAMUEL MERRITT, *Town-Clerk.*

Malden, May 19, 1777.²³

In 1776, and again in 1777, the General Court recommended the people of the state to give their representatives authority to prepare a form of state government, and at a meeting of the town held May 19, 1777, it was

Voted to Instruct the Representative according to a Resolve of the General Court Concerning a Form of Government.

A convention of the Committees of Safety in Worcester county had previously declared that a constitution should be adopted by a convention of delegates chosen for that purpose and not by the General Court; and such a course was favored

try in 1775; but he returned to Boston in 1788, and died at Roxbury in 1792. *Gazette*, March 29, 1779; Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, i. 298.

By some means his property escaped confiscation and was inherited by his daughter, Mrs. Thomas Brewer. *Boston* ²² *Gazette*, March 17, 1777.

²³ *Independent Chronicle*, May 22, 1777.

by the larger towns. Notwithstanding, a form of government was agreed upon by the representatives in February, 1778, and submitted to the people. One hundred and twenty towns made no returns; but the measure was rejected by the remainder on a vote of ten thousand against the proposed constitution and two thousand in its favor.²⁴ It was brought before the inhabitants of Malden, March 4, when

After Reading and Debating Upon the Several Paragraphs of the Constitution and form of Government The meeting was then adjourned for further Consideration of the form of Government to the annual Meeting in May next at one o Clock.

At the meeting held May 25 the constitution, with slight amendments, was adopted in detail, and

After the form of Government was Considered Article by Article with Amendments they *Voted* to Except the whole with the Amendments Together with the 37 Article in the Thursdays Paper April 16, 1776 [1778] There was Seventy (70) voters for it and none Against it.²⁵

In the early part of the year 1778 Captain Benjamin Blaney's company in Colonel Brooks's regiment of Guards was on duty

²⁴ Bradford, *History of Massachusetts*, ii. 158.

²⁵ The proposed constitution and form of government is given in Bradford, *History of Massachusetts*, ii. 349-362. The thirty-seventh article was not a part of the document presented by the General Court; and I am not aware that it has ever been reprinted. Dr. William Gordon, of Roxbury, the historian, contributed three articles to the *Independent Chronicle*, in which he strongly criticised the constitution as submitted, and urged a delay. He wrote: "Be careful that you are not drawn in to vote upon any form of government till you have had full time to consider the same." In the third article, which appeared April 16, 1778, he proposed the additional article, which the voters of Malden "excepted." He said:—

"Let me humbly and earnestly beseech them, for their own sakes, for that of their posterity and country, to add the following article, viz.

"XXXVII. On the last Wednesday

in April, after the close of the war, or in [the] year 1780, should the war be protracted to that period, a State Convention, consisting of delegates from every district, double to the number of Senators for each district, chosen by the people at large, in the same manner as the Senators, none of whom shall be of the General Court, shall meet for the sole purpose of reviving [revising] the constitution, and declaring what alterations or additions are requisite, in order to its being rendered more perfect, which shall be laid before the people for their acceptance or rejection, and shall take place, if voted for by two thirds of the freemen present at the town-meetings. Such like State Convention shall also be held for similar purposes at the end of every twenty years successively."

"This article, gentlemen," he added, "*will preserve the staff in your own hands, and continue to you the power, as well as the right, of preventing or curing the abuses of government.*"

at Cambridge, "Guarding the Troops of the Convention,"—the captured army of Burgoyne, which was encamped at Prospect Hill.²⁶ Besides the captain there were several Malden men in this company, which appears to have been drawn from the Middlesex towns in this vicinity. Philemon Munroe, of this command,²⁷ and Daniel Chadwick, Thomas Parker, and James Dickenson, of some other, were afterwards allowed by the town six pounds each, "for there Extraordinary service at Cambridge in 1778 as Guards of the Conention Troops." Soon after the names of fourteen Malden men, with that of Sergeant Nehemiah Oakes at the head, appear on the pay roll of a company under Captain Stephen Dana, "for their State Bounty being One month in the service at the Lines at Boston;"²⁸ and about the same time a requisition was made for four privates "to march without Delay" to Rhode Island, the towns of which were threatened by a large English force. Other demands were made from time to time for the continental service or for local defence. To meet the many calls for men and money, the townspeople were taxed to the utmost, but they persevered as the records of their action from time to time in town meetings and its result will show. At a meeting held May 7, 1778, it was

Voted that thare be a Committe Appointed to take Under Consideration former Services in the Presant war and who Should be Called Upon and what Sums thay should in Iustice pay towards hiring men Agreeable to the Resolve of the General Court Pased April 20 for Reinforcing the Continantial army Before the Town Should be Taxed for a Bounty and Reporte a list to the Town.

This committee, which was composed of Captain Benjamin Blaney, Lieutenant Nathan Lynde, Lieutenant William Waite, Francis Phillips, Ezra Sargeant, David Sargeant, and John Nichols, after hearing "the Complaints of the agrevied," made

²⁶ *Mass. Archives: Rev. Rolls*, xvii. 149.

²⁷ Philemon Munroe, a native of Lexington, was one of the little band which, under Captain John Parker, withstood the British troops on Lexington Common. Perhaps it was the attraction of love

which brought him to Malden soon after. At the close of the war he married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Waite, and returned to Lexington, where he died October 17, 1806.

²⁸ *Mass. Archives: Rev. Rolls*, xviii. 240.

a report, which was "excepted" and committed to Lieutenant Nathan Lynde, the commanding officer of the town, "to Collect the money and lay it out in the Best maner in hiring men." Lieutenant William Waite, Ezra Sargeant, and David Sargeant were chosen to assist him; and if the committee needed more money in hiring men they were authorized "to procure what is wanting upon the Towns Expençe."

In the fall of 1778 a sergeant's guard was posted on Wayte's Mount and a beacon erected there, for the purpose of warning the country in the event of a descent of the enemy upon the coast. A single paper alone preserves the memory of this post.

Head Quarters, Boston, Sept^r. 7, 1778

Sir, You are Detached with Seven men for the purpose of Guarding the Bacon on Malden Hill, and Sitting Fire thereto when the Signal is Given from the Bacon in Boston. You are to keep a Sentinel Day and night by relief at the Bacon, his Duty is to Preserve it from being injured by any Person or Persons — and Constantly to be observing the Bacon in Boston. If He Observes it to be on Fire He is Immediately to Call for you. Upon your own veiw of it, being Certain that it is on Fire you will immediately Sit fire to your own, but not otherwise, as you will answer for it. You will Inculcate on your Sentinels the greatest Vigilance in Duty and acquaint them that they will be liable to Suffer Death at the Discretion of a court Martial, should they be found absent from or Sleeping on their Post

By order of Major Gen^l Heath

JON^A POLLARD D A G²⁹

Serg^t of the Guard at Malden Bacon

At the close of the year 1778 there were reasons for apprehending an early attack somewhere upon the Massachusetts seaboard; and soon after the state called out a body of the militia to act in its defence. Connected with this movement was a company under the command of Nathan Sargeant, of Malden, who had commanded a company in 1776, which appears to have been composed of men from the nearer towns of Middlesex and Essex. In relation to this company the following paper is preserved.

²⁹ Original in possession of Artemas Barrett, 1866.

We the Subscribers severally Inlist ourselves into the Service of Massachusetts Bay to serve in a Company Whereof Nathan Sargeant is Captain For the term of three months from our Arrival in Camp unless sooner Discharged and each of us do engage to Furnish and Carry with us into the Service a good and Effective Fire Arm and Bayonet Cartridge Box Knapsack Blankit and Canteen or wooden Bottle and when Formed we engage to march to Boston and hereby oblidge ourselves Faithfully to observe and obey all such orders as we shall from time to time receive from the officers that are or shall be appointed over us and to be subject to such Regulations as are provided for the Continental Army Dated this first Day of Febuary 1779

JONATHAN BROWN, *Serg^t*

SAMUEL GROVER *Leut.*

BENJAMIN BROWN *Leut.*

MATTHEUS SPRAGUE,

EBENEZER BUCKNAM,

JOHN BROWN,

SILVESTER PRATT,

MOSES HADLEY,

SAMUEL HADLEY.⁸⁰

With the exception of the two lieutenants the men here mentioned were from other towns. The beacon on Wayte's Mount was probably never fired and the men of Captain Sargeant's company returned to their homes without meeting the enemy, as the threatened attack was not made. Such alarms were common, as the British cruisers often appeared in the offing and an invasion by the way of Rhode Island was never wholly impossible.

In June, 1779, another call was made for recruits for the continental line, and a body of militia was ordered to Rhode Island, which was still threatened by the enemy. To avert a draft the town took the following action.

[June 21, 1779] *Voted* to Choose a Committee to procure the men for the Continentale army or any other that shall be Called for by Lawfull authority within Six months on the best Terms.

[June 28,] it was put to vote to See if the Town will approve of the Committee Chosen to hire men for to Reinforce the Continantal army and those Ordered to Providence agreable to a Resolve of the General Court Iune 8 1779 to hire the men out of Town Provided that thay are Satisfied that Said Towns have Raised thare own men and it Past in the affirmative

Voted to Indemnify the Commision Officers if thay Do not Proceed to Draft the men Untill the Adjournment of this meeting

⁸⁰ Original in possession of Artemas Barrett, 1866.

At the latter meeting the sum of eighteen hundred pounds was raised "for to hire the Continantal and militia men." Under these votes six men, at least, were hired for the continental army, at the head of whom stands upon the list the name of Pomp Magos, a negro, who in after years became an inmate of the poorhouse and on election and independence days indulged in reminiscences of his campaigning days by donning his faded and ragged regimentals, getting drunk, and shouting "Cambridge!"³¹

In October a meeting was called

To take Under Consideration a Letter wrote from Cap^t Phinehas Stearns Dated Oct^r 11, 1779 wrote in Consiquence of A Resolve of Court Dated Oct^r 9. 1779 for to Raise one Corpral and Eight Privats to march to Clavrack on Hudsons River to Joine our Army.

At this meeting, which was adjourned "from the meeting house to Mr. Charles Hills West Room," and again to "Cap^t William Waits house in the west Room," Captain William Waite, Lieutenant Bernard Green, and Lieutenant John Vinton were chosen a committee to hire the men for three months, and twenty-two hundred pounds were raised for that purpose.

A meeting was held June 14, 1780,

to See what Method the town will take to procure the men now Called for to Reinforce the Contenantial army agreeable to a Resolve of the General Court, June 5, 1780.

[June 27.] *Voted* that the Committee be impowered to Raise the 16 men for the Contenantial army in the best and Cheapest manner thay can and that the town will fullfill their engagements.

Twenty-six thousand pounds, in the debased currency of the day, were voted to be raised by taxation; and the town agreed to make good to the recruits "the Depreciation of the money that thay shall take Upon nots of hand as good as it now is." In October a call of a different nature was received, to meet

³¹ Sally Magos, the daughter of Pomp, was well known in her later years to many now living. She was a good-natured colored woman who did washing and chores, or gathered and sold "yarbs" for a living. Earlier in the century, when she was younger in years, it is said she was less industrious. "A child of colour" belonging to her is recorded as dying in 1819, and others are mentioned in tradition. She is supposed to have died in Charlestown.

which the town raised twelve thousand pounds "to purchase the 7160 lbs of Beef for the army agreeable to the Resolve of the General Court, Sept. 5, 1780." Such calls were often made.³² Two months later six hundred pounds in the new emission were raised; and in the next July five hundred pounds of the same currency were voted for a like purpose, and it was voted to "leve the Care of Providing the Cloathing for the Contenantal army to the Selectmen."³³

In the midst of these transactions Malden received a visitation which carried consternation from one extreme of the town to the other. In October, 1778, the small-pox was brought here by Mrs. Rebecca Parker and continued its ravages during the space of seven months. Many persons were sick, of whom eight died. Among the latter were Jacob Parker, the husband of Mrs. Parker, and her mother, Mrs. Mary Emerson, widow of the Rev. Joseph Emerson, and the town clerk, Samuel Merritt, with his wife and their infant child. Mrs. Parker recovered and was married in 1780 to Deacon Brintnall of Chelsea, and after his death to Samuel Waite of Malden in 1809.

It was during the year 1780 that a natural phenomenon appeared which equalled in its gloom the despondency that poverty and the troubles of the time had caused to pervade the land. In its manifestation, aided by the ignorance and superstition which still remained, a survival of the earlier days, it is

³² "[March 10, 1786.] In the House of Representatives On the Petition of Ezra Sargent Esq^r in behalf of the Town of Malden, praying that the said Town may be credited on an execution issued by the Treasurer of this Commonwealth for a deficiency of beef required of said Town:—

"Resolved that the prayer of the said petition be granted and that the Treasurer of this Commonwealth be, and he is hereby directed to credit the said Town of Malden for two thousand three hundred and thirty nine pounds of beef at four pence per pound amounting to thirty eight pounds nineteen shillings & eight pence on the aforementioned execution.

"In Senate read & concurred

"Approved by the Governor"

General Court Records, xlv. *in loco*.

³³ In July, 1780, the rate of exchange of paper for specie was sixty-nine for one, which must be considered in reading of the apparently enormous sums raised out of the poverty of the people. A new emission, designed to be equal to specie, was ordered by Congress this year; but before it could be thrown into circulation the old, or continental bills, had still further declined to seventy-five to one. By the middle of June, 1781, the new emission itself had fallen to four for one. It was the rapid decline of the old continental money which caused widespread poverty and suffering. Felt, *Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency*, 187 *et seq.*

no wonder that it spread amazement and fear over New England. A century later, when it again appeared, popular intelligence had so far advanced that the yellow day of 1881 was looked upon as an unusual event which science could explain, rather than as an occurrence to excite terror as a possible forerunner of the end of time or a revelation of divine wrath, as was the dark day of 1780. Phineas Sprague, the father of Dr. John Sprague, has left us an account of the dark day as it was observed in Malden.

Frida May the 19th 1780 — This day was the most Remarkabel day that Euer my Eyes beheld — the air had bin full of Smoak to an uncommon degree so that wee could scairce See a mountain at two miles distance for 3 or 4 dayes past, till thursday after Noon the Smoak all went of to the south — at Sunset a verey black bank of a cloud appread in the south and west. the Nex morning cloudey and thunder^d in the west about ten o clock it began to Rain and grew vere dark and a 12 it was allmost as dark as Nite So that we was obiged to lite our candels and Eate our dinner by candellite at Noon day — but between 1 and 2 o clock it grew lite again — but in the euening the cloud caim ouer us again tho the moon was about the full it was the darkest Nite that euer was Seen by us in the world.³⁴

In February, 1779, the General Court revived the question of a state constitution; and during the summer of that year, the several towns chose delegates to a convention to be held at Cambridge. The Rev. Peter Thacher was chosen by Malden and took an influential part in the deliberations which resulted in the formation of the constitution. He especially opposed the creation of the office of governor; and when that was decided he criticised and ridiculed the title of "His Excel-

³⁴ *Phineas Sprague his book-memorandum*, in the possession of Artemas Barrett. Accounts of the dark day of 1780 have been so often printed that I refrain from adding to that of Phineas Sprague. Those who may wish to follow the subject may consult, *Memoirs of the American Academy*, i. 234-246; *N. E. Hist. and Genecal. Register*, xvii. 333; *Mass. Hist. Coll.* i. 95-98; *Boston Gazette*, May 22, 29, 1780; Coffin, *History of Newbury*, 257; Abbott, *History of Andover*, 189-190.

Like occurrences have been noted, as October 21, 1716, and October 19, 1762. The yellow day, September 6, 1881, to which allusion is made in the text, is remembered by the present generation; and the particulars of it were closely observed, and were described in the papers of the time. All these were apparently of a similar character, and they may be repeated at any time when like conditions prevail.

lency," which the constitution gives the chief magistrate. But though he differed with the majority in these and other minor matters, the constitution itself, when settled, received his ardent support. When framed by the convention, the instrument was laid before the towns, and the inhabitants of Malden met, April 30, 1780, when the delegate was instructed to endeavor to procure several amendments,

But if he cannot procure them then he is Instructed to Consent to it as it now stands or make such alterations as shal render it agreeable to the Sentiments of two thirds of the people of this state.

The constitution, being approved by more than two-thirds of the state, was now settled; and the convention, after a formal notice to the General Court, dissolved. The first meeting in Malden for the election of state officers was held September 4, 1780, when the vote of the town was as follows: —

For Governor . . .	John Hancock, Esq ^r	50 votes
Lieu ^t Governor	Artemas Ward Esq ^r	50 votes
Senators . . .	{ Abraham Fuller Esq ^r	33 votes
	{ Josiah Stone Esq ^r	32 votes
	{ James Prescott Esq ^r	30 votes
	{ Thomas Plimton Esq ^r	31 votes
	{ John Cummings Esq ^r	28 votes. ⁸⁵

In October the election of representatives took place and Captain Benjamin Blaney was chosen the first representative of the town under the new constitution.

Meanwhile the calls for men continued. On Christmas-day, 1780, the town voted to raise thirteen men "for three years or During the war;" and a bounty was offered "of 10 Guineas or in paper Currency at the Current Exchange when paid to them." Later, "an hundred harde dollers" were voted to be divided between the thirteen men; and later still it was

[February 5, 1781.] *Voted*, To make an Addition to the hundred hard Dollars of five good neat Cattle that is to say of three years old or

⁸⁵ John Hancock, who received the unanimous vote of Malden, was chosen governor; but no one was elected to the second office by the votes of the people. James Bowdoin and James Warren were successively chosen by the General Court and declined. Afterwards Thomas Cushing was chosen, and accepted the office.

if said Soldier or Soldiers is Regularly Discharged any time within the three years he Shall Receive the five neat Cattle at the age of the time that he or thay are in the Service or in any other produce that shall be Equal to the said Cattle if it Sute the Said Soldier better.

Notwithstanding these offers the quota remained unfilled; and but one man, Joseph Shuker, had enlisted by March 19, when all votes relating to bounties were reconsidered and the enrolled men of the town were divided into thirteen classes, each of which was to furnish a man for three years. In this way the men were raised after a while, the last, John O'Neal

*Joseph Perkins
Town Clerk*

not enlisting until July 5. The prices paid for recruits appear to have varied. Thus the class of

which Joseph Perkins was chairman paid Joel Whittemore two hundred and fifty Spanish milled dollars,³⁶ while that of Joseph Barrett paid "Twelve Pounds Solid Coine."³⁷

In June two men were called "for Rhodisland," and the town raised thirty pounds in specie for the purpose of hiring them; and a few days after the quota of three years men had been filled, ten men more were called "to Joyne General Washentons army." To meet the new demand five hundred hard dollars were raised, and seven weeks later one hundred dollars in specie were added. At the same time one hundred pounds in specie were raised to purchase fifty-six hundred and seventy-three pounds of beef for the army. With this the direct traces of the Revolution end in the records of the town. One revolutionary committee, that of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety, which was still necessary in the loose and uncertain condition of public affairs, was annually chosen a few years longer and expired at the beginning of 1786, as is elsewhere stated.

Although from the circumstances of the case it is not mentioned in the town records, a final requisition for men to fill the continental army was made in 1782. Under this call the in-

³⁶ *Perkins Papers*, in the Malden Public Library.

³⁷ Paper in the possession of the writer.

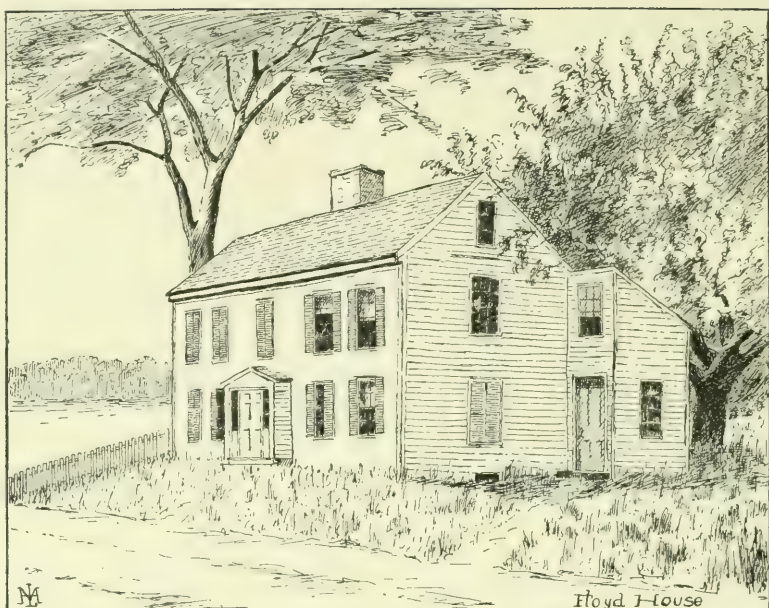
habitants of the several towns were classed and each class was to furnish a recruit.³⁸ If Malden had already furnished full quotas under the many calls, it was now required to provide from six to ten men; and the demand was satisfied during the summer.³⁹ Of the men thus raised I can recognize the names of but two, those of Timothy Carden and Ebenezer Robinson, who, although apparently not inhabitants of the town, must stand as the last recorded recruits which Malden sent to the revolutionary army.⁴⁰

³⁸ Bradford, *History of Massachusetts*, ii. 211.

³⁹ In a paper headed, "Ballances due from the following Towns for Men deficient on the Class Tax, 1782," in *Mass. Archives*, cxl. 277, it appears that Malden

had answered in full; but seventeen men were short in Middlesex, and a tax of £74 1s. 8d. for each man was laid upon the delinquent towns.

⁴⁰ *Mass. Archives: Rev. Rolls*, xxxiii. 62-63.



CHAPTER XXIII.

MALDEN IN THE NAVY OF THE REVOLUTION.

IT was not alone upon the land that the men of Malden performed good service for the rising nation; although the names of those who fought upon the sea have been well-nigh forgotten, and the memory of their deeds has nearly passed away. Nearly four score years ago a writer observed that

The naval affairs of our revolutionary struggle are much involved in obscurity, owing to the little pains taken, at that time, to record and preserve them; the whole attention of the nation being given to the mighty stake, for which it was contending, and which swallowed up every other concern, making even individual glory, in which self approbation is so much interested, appear but as a minor consideration.¹

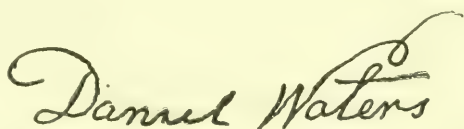
Under such conditions local pride, by a loose handling of historical facts, has made great progress in erecting posthumous reputations; while, again, local indifference has allowed to

¹ Goldsborough, *Naval Chronicle*, i. 33.

perish the recollection of services which far exceeded those which have been made apparently great by eulogy and exaggeration. Well do these remarks apply to one whose deeds as a naval officer were such as to win the respect and esteem of his contemporaries, although from the causes just stated, he is hardly known by name to recent writers upon the maritime events of the Revolution.

Among the men who marched with Captain Blaney on the day of the Lexington Alarm was his neighbor, Captain Daniel Waters. He was a master mariner, who, coming to Malden from Charlestown, purchased in 1771 the house which stood at the westerly corner of the present Chelsea and Ferry Streets in Everett. His memory

was long continued by the later name of the South Spring, until a



corporation, receiving rights which a wise town ought never to have relinquished, changed it from Waters's Spring to the inappropriate and finer, perhaps because newer, title of the Everett Spring. He will be remembered as having charge of the town's cannon before the battle of Bunker Hill. Immediately upon the investment of Boston he was appointed by Washington to the command of a small gunboat, which was stationed in Charles River; and, January 20, 1776, he was commissioned as captain of the continental schooner "Lee" of eight six-pounders and fifty men.² The name of this little schooner fills an important place in the history of the American navy; for under the noted Captain John Manly, in the preceding year, she was the first vessel to sail under the authority of the Continental Congress, and the prizes which she made were of the utmost value to the destitute American army and the first in the long list which has become the glory of the American flag.³ The officers of the "Lee" were now:

² Clark, *Naval History of the United States*, i. 32.

³ The flag of the "Lee" was the Pine Tree flag of Massachusetts. "I assert," said John Adams, "that the first Amer-

ican flag was hoisted by John Manly, and the first British flag was struck to him." John Adams to Elbridge Gerry, in Austin, *Life of Elbridge Gerry*, i. 100.

Daniel Waters, *Captain*,
 William Kissick, *First Lieut.*, John Gill, *Second Lieut.*
 John Diamond, *Master*.⁴

At the same time Samuel Tucker was appointed to the "Franklin" and Charles Dyer to the "Harrison;" and a little later John Ayres and William Burke were assigned to the "Lynch" and the "Warren." John Manly, who was appointed to the "Hancock," January 1, was the commodore of this little fleet of six schooners, which was fitted out by order of Washington, and was designed to annoy the enemy by cutting off the reinforcements and supplies which were arriving from England. Captain Waters ranked second to Commodore Manly in command. They soon had an opportunity for active work; for Captain Jonathan Glover of Marblehead wrote to Captain Tucker, February 3, "I heartily congratulate you, Captain Waters, and your officers, on the success of your last cruise, and I hope your next will prove as successful."⁵ Soon after, February 9, Washington wrote to John Hancock, President of the Continental Congress: —

Captain Waters and Captain Tucker, who command two of the armed schooners, have taken and sent into Gloucester a large brigantine, laden with wood, a hundred and fifty butts for water, and forty suits of bedding, bound from Lahave, in Nova Scotia, for Boston. She is one of the transports in the ministerial service.⁶

Continuing in the "Lee," which after the departure of the army was employed by Massachusetts in the defence of the coast, Captain Waters appears to have distinguished himself by activity and address. He took, May 10, a brig, whose name is not reported, and carried her into Beverly.⁷ About this time James Mugford of Marblehead, who appears to have possessed an enterprising spirit combined with recklessness, solicited and obtained the temporary command of the armed schooner "Franklin," then lying at Beverly, in which Captain Tucker had recently performed good service. Hastily taking a

⁴ Force, *American Archives*, 4th, iv.
 910.

⁶ Sparks, *Life and Writings of Washington*, iii. 281.

⁵ Sheppard, *Life of Samuel Tucker*,
 337.

⁷ *Boston Gazette*, May 13, 1776.

crew from Glover's regiment, which was stationed at Beverly,⁸ he put to sea, barely escaping the messenger which General Ward, who had received information which weakened his confidence in him, had sent to prevent him from taking the command.⁹ He soon intercepted the British ship "Hope," which he carried by boarding. Embarrassed by the nearness of the enemy's fleet, which lay within sight at Nantasket, he was about to run his prize on shore, when Captain Waters, whose proximity may have influenced the easy capture, came alongside. In the presence of a regularly commissioned officer and a vessel of superior force the authority of Mugford may have ceased.¹⁰ Captain Waters undertook to take the prize into Boston, which he successfully performed by the way of Pullen Point Gut between Deer Island and Point Shirley; although she grounded at ebb tide upon the flat known as the Handkerchief, where she remained until the ensuing night in sight of the British ships. This was a most important capture for the American cause, as it furnished fifteen hundred barrels of powder, one thousand carbines, and a large quantity of instruments and tools, in which the army was very deficient. The ship and cargo were valued at from forty to fifty thousand pounds sterling.¹¹

In June the "Lee" made another valuable prize, which was reported as follows:—

Friday last Capt. Daniel Waters, in company with a Marblehead privateer, took a large ship from Scotland, having on board 94 Highlanders, between 30 & 40 sailors for the Ministerial Fleet, and 40 Pieces of Cannon, 4 and 6 Pounders, besides six mounted on Deck &c. The Marblehead Privateer took 60 of the Soldiers on board, and carried them to Plymouth; Capt. Waters, with the Prize and the Remainder, arrived safe at Marblehead on Saturday.¹²

⁸ *Marblehead Messenger*, May 20, 1876.

⁹ Gordon, *History of the Rise, &c., of the Independence of the United States*, ii. 71; Clark, *Naval History of the United States*, i. 30.

¹⁰ The "Franklin" carried twenty-one men and an armament of four guns. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, xxv.

367.

¹¹ Clark, *Naval History of the United States*, i. 30, 31; *Boston Gazette*, May 20, 1776. The "Hope" was taken Friday, May 17. On the following Sunday Mugford was killed while repelling a boat attack upon the "Franklin," which was aground near Point Shirley.

¹² *Boston Gazette*, June 10, 1776.

The "Marblehead privateer" which was in company with the "Lee" was the public armed schooner "Warren," Captain Burke. The prize was "a Scotch vessel of Force," bound from Greenock to Boston.¹³ Her name is not mentioned; but she was probably the ship "Anne" of two hundred and twenty-three tons, which was libelled soon after by the schooners "Lee," "Warren," and "Lynch," although the connection of the "Lynch" with the affair does not appear in the papers of the day. Coming into the bay she had intercepted a vessel going into Cape Ann under a prize master, who, seeing that the other was unaware of the evacuation of Boston, disguised his real character and represented himself as an Englishman bound to Boston for a market.

The Scotchman being a stranger to this Coast, desired the Prize Master to Pilot him in, which he agreed to and conducted him almost into Cape Ann, when he observing two of our Privateers appearing in sight, discovered the Trap and being considerably to the windward made the best of his way off, [but was caught in the end.]¹⁴

The first anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill was appropriately observed in Massachusetts Bay. Early in the morning of that day the Connecticut colonial brig "Defence," Captain Harding, of fourteen guns, left Plymouth Harbor. As she proceeded northward the sound of firing was heard. At dusk she made the "Lee" and other armed vessels, which had been in action with two British transports, who after beating them off had anchored in Nantasket Roads. The vessels which had been concerned in the affair were the "Hancock," "Lee," "Lynch," "Warren," and "Franklin." Our knowledge of their movements at the close of the fight is very confused. Cooper, who gives the most circumstantial relation, speaks of but four schooners, of which he mentions the "Lee," only, by name. He says:—

After laying his plans with the commanders of the schooners, Captain Harding stood into the roads, and about eleven o'clock, at night, he anchored between the transports, within pistol-shot. The schooners followed, but did not approach near enough to be of much service. Some hailing now passed, and Captain Harding ordered the enemy to strike. A voice from the largest English vessel answered, "Ay, ay—

¹³ *American Gazette*, June 25, 1776.

¹⁴ *Boston Gazette*, June 10, 1776.

I'll strike," and a broadside was immediately poured into the Defence. A sharp action, that lasted more than an hour, followed, when both the English vessels struck. These transports contained near two hundred soldiers of the same corps as those shortly after taken by the Doria ; and on board the largest of them was Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, who commanded the regiment.

In this close and sharp conflict, the Defence was a good deal cut up aloft, and she had nine men wounded. The transports had eighteen killed and a large number wounded. Among the slain was Major Menzies, the officer who had answered the hail in the manner stated.

The next morning the Defence, with the schooners in company, saw a sail in the bay, and gave chase. The stranger proved to be another transport, with more than a hundred men of the same regiment on board. Thus did about five hundred men, of one of the best corps in the British army, fall into the hands of the Americans, by means of these light cruisers.¹⁵

The vessels captured at Nantasket were the ship "George" and the brigantine "Annabella." It was the former on which Colonel Campbell was embarked. The transport taken in the bay was the ship "Lord Howe." The ship "Anne," whose previous capture has been related, was a part of the same fleet. It is worthy of remark that besides Cooper, whose statements are not always to be accepted with confidence, the "Defence" is mentioned in connection with this affair by Mrs. Abigail Adams, in a letter written at Plymouth the day after the battle.¹⁶ Her story is evidently a statement of the exaggerated rumors which were current. Sheppard refers to the "Defence" as a Rhode Island cruiser, but does not mention her name. He says she lay near Long Island becalmed and that the shot from the enemy's guns, passing over the "Hancock," endangered her so that she moved from her position and could render no assistance.¹⁷ It is also noticeable that the prizes made at night were libelled soon after by the five Massachusetts schooners, the Connecticut cruiser apparently making no claim to their capture. The following account of the affair is from a paper of the time: —

¹⁵ Cooper, *History of the Navy of the United States*, ed. 1866, i. 59.

¹⁶ *Familiar Letters of John Adams and his Wife*, 187.

¹⁷ Sheppard, *Life of Samuel Tucker*, 58.

Last Sunday night two transports, a ship and a Brig, from Scotland, with 220 Highlanders on board, were chased by 3 or 4 of our privateers, into Nantasket, where, instead of finding protection from British pirates, they were both obliged to strike to the American flag. The ship mounting 9 six-pounders, with about 130 soldiers besides sailors, maintained an engagement of several hours, in which she had about 17 killed and wounded. Lieut. Colonel Campbell, and a considerable number of other officers, all belonging to the corps of Highlanders, are among the prisoners. Major Macenzie of the same corps, was killed in the engagement. His remains were interred here with military honors, the day following. Four men on board the privateers were wounded, one or two of them, it is feared, mortally; but not one killed.

On Tuesday last another Scotch transport ship with 112 Highlanders on board, was brought into Nantasket by our privateers. She was taken a small distance from the light-house, and made no resistance.¹⁸

Clark's relation of the connection of the "Lee" with this affair was written on the authority of Captain Waters himself. He says: —

In this vessel he [Captain Waters] cruised near a year; and captured four British transports. On board one of those transports was Colonel Campbell with a part of the 71st British regiment. Two other American privateers assisted in the capturing of this vessel. Another of them was laden with merchandize plundered from the Merchants of Boston when evacuated by the British.¹⁹

Another claimant to the honors of this capture is Captain Samuel Tucker of the "Hancock," whose statement, which is strangely at variance with the other authorities, seems somewhat overdrawn. He says in a letter written in 1818: —

I fell in with Colonel Archibald Campbell, in the ship *George*, and brig *Annabella*, transports with about two hundred and eighty Highland troops on board, of General Frazer's corps. About ten P. M. a severe conflict ensued, which held about two hours and twenty minutes. I conquered them with great carnage on their side, it being in the night, and my small barque, about seventy tons burden, being very low in the water, I received no damage in loss of men.²⁰

¹⁸ *American Gazette*, June 25, 1776.

¹⁹ Clark, *Naval History of the United States*, i. 32.

²⁰ Sheppard, *Life of Samuel Tucker*, 60. The special biographer of Captain Tucker and the historian of Marblehead

show slight knowledge of the events which they relate. Both make the supposed exploit of Captain Tucker to have been performed in the "Franklin" during his first cruise; while, as has been stated, the engagement was more

Captain Waters continued in the "Lee" until the next spring, making several prizes. Although his vessel is stated by authorities to have been employed by the state, she is usually referred to as the continental schooner "Lee;" and in December she is distinctly mentioned as being in the service of the United States.²¹ In September he sent into Boston "a sloop from the Eastward, bound for Halifax, laden with cordwood;"²² and at the end of the month he is reported as taking the sloop "Betsey," "which had been before taken by the Milford man of war from some of the inhabitants of the American States."²³ In October he libelled the schooner "Sally" as a recent capture;²⁴ and soon after the papers of the day chronicle the arrival at Boston of "a Prize, taken by Capt. Daniel Waters, laden with Staves, bound from Nova Scotia for the West Indies."²⁵ A later capture was that of the brigantine "Elizabeth," Captain Thomas Edwards, which was libelled in December.²⁶ Captain Waters, on his promotion, was succeeded in the command of the "Lee" by Captain John Skimmer, who is elsewhere mentioned.

In the following March Captain Waters, of whom Washington had written "in terms of high approbation,"²⁷ and Captain Tucker, being recommended by the commander-in-chief and others who had knowledge of their characters, were taken into the regular service of the United States, their commissions being authorized by the following resolutions: —

than four months later, and Captain Tucker was in the schooner "Hancock." Cf. Sheppard, *Life of Samuel Tucker*, 57 *et seq.*; Roads, *History of Marblehead*, 175.

The "Franklin" was under the command of Captain John Skimmer, whom both Sheppard and Roads, following the errors of earlier copyists with admirable care, mention as Captain Skinner. He succeeded to this vessel after the brief rule of Mugford, and as commander of the U. S. brig "General Gates" was killed in 1778, in an action with a brig of fourteen guns, which was taken after a long engagement. *Boston Gazette*, August 31, 1778.

Captain Skimmer was a resident of Boston, where he had a house on Bennet Street. He left a wife and ten children, of whom Jane, the eldest, married Deacon John Waite, son of Samuel and Elizabeth Waite of Malden and Charlestown, who was a merchant engaged in the manufacture of chocolate in Boston and Saugus.

²¹ *Boston Gazette*, December 2, 1776.

²² *Ibid.*, September 16, 1776.

²³ *Ibid.*, September 30, 1776.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, October 28, 1776.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, November 11, 1776.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, December 2, 1776.

²⁷ Goldsborough, *Naval Chronicle*, i.

Saturday, March 15, 1777 . . . The marine committee reported, "that there are several very fine prize ships in the state of Massachusetts-Bay, very suitable for the service of the continent, and which may be fitted out at a small expence; and that captain Daniel Waters, and captain Samuel Tucker, who were early employed by general Washington in cruising vessels and were very successful and strongly recommended by the general and others, are in their opinion proper to be appointed to the command of two of them;" whereupon

Resolved, That the marine committee be impowered to give directions to the agents to purchase three ships, and order them to be immediately armed and fitted out for the service of the United States, to be under the direction of the marine committee.

Resolved, That Daniel Waters and Samuel Tucker be appointed captains in the navy of the United States, and that they have the command of two of the ships ordered to be purchased: and that the command of the other ship be given to captain John Paul Jones, until better provision can be made for him.²⁸

The condition of the finances and other causes led to a decline of the naval force of the Revolution after the first two years of the struggle. It was at its greatest strength at the close of the year 1776 and its decline then began. The additions which were made by new vessels or captures were barely exceeded by the losses which occurred; and while the high prices of materials and labor, or their scarcity, impeded the building of new cruisers, it was still more difficult to equip them with proper armaments when launched. The two frigates, the "Hancock" and the "Boston," which were built in Massachusetts, were given to John Manly and Hector McNiel. Captain Waters received orders to build a twenty-gun ship for his command; but finding difficulties in the way of building and manning a ship, he entered on board the "Hancock" with Captain Manly as a volunteer, with the understanding that he should have the first ship that was taken.²⁹

A fleet, consisting of the two frigates just mentioned with a number of smaller cruisers, under the command of Captain Manly as commodore, sailed from Boston sometime in the

²⁸ *Journals of Congress*, iii. 91.

Drake, of a letter dated "Boston, July

²⁹ *Transcript*, by Samuel Adams 14, 1777."

month of May.³⁰ About the middle of June, the "Hancock" fell in with the enemy's frigate "Fox" of twenty-eight guns, which was taken after an engagement of four hours, in which the Americans lost eight men. The greater part of the men on the prize entered the American service; and out of them and the crews of the frigates, including sixty men from the "Hancock," the "Fox" was manned; and she was entered in the continental service under the command of Captain Waters. Soon after the three ships ran off the coast of Nova Scotia and boldly looked into the harbor of Halifax, where lay a British fleet under the command of Sir George Collier. In the action which followed the "Fox" was captured, after a sharp resistance, by the "Flora," of superior force. In this engagement the "Hancock" was also taken, after a running fight and chase of thirty-nine hours; but the "Boston" escaped. Captain McNiel, who could, perhaps, have prevented the capture of the "Fox," was dismissed from the service for his conduct in this affair.³¹ Commodore Manly and Captain Waters were taken from Halifax to New York, where they were detained as prisoners of war until April, 1778, when they were exchanged.³²

It does not appear that Captain Waters found active employment immediately upon his return. Late in the year he was in command of the U. S. brig "General Gates;"³³ and in the following March he sailed from Martinique, acting as commodore by right of seniority, in company with Captain John Foster Williams of the Massachusetts state brig "Hazard." The

³⁰ "[May 9, 1777.] The two Continental frigates lie windbound, with three brigs of twenty guns and some others, which are all going out in company." *Familiar Letters of John Adams and his Wife*, 269.

³¹ Clark, *Naval History of the United States*, i. 52, 53; Goldsborough, *Naval Chronicle*, i. 15, 16; Cooper, *History of the Navy of the United States*, ed. 1866, i. 79, 80. An account of the action from British sources is in *Boston Gazette*, August 11, 1777. The "Hancock" struck about 9 A. M., July 8. The "Fox" was retaken the day before, the ships having become separated in the chase.

Fifty-seven of the crew of the "Flora" were said to have been killed in the engagement. *Boston Gazette*, July 28, August 4, 1777. Hale, in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vi. 579, disregarding all authorities, says the "Hancock" only was captured.

³² "Tuesday evening Commodore John Manley, Esq.; and Capt. Waters, arrived in town from New York, where they have been prisoners a long time." *Boston Gazette*, April 27, 1778.

³³ In this command he succeeded Captain John Skimmer, whose death has been mentioned in a previous note.

"General Gates" arrived at Boston, April 14, followed by a prize brig, which the consorts had taken off St. Thomas.³⁴

In the summer of 1779 the state of Massachusetts fitted out an expedition to dislodge the British under Colonel McLean, who had taken possession of Castine, at the mouth of the Penobscot River, where they began the erection of fortifications. This enterprise was very popular with the people of the sea-coast towns, and a fleet of about forty vessels was brought together for its purpose. The ship "General Putnam," a privateer of twenty guns and one hundred and seventy men, which had just arrived in the harbor of Boston from a successful cruise, was seized by the state and placed under the command of Captain Waters.³⁵ The fleet, which was commanded by Commodore Dudley Saltonstall of Connecticut, arrived before the enemy's works July 25, and disembarked the land forces under General Solomon Lovell. It was soon found that success could hardly be hoped for, owing to the utter incapacity of Commodore Saltonstall, who failed to co-operate or agree with General Lovell or to heed the advice and remonstrances of his own officers. Under these circumstances it was seriously proposed to forcibly depose him and place the command in the hands of a more competent officer. Captain Waters was one of those spoken of in this connection, the others being John Foster Williams and Hoysted Hacker.³⁶ A general attack, which at one time could hardly have proved otherwise than successful, was deferred from day to day until it was too late, and a fleet under Sir George Collier appeared in the mouth of the river. The American vessels were destroyed by their crews or taken

³⁴ Clark, *Naval History of the United States*, i. 90; *Boston Gazette*, April 12, 19, 1779. Soon after leaving Boston, at the beginning of his cruise, Captain Waters had sent into port the prize schooner "General Leslie." *Boston Gazette*, March 8, 1779.

³⁵ The "General Putnam" was owned by Nathaniel Shaw, whether of New Hampshire or of Connecticut authorities do not agree, and was valued at one hundred and ten thousand dollars. *Mass. Archives: Rev. Rolls*, xxxvii. 280.

Her commander, Captain Saltonstall, was very indignant at the seizure, and it is intimated that his unfortunate appointment as commodore was made to conciliate him. Stone, *Newburyport Herald*, January 11, 1879.

Capt. Waters took command of the "Putnam," July 7, and his pay was eighteen pounds per month. *Mass. Archives: Rev. Rolls*, xl. 112.

³⁶ Clark, *Naval History of the United States*, i. 100.

by the enemy; and the forces straggled back to Massachusetts, through the wilderness, as best they might. Captain Waters drew up an account of the expedition on his return; and the affair became the subject of an investigation, which resulted in the severe censure of Commodore Saltonstall.³⁷

The lack of public ships and the exigencies of the times compelled many naval officers of established reputation for efficiency and bravery, as Captain Manly and others, to take service in private armed vessels. Among them was Captain Waters, who, in December, 1779, sailed from Boston in the ship "Thorn," of eighteen guns and one hundred and twenty men, belonging to Lee and Sewall, of Marblehead. The story of this cruise, which was an eventful one, is best told in a record made at the time.

Thursday last arrived in Nantasket Road from a cruise, the armed ship Thorn, Daniel Waters, Esq; commander.

The following particulars are taken from the First Lieutenant's journal, on board the said ship, viz:—

December 24, clear and pleasant weather, at ten A.M. discovered two sail to windward, bearing N.N.W. we lay by till we discovered them to be armed brigantines—at 4 P.M. they were distant about 4 miles upon our weather-quarter; we made sail and haul'd our wind from them, in order to draw them within shot—at 7 P.M. almost calm our ship in order, men at their quarters, and in high spirits for engaging—Calm all night—The next morning December 25, at 6 A.M. the two brigs were on our larboard beam, about two miles distant—light breezes from the west, they, to appearance were making preparations for engaging—at 9 A.M. the wind sprung up from the S.W.—made

³⁷ The manuscript of Captain Waters is in *Mass. Archives*, cxlv. 238, with other original matter relating to the expedition. The best printed accounts are those of Williamson, *History of Maine*, ii. 468-478, and Stone, *Newburyport Herald*, January 11, 1879. A British relation is printed in *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vii. Williamson names the commodore Richard Saltonstall; and Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, iii. 161, with the usual fate of compilers, falls into the trap. The report of the court of inquiry, of which General Artemas Ward was president, is in *Mass. Archives*, cxlv., and

was printed in the *Boston Gazette*, December 27, 1779. It says:—"As the Naval Commanders in the service of the State are particularly amenable to the Government, the Committee think it their duty to say, that each and every one of them behaved like brave, experienced, good officers throughout the whole expedition." They refer the failure of the expedition to the "Want of proper spirit and energy on the part of the Commodore." The diary of General Lovell is printed in *Proc. Weymouth Hist. Soc.*, 1879-80.

sail for them in as good order as circumstances would admit — at 10 A.M. came up with [the] sternmost as she was the heaviest, and he hailed from White-Hall, and ask'd Capt. Waters what right he had to wear the 13 stars in his pendant — Capt. Waters answered I'll let you know presently — then shifted our ensign and gave her a broadside, within pistol shot, which she returned, as did the other brig on our weather-bow — A warm engagement commenced on both sides for about two glasses, when the largest brig laid us on board, on our weather quarter, whilst the other amused us on our weather bow, who kept up a regular fire ; but she upon our quarter, was soon convinced of her error, receiving such a warm and well-directed fire from our marines, and seeing his men running about deck with pikes in their backs instead of their hands, were undoubtedly glad to get off again ; but soon shot along side again and renew'd his cannonade with surprising spirit ; but after two or three broadsides was obliged to haul down what remained of his colours : — There must have been great slaughter, as the blood was seen to run out of the scuppers³⁸ — The other brig seeing her consort had struck, made what sail she could to make her escape, but they found us as ready to follow as she was to run, after Capt. Waters had ordered the captured brig to follow. This engagement lasted about four glasses : Capt. Waters received a wound in his right knee, about one glass before she first struck.

At 3 P.M. came up with the other, after firing several chace shot thro' her quarter, when with reluctance they hauled down their colours — Capt. Waters ordered me on board, to send the officers on board the Thorn, & immediately made sail for the other brig, which was making from us : Fresh breezes and cloudy weather. At 8 P.M. the Thorn hove to, losing sight of the chace — Squally weather ; the next morning saw several oars, beds, coins, gratings, &c. which we judged were from the brig, and that she sunk.³⁹ These 2 brigs proved to be privateers from New York ; one the Tryon, commanded by George Sibbles,⁴⁰ mounting 16 12 6 and 4-pounders and 86 men ; the other was the Sir William Erskine, Alexander Hamilton, commander, mounting 18 6 and 4-pounders, and 85 men : In the

³⁸ Clark, *Naval History of the United States*, i. 82, says the enemy had become a complete wreck, and her captain and the greater part of her crew were killed, only nine of them escaping unhurt. The "Thorn" was so cut to pieces in the rigging and sails that it was some time before she could pursue the other brig. Captain Waters became permanently lame from the wound which he received.

³⁹ "Captain Waters, some time after his arrival, was informed that the 'Tryon' had arrived safe at Antigua. The few of her crew that survived the action, taking advantage of the night, cleared the wreck, altered their course, and got out of sight." Clark, *Naval History of the United States*, i. 82.

⁴⁰ Named as Stebbins by Clark, Emmons, and Cooper, in their respective histories.

engagement, the loss sustained by the Sir William Erskine, was 20 killed and wounded, the damage of the other not known, but in all probability to a much greater amount than the other, from the closeness of her situation to a well directed fire, and her shattered appearance when she struck. Our own loss in the action was 18 killed and wounded; the chief of the latter is in a fair way of a speedy recovery.

Sunday, Jan. 2. Saw a sail, gave chase & came up with her: She prov'd a brig from New York, in ballast and under jury-mainmast, which we let go, after putting on board all our prisoners.

Thursday, Jan. 13. Saw a sail to leeward, gave chase and came up with her: She prov'd to be the Sparling, from Liverpool, bound to New-York, Jonathan Jackson, commander, mounting 18 6-pounders and 75 men, laden with coal, provision and dry goods — We engaged her about 40 minutes when she struck. Our loss was 1 killed and 2 wounded; theirs was 3 kill'd and the captain, 2 lieutenants and 7 privates wounded.⁴¹

The following Advertisement is taken from the New-York Mercury of Nov. 19. — The Privateer Brig Tryon, George Sibbles; and Brig Sir William Erskine, will, by the Admiral's Permission, sail on Sunday next. — A Glorious Chance for a fortunate Cruise now presents itself to about a dozen good seamen more who are wanted on board each brig, and who, on immediate application, will meet with generous Encouragement. — *A glorious Chance they've met with.*⁴²

Upon his return Captain Waters was incapacitated for immediate service by reason of his wound; and the "Thorn" was given to Captain Tucker, under whose command she made several successful cruises, and was taken by a British frigate in July, 1781. Five days later she was recaptured by two French ships and sent into port. The next, and probably the last, cruise of Captain Waters was in the ship "Friendship," of sixteen guns and seventy men, owned by Thomas Russell of Boston, to which he was appointed January 29, 1781.⁴³ After this he retired from the sea and lived upon his little farm in

⁴¹ It is said that the "Thorn" had not more than sixty men left when she met the "Sparlin," and that the latter had a crew of ninety-seven men. Clark, *Naval History of the United States*, i. 82.

⁴² *Boston Gazette*, February 21, 1780. *Bowen's Journal*, in Roads, *History of Marblehead*, 391, says: — "[Feb] 18th. Last night the Thorn, Captain Waters,

arrived from a cruise, having had a smart engagement, in which five men were killed belonging to this town [Marblehead.]" Clark made the error of placing this cruise of Captain Waters in the winter of 1777-78, and succeeding writers have followed him with commendable docility.

⁴³ *Mass. Archives*, clxxi. 335.

Malden, where he died, March 26, 1816, at the ripe age of eighty-five years.⁴⁴

Jonathan Oakes, who was born in Malden, October 4, 1751, and was in command of a vessel in the merchant service before he was twenty years of age,⁴⁵ deserves notice as a successful naval officer. In the latter part of the year 1776 he was captain of the private armed brigantine "Hawke" of ten guns and eighty men.⁴⁶ In May of the next year the "Hawke" was taken into the service of the state and formed one of the fleet which sailed under Commodore Manly on the disastrous cruise which resulted in the capture of Manly and Waters.⁴⁷ Captain

Jonathan Oakes

Oakes was more fortunate than his more powerful consorts;

for, being separated from them, he escaped their fate and took several valuable prizes. He sent into port the ship "Fanny," and the brigs "Charming Sally," "Jenny," and "Devonshire,"

⁴⁴ Captain Waters married (1) Agnes Smith, July, 1759, d. July, 1778; (2) Mary (Wilcox) Mortimer, widow of Peter Mortimer of Boston, about 1794, d. June 7, 1802; (3) Sarah Sigourney, da. of Daniel and Joanna Sigourney, July 29, 1802, d. July 21, 1836. His only child was Nancy, or Ann, b. February 20, 1760, who married Nathaniel Bridge. It is said that Captain Waters was "out" with her on account of her marriage, but was appeased when she named her child Daniel Waters Bridge.

⁴⁵ *Letter of* the late David Oakes Clark of Milton.

⁴⁶ *Mass. Archives: Rev. Rolls*, vi. 20; *Boston Gazette*, October 28, December 2, 1776, February 10, 1777. I think the "Hawke" was a prize vessel. Her owners were Uriah Oakes and William Shattuck, of Boston, and her officers were Jonathan Oakes, captain; John Smith, first-lieutenant; John Dexter, second-lieutenant; and Smith Kent, master. Later, Thomas Parker was first-lieutenant, and Smith Kent, second-lieutenant. It is probable that both Dexter and

Parker were of Malden, but I cannot identify them with certainty. Ezra Sargeant and Daniel Parker, of Malden, were sureties upon the bond of Captain Oakes. *Mass. Archives*, clxvi. 11; *Mass. Archives: Rev. Rolls*, vi. 20; xl. 55.

Uriah Oakes was a cousin of Captain Jonathan, and was born in Malden, April 14, 1735. After his marriage with Agnes Kent, at Malden, in 1756, he removed to Boston, where, at the time of his death, he had a house in South Street, near Wheeler's Point. He was a sea captain, and was owner in several privateers; but I cannot identify him as the commander of any armed vessel. He died in March, 1788, his wife having died in the previous March. He left no children, and one-quarter of his estate was willed to his brother Nehemiah and nephew Uriah, of Malden. The remainder was left to his kinsman, Captain Uriah Green, of Boston, who is called Uziah in the Boston Directory of 1796. *Suffolk Probate Records*, lxxxvii. 150.

⁴⁷ *Mass. Archives*, cxlii. 60; *Mass. Archives: Rev. Rolls*, xl. 55.

and returned in safety to Boston, where he arrived early in August.⁴⁸ In the fall of the same year the "Hawke" made a short cruise, apparently under the command of Thomas Parker, who had been her first-licutenant in the previous cruise, and returned to port on the last day of November.⁴⁹ Her armament was then increased to twelve carriage and eight swivel guns; and Captain Oakes resumed the command, taking during the year 1778 the ship "Jenny" and brigantine "Thomas," and, in company with Captain Skimmer of the continental brig "General Gates," sending in the brigantine "Nancy" and perhaps others.⁵⁰ In February, 1779, he purchased an interest in the brigantine "Elizabeth," then lying in Salem Harbor, of which he took command, her name being changed to the "Thomas." She carried six guns and eighteen men, and was owned by Thomas Harris and John Larkin of Boston in company with Captain Oakes.⁵¹

In 1780 Captain Oakes was in the armed ship "Favorite" of ten guns,⁵² in which he made a cruise or, more properly, a voyage to Europe or the West Indies, for the life of a sailor during the Revolution was a mixed one of trade and war. On his return he took command of the brig "Patty," of six guns,⁵³ a new vessel in which he became a partner with William and John Shattuck of Boston. In the latter vessel, while on a voyage from Martinique, in April, 1781, he took the British brig "Betsey," bound from New York to Lisbon.⁵⁴ After the war he made several mercantile voyages, and in 1796 was in Paris as agent for the influential house of John and Richard Codman of Boston.⁵⁵ He retired from the seafaring life soon after, and became prominent in town affairs. He was chosen representative to the General Court twelve times. This service, though not unbroken, is not paralleled in the history of the town by any other, except that of Captain John Wayte, whose uninter-

⁴⁸ *Boston Gazette*, July 21, August 11, 25, 1777. Clark; also *Mass. Archives: Rev. Rolls*, vii. 203.

⁴⁹ *Mass. Archives: Rev. Rolls*, vi. 101; *Boston Gazette*, December 1, 1777.

⁵⁰ *Mass. Archives: Rev. Rolls*, vi. 113; *Boston Gazette*, July 20, August 17, 1778.

⁵¹ *Letter of the late David Oakes*

⁵² *Ibid.*, v. 239.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, clxxi. 320; also *letter of the late David Oakes Clark*.

⁵⁴ *Boston Gazette*, April 23, 30, 1781.

⁵⁵ *Letter of David Oakes Clark*.

rupted term of eighteen years in the same office has been mentioned. Captain Oakes died August 16, 1818, at the age of sixty-seven years.

Isaac Smith was born in Truro, Massachusetts, near the year 1744. His parents dying while he was a child, he was sent to Boston at the age of nine years and, in the language of the time, "bound out" to go to sea. He seems to have made good use of the limited opportunities which a boy in his condition could find; for at the early age of nineteen years he was given the command of a vessel, and was actually in that position during two years of his apprenticeship.⁵⁶ That he was of more than ordinary character is evident, and he must have fallen into good hands; for out of such apparently unfavorable circumstances as were those of his childhood and youth, he came with the best characteristics of a gentleman. Wright, speaking to a congregation, in which must have been many who had been neighbors and friends of Captain Smith, says: "he was universally esteemed for his refinement of feeling, and Christian-like disposition."⁵⁷ I find no trace of him as in service in the early years of the Revolution, while his townsmen were enrolled among the minute men or upon the alarm list, which indicates that he was, probably, for the most part absent at sea. In 1779 he appears as commander of the armed ship "Friendship," of six guns and sixty men, owned by Thomas Russell and Company of Boston.⁵⁸ The next year he was in the brigantine "Thomas," which Captain Oakes had left for the ship "Favorite." In the "Thomas" Captain Smith made a prize of the British schooner "Hope," which was sent into Boston in the fall of 1780,⁵⁹ and it was apparently while in this vessel that he was made a prisoner and taken to Ireland. When with others he

⁵⁶ *Information of his grandson, John Smith Nichols. The Bi-Centennial Book of Malden, 176, says: "He came up from very humble life, having been taken from the almshouse in Boston when a boy," Wright, Historical Discourse [1831], 24, from whom the compiler drew his information, merely says: "I think he was taken from the almshouse." Enquiries made by the descendants of Captain*

Smith, fifty years ago, of an old merchant of Boston, who was on terms of friendship with him, and knew of his origin, proved that the loose statement of Mr. Wright and the assertion of the Bi-Centennial Book were not correct.

⁵⁷ Wright, *Historical Discourse* (1831), 24.

⁵⁸ *Mass. Archives: Rév. Rolls, v. 248.*

⁵⁹ *Boston Gazette, November 20, 1780.*

was released an attempt was made to carry away in a bag a boy who was imprisoned with them, but the ruse was detected and the boy detained.⁶⁰

After his return Captain Smith, who had gained good profits upon the sea, purchased a large tract of land in the south-east part of the town, on which was standing, near the easterly corner of Chelsea and Ferry Streets, the house where he resided until his death. Before this he had lived in a house on the Saugus Road, now Upham Street in Melrose. Like his neighbor, Captain Oakes, he became influential in town affairs; and he was chosen representative for six consecutive years, dying while holding that office, December 13, 1795. Both as a citizen and as a public man he sustained an unblemished reputation; and he was esteemed as one of the most influential members of the General Court.⁶¹ He is said to have been the most wealthy man in Malden at the time of his death.

Dr. John Sprague, the son of Phineas Sprague, was born in Malden, January 13, 1754. It is said that his education as a physician was self-acquired, which is altogether unlikely, as he appears to have been successful in his later practice. It is probable that he studied

John Sprague

with Dr. Simon Tufts of Medford, as it was facetiously said that "he had the care of Dr. Tufts's horse." He acted as surgeon's mate to Dr. Walter Hastings of Chelmsford in the regiment of Colonel Ebenezer Bridge, in which he engaged May 1, 1775.⁶² How long he remained in this capacity does not appear, except that it is said, probably from tradition, that he was in service eighteen months. However, he, or one of like name, was in Captain Blaney's company at Point Shirley in June, 1776. He afterwards entered the naval service, and as surgeon of the armed schooner "Active," Captain Andrew Gardner, one of the ill-fated fleet of Commodore Manly, was

⁶⁰ *Information of the late John Smith Nichols.*

⁶¹ Wright, *Historical Discourse* (1831), 24.

⁶² *Mass. Archives: Rev. Rolls*, xxvi. 34.

taken prisoner in 1777. He was exchanged about the same time as Captain Waters,⁶³ and returned to Malden, where for a while he practised his profession and taught school. The attractions of the sea, however, may have exceeded those of the land; and he engaged as surgeon on the armed vessel "Thomas," in which he had the fortune to again become a prisoner. From the name of the vessel and the similarity of the circumstances, I think he was with Captain Smith and that they were fellow-sufferers. He was carried to Kinsale on the coast of Ireland, where he was detained until the winter of 1781-2, when he was released and returned to America by the way of France.⁶⁴ On his arrival he was appointed surgeon of the state sloop "Winthrop," Captain George Little, in which he remained until the close of the war.⁶⁵ In this vessel he saw much service, as the "Winthrop" was particularly active and made many captures. Captain Little was a fighting officer, and his first-lieutenant was the afterwards famous Commodore Edward Preble.

After the war Dr. Sprague resumed the practice of medicine in Malden, and purchased the house in which Joseph Hills had lived in the early days of the town, at the corner of Main and Salem Streets, and which is elsewhere noticed as the tavern of James Kettell and of Robert Foster. Here he lived until his death, from consumption, October 21, 1803. He left the reputation of a rough and honest man, whose language was usually better chosen for the purposes of wit than for the requirements of propriety. Many stories are yet told by old inhabitants which illustrate his readiness at repartee and the force

⁶³ *Mass. Archives: Rev. Rolls*, xl. 130; *Applications for Pensions*, iii. 9.

⁶⁴ The certificate of the release of Doctor Sprague is in the possession of his grandson, Charles H. Sprague.

"To all Whom it may Concern. These are to certify That the Bearer John Sprayer an American Prisoner of War, late Surgeon on board the Thomas Merchant Vessel, is set at Liberty Pursuant to an Order from the Hon'ble Commissioners for Sick and Wounded Seamen and for Exchanging Prisoners of War. Dated at Their Office on Tower

Hill London, The Thirteenth Day of November Instant. Given under my hand this Twenty Second Day of November 1781

JN^o HOW Agent
for Prisoners of War
At Kinsale

"L'Ecrit en l'autre part certifie que le Porteur du present le Sieur Jean Sprayer Americain a été relaché des Prisons de Kinsale en Jrelande
Nantes 9 Mars 1782

SCHWEIGHAMER & DOBRÉÉ."

⁶⁵ *Mass. Archives: Rev. Rolls*, xl. 3, 8.

of his well-seasoned language. It would seem that some flavor of the rough life of the ocean lingered about him.

Dr. Ezra Green, who was graduated at Harvard College in 1765, was the son of Ezra and Eunice (Burrill) Green and was born in Malden, June 17, 1746. At the beginning of the Revolution he was settled at Dover, New Hampshire, in the practice of his profession. During the siege of Boston he was attached to Reed's New Hampshire regiment as surgeon; and, after the evacuation, he went with the army to New York and thence to Ticonderoga and Canada. In the severe sufferings of the northern army from small-pox he was enabled to perform a much needed and arduous service, as he had experienced that then much feared and dangerous disease, both as a physician and a patient, while in the camp on Winter Hill. After the retreat of the army from Canada he returned to Dover, where he remained until October, 1777, when he was appointed surgeon of the continental ship-of-war "Ranger," under the command of the afterwards celebrated John Paul Jones. It was during the cruise which followed that Jones carried alarm and terror along the British coast, and made his famous descent upon Whitehaven, and his more famous call upon the Countess of Selkirk at St. Mary's Isle. It was also during this cruise that the "Ranger" captured the British sloop-of-war "Drake" and received "the first salute ever pay'd the American flag."⁶⁶

Dr. Green returned to America in the "Ranger," arriving at Portsmouth in October, 1778, the ship being in command of Captain Simpson, who had been her former lieutenant. The vessel, being refitted, sailed in the spring with Dr. Green again as surgeon and his friend, Captain Simpson, in command. During the summer the "Ranger" and her consorts, the ships "Providence" and "Queen of France," took eleven large ships out of the Jamaica fleet, seven of which they brought into Boston. Great alarm was felt by the inhabitants when ten ships were seen sailing into the harbor; and it was believed that the British had come at last to burn the town. In a previous cruise, a few weeks earlier, the "Ranger," with the

⁶⁶ *Diary of Ezra Green*, 19; *Sherburne, Life of John Paul Jones*, 43.

"Warren" and "Queen of France," had taken seven prizes into Portsmouth. In the fall Dr. Green retired from the ship; and, being married soon after, he remained at Dover until 1780, when he sailed in the "Alexander," Captain Mitchell, on a cruise which accomplished nothing. In 1781, still in the "Alexander," now in the command of Captain Simpson, he went to France and on his return withdrew from the sea as well as from the practice of medicine at Dover, which he relinquished to a friend to whom he gave his instruments and books. In the exercise of the kindly ministrations of life he passed far beyond the usual bounds of man's life; and although deprived by an accident of the powers of locomotion for more than ten years, "his days and years flew apace without weariness or complaint, and with a sweet serenity of mind and calm Christian patience." He died at Dover, July 25, 1847, "at the very advanced age of one hundred and one years and twenty-eight days, retaining to his last hour a clear unclouded mind, and with the full faith and confiding hope of entering a future world of progressive improvement and happiness."⁶⁷

About the first of February, 1778, the armed brigantine "Massachusetts" lay in Boston harbor. Her captain was John Lambert; and Smith Kent, who had sailed as an officer with Captain Oakes, was her first-lieutenant. On her muster roll appear the names of John Sprague, quartermaster, Bernard Newhall, William Sprague, Thomas Jenkins, and Joshua Gill.⁶⁸ While the origin of the first name may be in doubt, although it

⁶⁷ In writing of Dr. Green I have used: *The Consolations of Old Age*. | *A* | *Sermon* | *Preached at the* | *First Unitarian Church, in Dover, N. H.* | *On the 28th of June, 1846,* | *Being the One Hundredth Birthday* | *of Ezra Green, M.D.* | *The Oldest Living Alumnus of Harvard College.* | *By S. K. Lothrop,* | *Pastor of the Church in Brattle Square, Boston.* | 1846. | and *Diary* | *of* | *Ezra Green, M.D.,* | *Surgeon on board the Continental Ship-of-War "Ranger,"* . . . | *with* | *Historical Notes and a Biography,* | *by* | *Commo. Geo. Henry Preble, U. S. N.,* | and *Walter C. Green.* | 1875. | The latter

is a private reprint of *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, xxix. 13-24, 170-181, and has a woodcut silhouette likeness of Dr. Green at the age of fifty-five years, and a portrait taken when he was one hundred years old. Mr. Green says of his father, "In personal appearance and contour of face, he was not unlike Gen. Washington, for whom he was often taken while in the army. In stature he was six feet three inches tall and proportionately large in frame; and whether walking or sitting, he always maintained a very erect position."

⁶⁸ *Mass. Archives: Rev. Rolls*, xxxix. 12.

has a strong flavor and probability of Malden birth, we may be sure that the others are those of Malden men. William Sprague was a younger brother of Dr. John Sprague. How he went from home with "his maites" and never returned may best be told in the quaint words of his father, Phineas Sprague.

William Sprague being in the twenty seacon year of his age Shiped himself with a Number more of his maites on board the massachuset Brig so called Bound to France with 14 carige gunes and a Hundred men — the Nex Nite after She Sailed a Voilent Storm of Snow caim on and Nothing of them could wee ever Hear of them Since tho it is Now above three years Since he took his leive of us and Bid us Fair well.⁶⁹

It is of little moment now to either father or son.

In the year 1780 the town records mention Jonathan Gardner and his brother-in-law, Daniel Knower, who "ware Lost in the Extraordinary Hericane in the Wesindies in Oct^o 10 & 11." The name of one Naler Hatch, in January, 1783, as the commander of the letter-of-marque brig "Lady Washington," owned by Crowell Hatch and others of Boston,⁷⁰ may indicate that Captain Hatch, after his military service, was induced to try again his fortune upon the sea; but in the absence of positive evidence, I can only mention the possibility of his having been the last Revolutionary naval officer of Malden.

⁶⁹ *Phineas Sprague his book*, in the possession of Artemas Barrett, 1866.

⁷⁰ *Mass. Archives*, clxxii. 281.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.

IN this chapter I have gathered, from scattered public and private records, the names of those who served by land or sea in the revolutionary period. Of the two hundred and thirty-seven names here recorded, five are of men who became inhabitants of the town after the war, and one, of a prominent man who was here for a short time at its beginning. The others are of those who are reported as of this town, at the time of their service, or who were natives of Malden, serving from other towns.

The imperfect condition of the public records, the confusion existing from similarity of names, and the many apparent errors in the original rolls will not allow a claim for absolute perfection in this or any similar list.

ATKINSON, JOHN; with Capt. Treadwell, Col. Crane's regiment of artillery; in continental army pay accounts for service, May 2, 1777, to May 2, 1780; service reported as matross seven months and twenty-nine days, as gunner twenty-four months. *Vide Hatkerson.*

BAILEY, DAVID; advertised in *Boston Gazette* as having deserted at Fishkill, Oct. 27, 1781, from Lieut.-Col. Webb's regiment of levies from Suffolk and Middlesex.

BAILEY, JOHN; with six months' reinforcements in roll dated Nov. 16, 1780, ae. 18, stature 5.9, ruddy complex.; marched to camp with Capt. Parker, Nov. 6, 1780. Discharged, May 17, 1781.

BALDWIN, JOSEPH; eight months' service, 1775, with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond; in Rhode Island service, May-July, 1777, with Capt. Stephen Dana, Col. Whitney; allowed state bounty, June 12, 1778, for one month in lines at Boston with Capt. Stephen Dana, Col. McIntosh.

BALDWIN, SAMUEL; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776; in Rhode Island service, July 24-Dec., 1779, with Capt. Thos. Hovey, Col. Tyler; said to have been in service as an artificer.

BANKS, ZACCHEUS; born in Malden, May 19, 1759; enlisted in three months' service, May 3, 1775, as from Charlestown; was in camp on Prospect Hill, Oct. 6, 1775. Was mustered into service as of Boston, Feb. 16, 1777; was in service as a drummer in various regiments during the war; and was discharged, June 9, 1783, with a record of seven years and three months' service.

BARBER, PETER; with six months' reinforcements in roll, Nov. 16, 1780, ae. 19, stature 5.8, ruddy complex.; marched to camp with Capt. Parker, Nov. 6, 1780; discharged, May 17, 1781.

BARNES, EBENEZER; in eight months' service, 1775, with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond.

BARNES, SAMUEL; corporal with Capt. Ephraim Cleaveland, Col. Jackson; in pay accounts for service, April 6, 1777, to Dec. 31, 1780; enlisted at Soldier's Fortune for the war, May 11, 1779, ae. 23, stature 5.11, dark complex., brown hair, by occupation a blockmaker; in Jan., 1781, was corporal with Capt. Wade, Col. Jackson.

BARRETT, JAMES; in service, 1779, ae. 16, stature 5.3, light complex.; with six months' reinforcements, marched under Capt. Soper from Springfield, July 24, 1780; 220 miles from home when discharged, Dec. 8, 1780.

BARRETT, JOSEPH, JR.; Lex. alarm, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney, Col. Brooks's regiment of guards at Camb., Feb.-April, 1778.

BARRINGTON, GEORGE; in eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775; with Capt. John Walton, Col. Brooks's regiment of guards at Camb. and Charlestown, Feb.-April, 1778.

BENNETT, ANDREW; enlisted at West Point, Jan. 7, 1777, for three years; with Capt. Ephraim Cleaveland, Col. Jackson; in continental army pay accounts, Jan. 18, 1777 to Dec. 31,

1780, sometimes as Andrew Benheld. In Jan., 1781, was corporal with Capt. Peirce, Col. Jackson, æ. 22, stature 5.10, dark complex., black hair, by occupation a mariner.

BERRY, SAMUEL; enlisted Oct. 14, 1777, for three years under Col. Henry Jackson; corporal, Dec. 10, 1778; in army pay accounts for service, Oct. 14, 1777, to Dec. 31, 1779, but reported absent from duty, six months and four days, having deserted, June 27, 1779; returned, or was retaken, March 5, 1780, and reduced to private in Lieut.-Col. Cobb's Company, Col. Jackson. His family in Malden received supplies, Jan.-April, 1780.

BILL, BENJAMIN; allowed state bounty, June 12, 1778, for one month in the lines at Boston, with Capt. Stephen Dana, Col. McIntosh; service, March 20-April 5, 1776.

BISHOP, SAMUEL; eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775; in list of three years men, 1777.

BLANEY, BENJAMIN, a son of Capt. Benj. Blaney, a prominent inhabitant of Malden, whose death in 1751 is elsewhere noticed, was born July 24, 1738. He was commissioned as ensign in the Malden company, Sept. 1765; was still ensign in Jan. 1773, but appears as captain in Sept. 1774. He led his company at the Lex. alarm and in the affair at Noddle's Island, 1775. His command in April, 1776, was the 4th co. 1st Middlesex regiment, Col. Samuel Thacher, which participated in the Point Shirley exp., June, 1776. He was capt. of a company of eighty-eight men, which was drafted from that regiment and marched to Fairfield, Conn., Dec. 16, 1776; and was capt. in Col. Brooks's regiment of guards, which was employed at Cambridge (or on Prospect and Winter Hills) in guarding the prisoners taken in the campaign against Burgoyne, 1777-78. He was chosen first representative from Malden under the state constitution, 1780. In 1815 he sold his house near Waters's Spring and soon after removed to Chester, Vt., where he died, Jan. 29, 1820, in the family of his son-in-law, Samuel Sargent. Wright, *Historical Discourse*, 24, says he "was prompt in duty, and persevering in effort."

BLATCHFORD, JOHN; in list of three years' men, 1777.

BOTTOM (*Bottume?*), THOMAS; farmer, ae. 45, stature 5.7, complex. light; enlisted May 9, 1781, for three years.

BOYD, JOHN; in list of three years' men, 1777. Appears as private with Capt. James Bancroft, Col. Jackson, in pay accounts for service, June 17, 1777 to Dec. 31, 1779; res. Stoneham, credited to Malden. Probably the same who appears in a return, dated Medford, Feb. 19, 1778, res. Medford, enlisted for Malden from Lieut. Stephen Hall's co. 1st Middlesex regiment.

BREEDEN, DANIEL; Lex. alarm, 1775.

BREEDEN, ELNATHAN; Lex. alarm, from Malden, 1775; probably the same as reported of Stoneham, private with Capt. Isaac Hall, Col. Bond, in return, dated Camp Prospect Hill, Oct. 6, 1775; reported enlisted for Quebec, Sept. 12, 1775; enlisted Nov. 19, 1776, for the war; on muster roll at camp at Stillwater, Sept. 1777, at White Plains, June-Aug., 1778; on various rolls until Jan. 30, 1779; during this time appears as a three years' man from Malden with Capt. Samuel Flower, Col. Groaton, 2d battalion Mass. forces. Reported deserted, Jan. 30, 1779, but appears with Capt. Flower in 1780.

BREEDEN, SAMUEL; farmer, born in Malden, but then res. at Temple, ae. 28, stature 5.8, complex. brown, enlisted April 23, 1775, as sergeant with Capt. Ezra Towne, Col. Read, in eight months' service.

BRIGHAM, AARON; of Marlborough, in some rolls is reported, probably by error, as of Malden.

BRINTNALL, WILLIAM; ae. 19, stature 5.5, complex. ruddy; with six months' reinforcements, marched under Capt. Soper, July 15, 1780; reported passed muster at Camp Totoway, Oct. 25, 1780; service was for four months and six days in contingent of six months' men raised by Malden. He died in service, Nov. 20, 1780.

BROWN, BENJAMIN; Lex. alarm, 1775; lieutenant with Capt. Nathan Sargeant, three months' state service, 1779.

BROWN, PETER; Lex. alarm, 1775; perhaps the same as the boatswain's mate with Capt. Daniel Waters in ship "General Putnam," July-Aug., 1779.

BUCKNAM, AARON; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776; in R. I. service, May-July, 1777, with Capt. Stephen Dana, Col. Whitney.

BUCKNAM, BENJAMIN; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776.

BUCKNAM, DAVID; Lex. alarm, 1775; with Capt. Caleb Brooks in Brooks's regiment of guards at Camb., Nov. 1777.

BUCKNAM, Joses (sometimes Joseph); of Medford, appears in various service from 1776 to 1780, and is sometimes called of Malden.

BUCKNAM, NATHAN; in eight months' service, 1775, with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond.

BUCKNAM, WILLIAM; res. Medford, is reported as having enlisted for the town of Malden in 1780 in six months' service, *ae.* 21, stature 5.8, complex. dark. William Bucknam, son of James and Mary, was born in Malden, April 30, 1759.

BURDITT, JOSEPH; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776.

BURDITT, NATHAN; eight months' service, 1775, with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond; with Capt. Caleb Brooks in Brooks's regiment of guards at Camb., Nov., 1777.

BURDITT, ROBERT; Lex. alarm, 1775; eight months' service, 1775, with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond.

BURDITT, SAMUEL; eight months' service, 1775, with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond. Second-lieut. in Col. Ephraim Wheelock's regiment in list of officers, Ticonderoga, Oct. 11, 1776.

CARDEN, TIMOTHY; received sixty pounds, July 13, 1782, of Thos. Hills, chairman of a class in the town of Malden, for enlisting in the continental service for three years.

CASWELL, ELIAKIM; enlisted June 5, 1775, eight months' service as bombardier in Capt. John Callender's artillery, Col. Gridley.

CASWELL, ELIJAH; sergeant in eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775.

CASWELL, JOSHUA; in eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775.

CHADWICK, DANIEL; Lex. alarm, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776; with Col. Brooks's regiment of guards at Camb. in 1778, performing "extraordinary services," which the town recognized in 1779.

CHEEVER, JOSEPH, was a native of Chelsea, where he was born, Dec. 14, 1752. He was a great-grandson of the Rev. Thomas Cheever, the third pastor of the church in Malden, and became a resident here in middle life. In the Lex. alarm he was out as fourth-sergeant in Capt. Samuel Sprague's company of Chelsea militia; and he was soon after commissioned by the provincial authorities as first-lieutenant in the regiment of Col. Samuel Gerrish, his company, which was under the command of his former captain, Samuel Sprague, being largely composed of Essex County men.

At the battle of Bunker Hill Col. Gerrish neglected or refused to lead his regiment farther than Charlestown Neck, where portions of other regiments had halted, deterred by the severe fire to which it was exposed. A part of the regiment, however, under its adjutant, Christian Febiger, a Danish lieutenant, who afterwards became a colonel in the continental service, crossed the Neck and took part in the action, doing good service. Its captain having been wounded earlier in the day, as tradition states, Cheever led his company into the engagement and was on the hill during the battle, receiving a bullet through his hat. After the battle Col. Gerrish was tried and cashiered, and the command of the regiment was given to Loammi Baldwin, its former lieutenant-colonel. During the siege of Boston, Lieut. Cheever's company was stationed a portion of the time at Chelsea, his regiment occupying the lines in that town and Malden and Medford.

On the reorganization of the army he was attached to the company of Capt. Barnabas Dodge, in the same regiment, which now became the twenty-sixth regiment of foot. He went with the army in its removal to the seat of war in the central provinces, and participated in the battle of White Plains and other engagements in the vicinity of New York. By the death or discharge of Capt. Dodge he succeeded to the

command of the company, which position he maintained until the regiment was mustered out of service in 1777, although he received no commission other than that of lieutenant, which he already held. He led his company of forty-three men in the attack on Trenton, Dec. 26, 1776; and tradition says that he was complimented by Washington and employed in some unstated service at headquarters. His grandson, the late Samuel Raymond (*Malden Mirror*, Feb. 2, 1884), says: "I often heard my grandfather tell how he and his command were sent to the rear of the enemy to make an attack, so as to draw the attention of the British and Hessians in that direction, while Washington with the main body of his army made the successful attack in front. He often would tell of the sufferings and privations of our army, and of their leaving a bloody track on the snow and ice in that winter's campaign."

In 1799 he purchased a farm on Salem Street in Scadan, where he lived until his death, Oct. 23, 1830. He is buried in the Salem Street Cemetery. His commission as captain (1793), signed by John Hancock, is preserved in the Malden Public Library.

CHRISTY, JOHN; ae. 22, stature 5.8, complex. dark, with six months' reinforcements, marched from Springfield, under Lieut. Cary, Oct. 26, 1780; 220 miles from home when discharged.

COX, UNITE; Lex. alarm, 1775; sergeant in eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775.

DELAND, DAVID; drafted and marched for Horse Neck, with Capt. John Walton, Col. Brooks, Sept. 26, 1776.

DERBY, ARNOLD; in list of three years' men, 1777.

DENTER, AARON, who appears here by reason of his services at sea, was the fourth son of Richard and Rebecca (Peabody) Dexter, and was born Nov. 11, 1750. His father chose for him a liberal education; and he was graduated at Harvard College in 1776. He was an interested and intelligent witness of the battle of Bunker Hill from the Malden side of the river. *Analectic Magazine*, xi. 257.

After his graduation he studied medicine with Dr. Samuel Danforth of Boston. He made several voyages as surgeon,

being finally captured and carried into Halifax. After many hardships he was exchanged; and, returning to Boston, he began the practice of his profession, in which he soon attained a high degree of success. His connection with Harvard College is related on page 629. He took an active interest in public affairs; and he served in the winter campaign in which the uprising known as Shay's Rebellion in 1787 was overcome. He was an early member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and a member and promoter of many other literary and charitable bodies. He had a decided taste for farming, and owned for that purpose the large tract of land in Chelsea on which the United States Hospitals now stand. His death, which occurred at Cambridge, Feb. 28, 1829, was attributed to old age. *Bi-Centennial Book of Malden*, 173; *Mass. Hist. So. Proc.*, April, 1829, 421-423.

DEXTER, JOHN; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776; perhaps was lieut. of the brigantine "Hawke," Capt. Jona. Oakes, Nov. 1776.

DEXTER, RICHARD; Lex. alarm, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776.

DEXTER, WILLIAM; Lex. alarm, 1775; corporal with Capt. B. Blaney in Col. Brooks's regiment of guards at Camb., Feb.-April, 1778; acknowledged, April 4, 1778, the receipt of two pounds "As a Bounty for my Going to Providence Voted By said Town in may 1777."

DICKENSON, JAMES; with Col. Brooks's regiment of guards at Camb. in 1778, performing "extraordinary services," which the town recognized in 1779.

DOW, SOLOMON; in eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775.

EATON, EBENEZER; in eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775.

EATON, EZRA; enlisted, May 3, 1775, in eight months' service, as sergeant with Capt. Theo. Bliss, Col. Patterson.

EATON, NATHAN; corporal at Lex. alarm, 1775; in eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775.

EDMUNDS, JOHN; Lex. alarm, 1775, but not with the militia.

EMERSON, WILLIAM (REV.); a son of Rev. Joseph Emerson; prominent by his patriotic sermons; chaplain at Ticonderoga, Aug. 1776; died Oct. 20, 1776. *Vide* chap. xix. note 20.

FARRINGTON, WILLIAM; in the 3rd regiment, date not known; by a resolve of the General Court in 1801 was allowed 200 acres of land, or twenty dollars, for his services.

FLOYD, JOSEPH; Lex. alarm, 1775.

FLOYD, NOAH; allowed state bounty, June 12, 1778, for one month in the lines at Boston, with Capt. Stephen Dana, Col. McIntosh.

FORBES, CHRISTOPHER; a soldier of the French War, whose service is given on page 705. He claims a place here, by tradition, as a participator in the Lex. alarm and in other local affairs, although he does not appear in the records. He was, doubtless, one of the unorganized multitude who assailed the retreating forces from every vantage ground. A story is told of "old Kit Fobes," which probably applies to the summer of 1774. At that time, and until the gathering of the Americans around Boston prevented, British officers were often met riding about the country, ostensibly for pleasure but really for information. Forbes was going along the Salem Road, with his scythe upon his shoulder, when he was met by a single officer to whose salutation he failed to reply. The officer, with an oath, ordered him to salute, and as the other still proceeded silently upon his way, threatened him. Forbes was wide awake as well as silent, and, as the officer stooped in his seat to draw his sword, by a dexterous movement threw his scythe back of the other's neck and said he would cut off his head if he moved. It is said that the officer carried his head with great care and that Forbes held the scythe in its position with a firm hand. In this manner the twain moved slowly along the road to Waite's Tavern in Scadan, where the officer was allowed to dismount and was presented to the people who had gathered there. Forbes related the story and proposed to salute the officer if he would treat the crowd at the bar. This

being done Forbes gave a proper military salute to the officer, who rode away followed by the cheers of the people and an invitation to come again.

GARDNER, JONATHAN; Lex. alarm, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776; with Capt. Stephen Dana, Col. Whitney, in Rhode Island service, May-July, 1777; with Capt. Thos. Hovey, Col. Tyler, in Rhode Island service, Dec. 1779; lost at sea, Oct. 1780.

GEARY, JOSHUA; probably from Stoneham; was hired by Malden on the call of June 9, 1779; ae. 17, stature 5.1, complex. light, with Capt. Waite, Col. Stearns, in nine months' service.

GILL, JOSHUA; eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775; lost on armed brigantine "Massachusetts," 1778.

GILL, WILLIAM; Lex. alarm, 1775.

GOULD, JOHN; Lex. alarm, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776.

GRAHAM, JOHN; eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775; advertised in the *Boston Gazette*, April 7, 1777, as having deserted from the company of Capt. Philip Thomas, Col. Marshall.

GREEN, BERNARD; corporal at Lex. alarm, 1775; corporal with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776; first-sergeant with Capt. John Walton, Col. Brooks, marched to Horse Neck, Sept. 26, 1776, and was at the battle of White Plains, and participated in the victories of Trenton and Princeton; lieut. in Col. Thacher's regiment of Middlesex militia, July 29, 1778. Mr. Green was a leading citizen of Malden after the war, and passed a long and honorable life, serving the town in its various offices of responsibility. He was an active justice of the peace more than thirty years. He died July 15, 1834, aged eighty-two years. He was the brother of Dr. Ezra Green and the Rev. Aaron Green, who are elsewhere noticed, and the father of the late James D. Green, formerly a Unitarian clergyman, and, later, the first mayor of Cambridge.

GREEN, DANIEL; ae. 15, stature 4.9, complex. light, hair light, eyes blue, a farmer, enlisted, April 4, 1781, for three years.

GREEN, EZRA; surgeon in the army and at sea with Capt. Paul Jones and others. *Vide* chapter xxiii.

GREEN, JAMES; Lex. alarm, 1775.

GREEN, PHINEAS; with Capt. B. Blaney in Col. Brooks's regiment of guards at Camb., Feb.-April, 1778.

GROVER, BENJAMIN; Lex. alarm, 1775; sergeant in eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775; in service in the expedition against Canada, and died at Ticonderoga, Oct. 16, 1776.

GROVER, JOHN; Lex. alarm, 1775; eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775; drafted and marched for Horse Neck, Sept. 26, 1776, with Capt. John Walton, Col. Brooks; with Capt. Joseph Fuller, Col. Bullard, in service "Northward," Aug.-Nov., 1777; with Capt. Caleb Brooks in Col. Brooks's regiment of guards at Camb., Dec., 1777-April, 1778; with Capt. Benj. Edgell, Col. Jacobs, July, 1778-Jan., 1779, perhaps in Rhode Island service. John Grover also appears with Capt. B. Blaney in Col. Brooks's regiment of guards at Camb., Feb.-April, 1778; as matross with Capt. Donnell, Col. Crane, July, 1778-Dec., 1780, and perhaps later, having enlisted for the war. I cannot distinguish between the two who performed the above service. John Grover and JOHN GROVER, JR., have become confounded; and perhaps the two following names should have a part of this record.

GROVER, JOHN 3RD; Lex. alarm, 1775.

GROVER, JOHN 4TH; Lex. alarm, 1775.

GROVER, SAMUEL; eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775; with Capt. Benj. Edgell, Col. Jacobs, Jan. 1778, for one year, perhaps in Rhode Island service; was in hospital at Freetown, Sept. 13, 1778; lieutenant with Capt. Nathan Sargeant, three months' state service, 1779.

HALLOWELL, CALVIN; in list of three years' men, 1777; was with Capt. Joseph McNall, Col. Wigglesworth, at Camp Valley Forge, Feb., 1778.

HALLOWELL, JOSEPH; Lex. alarm, 1775; eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775.

HALLOWELL, SAMUEL; Lex. alarm, 1775; eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775. Hallowell often appears as Holloway in the rolls and records.

HARDEN (*Harding*), SAMUEL; a negro; in list of three years' men, 1777; advertised in the *Boston Gazette*, April 7, 1777, as having deserted from the company of Capt. Philip Thomas, Col. Marshall.

HASEY, JACOB; with Capt. Abraham Watson, 2nd battalion Mass. forces, Col. Greaton; dead, 1780 (?).

HATCH, JOHN; eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775.

HATCH, NALER; a master mariner before the Revolution; captain of the alarm list, and of the town guard after the Lex. alarm; captain of the company raised May, 1775, of the regiment of Col. Thomas Gardner, which was posted at Beacham's Point during the siege. After the evacuation this company under Capt. Hatch marched with its regiment, then the 25th of the continental line, Col. Wm. Bond, to New York, and was engaged in the abortive expedition of Gen. Thomas against Canada, 1776. The possible service of Capt. Hatch upon the ocean is elsewhere noticed. He died in Malden, July 14, 1804, *ae.* 73.

HATCH, NALER (*Jr.*); Lex. alarm; eight months' service as fifer with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775.

HATKERSON (perhaps *Atkinson*) JOHN; in list of three years' men, 1777.

HAWKES, EZRA; Lex. alarm, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776.

HAYNES, PETER; deserted at Fishkill, Oct. 27, 1781, from Lieut.-Col. Webb's regiment of levies from Suffolk and Middlesex.

HAZELTON, SAMUEL; received thirty pounds, lawful money, bounty from the town, Aug. 22, 1777, "to Ioin the Continall Army to the Last of November Next," probably in Rhode Island service; in list 1779, *ae.* 33, stature 5.9, sandy com-

plex.; with six months' reinforcements, marched under Capt. Soper from Springfield, July 24, 1780; 220 miles from home when discharged. Sometimes called *Hazeltine*.

HILL, CHARLES; Lex. alarm, 1775; corporal in eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776; allowed state bounty, June 12, 1778, for one month in the lines at Boston, with Capt. Stephen Dana, Col. McIntosh.

HILL (or *Hills*) PRINCE; eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775. This was probably the negro servant of Thomas Hills whose marriage is recorded in chap. xii.

HILLS, BENJAMIN; ae. 28, stature 5.3, ruddy complex.; with six months' reinforcements marched under Capt. Soper from Springfield, July 24, 1780; 220 miles from home when discharged.

HILLS, NATHAN; allowed state bounty, June 12, 1778, for one month in the lines at Boston, with Capt. Stephen Dana, Col. McIntosh; corporal with Capt. John Kettell, in detachment of guards under Maj. Heath, stationed in Boston, Aug. 1779.

HOLDEN, JOHN; born in Stoneham, Oct. 24, 1738, and at the Lex. alarm was in the militia company of Capt. Samuel Sprague of that town. It is not certain that he was that John Holden who was first-lieutenant in the regiment of Col. Thos. Nixon, 1777-1779; but it is sure that he was commissioned as first-lieutenant under Capt. Josiah Green, Col. Fox, in the nine months' service, April 6, 1779. He was first-lieutenant with Capt. Isaac Gage, Col. Dana, whose company was detached under Lieut.-Col. Webb to join the continental army and was in service, Oct.-Dec., 1781, and perhaps longer. Soon after the war he came to Malden, and later he removed to Otisfield, Me., where he died, Feb., 1806. His descendants have been well known here in town and church affairs. His widow, Mary (Knight), died at Otisfield, May 21, 1842, at the advanced age of 100 years, 2 months, and 9 days.

HOLDEN, JOHN, JR.; of Stoneham, son of the above; ae.

17, stature 5.7, light complex., in nine months' service with Capt. Josiah Green, Col. Fox, 1779; enlisted for three years from April 10, 1781, and received a bounty of 320 Spanish milled dollars.

HOLDEN, DANIEL; of Stoneham, brother of the above, was in the army, but I have no record of his service.

HOLMES, FORTUNE; perhaps a negro; in list of three years' men, 1777.

HOWARD, AMOS; sergeant with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776; sergeant with Capt. B. Blaney in Col. Brooks's regiment of guards at Camb., Feb.-April, 1778.

HOWARD, DAVID; Lex. alarm, 1775.

HOWARD, EZRA; Lex. alarm, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776; with Capt. B. Blaney in Col. Brooks's regiment of guards at Camb., Feb.-April, 1778.

HOWARD, JOHN; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776.

HUTCHINGS, SAMUEL; in list of prisoners in Old Mill Prison, England, from sloop "Franklin's" prize, taken May 1, 1781. Perhaps this should be *Hitchings*.

JENKINS, EDWARD; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776.

JENKINS, ENOCH; son of Nathaniel Jenkins, the schoolmaster, was born, Aug. 16, 1763. He enlisted at the early age of fourteen years; is in list of three years' men, 1777, and was in camp at Valley Forge; enlisted for the war, Dec. 21, 1779; in Jan., 1781, was in service in the light company in the 8th Mass. regiment. He died in Java, N. Y., Jan. 5, 1846. The following incident, related in *Memoirs of Gen. La Fayette* (Hartford, 1825), 164, is connected with him.

Baron Steuben, while reviewing our regiment, noticed in the ranks a very spruce young lad, handsomely formed, standing erect, with the air of a genteel soldier, his gun and equipments in perfect order. The Baron, struck with his military appearance, patted him under his chin to elevate his head still more erect, viewed him with a smile, and said, "How long have you been a soldier? you are one pretty soldier in miniature, how old are you?" "Seventeen, sir." "Have you got

a wife?" Then, calling to the colonel, he said, "Col. Jackson, this is one fine soldier in miniature."

This occurred at a review of the regiment of Col. Micah Jackson, at West Point in May, 1780. *Information of Otis Pettee of Newton.*

JENKINS, EZEKIEL; Lex. alarm, 1775.

JENKINS, EZEKIEL, JR.; Lex. alarm, 1775.

JENKINS, JOHN; Lex. alarm, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June 1776; allowed state bounty, June 12, 1778, for one month in the lines at Boston with Capt. Stephen Dana, Col. McIntosh.

JENKINS, JOSEPH; Lex. alarm, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776; allowed state bounty, June 12, 1778, for one month in the lines at Boston with Capt. Stephen Dana, Col. McIntosh.

JENKINS, OBADIAH; eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775; in Rhode Island service, May-July, 1777, with Capt. Stephen Dana, Col. Whitney; perhaps drummer with Capt. B. Blaney in Col. Brooks's regiment of guards at Camb., Feb.-April, 1778; enlisted for the war, Dec. 21, 1779; in Jan., 1781, was in service in the light company in the 8th Mass. regiment.

JENKINS, THOMAS; lost on armed brigantine "Massachusetts," 1778.

JOHNSON, ISAAC; in list of three years' men, 1777.

JOHNSON, JAMES; with six months' reinforcements, 1780; 220 miles from home when discharged.

JONES, DUDLEY; eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775; in list of three years' men, 1777.

KELLY, HENRY; drafted and marched for Horse Neck, with Capt. John Walton, Col. Brooks, Sept. 26, 1776; in hospital, Oct. 31, 1776.

KEY, JOHN; drafted to march with Capt. John Walton, Col. Brooks, to Horse Neck, but did not join the regiment, although he had received bounty of Benj. Bucknam, "to go on an expedition to farefeald in the Room of the s^d Bucknam," Sept., 1776.

KNOWER, DANIEL; eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775; lost at sea, 1780.

KNOWER, JONATHAN; eight months' service with Capt. Abner Cranson, Col. Whitcomb, 1775; enlisted for three years, April 18, 1781, *ae.* 33, stature 5.9½, complex. light, brown hair, blue eyes, a farmer.

LARRY, JERRY; with six months' reinforcements, 1780; 220 miles from home when discharged.

LOW, JOHN; *ae.* 24, stature 5.7; complex. dark, dark hair, blue eyes, a farmer, enlisted for three years, May 19, 1781.

LOW, WILLIAM; Lex. alarm, 1775.

LYNDE, BENJAMIN; Lex. alarm, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776; with Capt. B. Blaney in Col. Brooks's regiment of guards at Camb., Feb.-April, 1778.

LYNDE, CHARLESTOWN; perhaps a negro; in eight months' service with Capt. Edward Blake, Col. Brewer, 1775; in three years' service, 1777, in 6th battalion Mass. Bay forces, with Capt. Robt. Allen, Col. Alden.

LYNDE, JABEZ; sergeant at Lex. alarm, 1775; sergeant with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776; received six pounds bounty, Dec. 9, 1776, "Voted by the Town of Malden for Providing a Reinforcement for the american Army."

LYNDE, JONATHAN; drafted and marched for Horse Neck, Sept. 26, 1776, with Capt. John Walton, Col. Brooks.

LYNDE, JOSEPH; Lex. alarm, 1775.

LYNDE, JOSEPH, Jr.; Lex. alarm, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776.

LYNDE, NATHAN; lieutenant at Lex. alarm, 1775; first-lieut. 4th co. 1st Middlesex regiment, with Capt. B. Blaney, Col. Thacher, and so in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776.

LYNDE, SAMUEL; enlisted in eight months' service, May 30, 1775, and in July, was in camp at Chelsea with Capt. Samuel Sprague, Col. Gerrish.

MAGOS, POMP; a negro; *ae.* 31, stature 5.6½; was hired by the town under call of June 9, 1779, for nine months' men, and was with Capt. Waite, Col. Stearns, Nov. 1779. He died in the Malden almshouse.

MAITICEMA, PATRICK; this distorted name is in the list of three years' men, 1777.

MALONY, JAMES; in three years' service, 1777, in 6th battalion, Mass. Bay forces, with Capt. Robt. Allen, Col. Alden.

MANSER, JOHN; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776.

MCLANE, JOHN; advertised in *Boston Gazette*, April 7, 1777, as having deserted from the company of Capt. Philip Thomas, Col. Marshall.

MENDUM, WILLIAM; of Boston, but in service as from Malden; in list of three years' men, 1777; was a matross, Nov. 1, 1779, with Capt. Benj. Frothingham in Col. Crane's regiment of artillery, then at Springfield.

MUNROE, PHILEMON; with Capt. John Parker on Lexington common, April 19, 1775; afterwards came to Malden; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., 1776; with Capt. B. Blaney in Col. Brooks's regiment of guards at Camb., Feb.-April, 1778; *vide* chapter xxii., note 27.

NEAGLES, MICHAEL, was born in Malden, Dec. 25, 1765, but enlisted on the quota of Lexington, for three years, March 6, 1781; then called a farmer, æ. 16, stature 5.8, dark complex., hair, and eyes. He received "four thousand Dollars of the old Emmission," and "a Note for Sixteen Heffers," the whole being valued as £80 specie in 1783. Discharged from service as "a private in the first partisan Leagion," at Yorktown, Nov. 15, 1783. He returned to Malden and died here, April 22, 1836. His gravestone in the Salem Street Cemetery bears a copy of his discharge.

NEWHALL, BERNARD; Lex. alarm, 1775; sergeant in eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775; lost on armed brigantine "Massachusetts," 1778.

NEWHALL, EDWARD; Lex. alarm, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776; received bounty of two pounds, May 6, 1777, for going "to Rodilant."

NEWHALL, EZRA; born in Malden but removed to Lynn; an officer in the French War; captain of a Lynn company at the

Lex. alarm, 1775; senior captain under Col. Mansfield, 1775-6; major; lieut.-col., May 17, 1777, in 5th regiment Mass. Continentals, Col. Putnam; was in service until the close of the war; died in Salem, April 5, 1798.

NEWHALL, JOHN; for service in 1757, *vide* chap. xx.; removed from Malden to Spencer, and was out at the Lex. alarm, 1775, as captain of a company of minute men.

NEWHALL, NEHEMIAH; enlisted in eight months' service, April, 28, 1775, with Capt. Samuel Wood, Col. Ward.

NICHOLS, JAMES; in eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775.

NICHOLS, JOHN; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776; with Capt. B. Blaney in Col. Brooks's regiment of guards at Camb., Feb.-April, 1778; after his death in 1821 his widow received a pension of six and one-quarter cents a day.

NORWOOD, PETER; in list of three years' men, 1777.

OAKES, EDWARD; in Rhode Island service, Dec., 1779, with Capt. Thos. Hovey, Col. Tyler.

OAKES, JONATHAN; naval officer; for services *vide* chapter xxiii.

OAKES, NEHEMIAH; sergeant at Lex. alarm, 1775; sergeant with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776; allowed state bounty, June 12, 1778, for one month in the lines at Boston, being sergeant with Capt. Stephen Dana, Col. McIntosh.

OLIVER, AARON; a mulatto, born in Malden, but then resident in Temple; enlisted April 23, 1775, in eight months' service with Capt. Ezra Towne, Col. Read.

OLIVER, ROBERT; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776; drafted and marched for Horse Neck, Sept. 26, 1776, with Capt. John Walton, Col. Brooks.

OLIVER, SAMUEL; allowed state bounty, June 12, 1778, for one month in the lines at Boston, with Capt. Stephen Dana, Col. McIntosh.

O'NEAL, JOHN; farmer, ae. 20, stature 5.6, light complex., hair, and eyes; enlisted in three years' service, July 5, 1781.

PAINE, EBENEZER; Lex. alarm, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776.

PAINE, JAMES; in eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775; in Rhode Island service with Capt. Stephen Dana, Col. Whitney, May-July, 1777.

PAINE, JOHN; allowed state bounty, June 12, 1778, for one month in the lines at Boston, with Capt. Stephen Dana, Col. McIntosh.

PAINE, JOSIAH; in eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775.

PAINE, STEPHEN, JR., Lex. alarm, 1775; in eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776.

PARKER, DANIEL; in list of three years' men, with Capt. Abijah Childs, Col. Greateon, 1777; re-enlisted, April 11, 1781, for three years, ae. 29, stature 5.11½, dark complex., hair, and eyes. Saddletree-maker.

PARKER, JACOB; corporal at Lex. alarm, 1775; corporal with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776.

PARKER, NATHAN; Lex. alarm, 1775.

PARKER, THOMAS; perhaps was lieut. of the brigantine "Hawke" with Capt. Jona. Oakes in 1777; performed "extraordinary services" at Camb., in 1778, which the town recognized in 1779.

PATTERSON, JOHN; in list of three years' men, 1777.

PEIRCE, EDWARD; ae. 20, stature 5.5, light complex., brown hair, blue eyes, mariner; enlisted, May 25, 1781, for three years.

PERKINS, JOSEPH; deacon; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776.

PHILLIPS, FRANCIS; Lex. alarm, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776; was at Ticonderoga with others from Malden in Sept. 1776.

POPKIN, JOHN; of Boston; was captain of a company in Col. Richard Gridley's battalion of artillery, June, 1775; commissioned, Jan. 1, 1777, as major in 3rd regiment Mass. continental line, Col. Greateon; promoted lieut.-col. in Col. Crane's artillery, and served through the war. Having lost his first

wife he married, Oct. 12, 1797, Sarah, widow of the Rev. Nahum Sargeant and niece of the Rev. Eliakim Willis, and removed to Malden, where he lived until his death in the parsonage of the South Parish, which had been transferred to Mr. Willis. He died May 8, 1827. "He was remarked," says his son, the late learned Prof. John S. Popkin of Harvard Univ., "for walking mostly to Boston, and returning, nearly every day in the year, except Sabbaths. The distance is about three miles. He was an inspector of the customs. This duty and exercise he continued till after he was eighty-four years old. He kept a horse and chaise on the farm, and sometimes rode to and from Malden Bridge, about a mile, but more commonly walked all the way. He had been weakly in his youth, and unwell in his middle age, but more healthy in his old age, and he lived nearly eighty-five years. His daily walk, under Providence, probably improved his health. His walk, I think, would compass the globe more than once."

There is a tradition that the Widow Sargeant was a person of great beauty, and that Col. Popkin and his son were rivals for her affection. Prof. Popkin never married; but as he was twenty-six years old at the time of his father's second marriage, and the lady was twelve years older, the story may not be taken in full faith.

By his second marriage Col. Popkin had one son, Ebenezer Willis Popkin, a person of feeble mind, who inherited the parsonage, where he died, Dec. 12, 1883, *ae.* 84.

PRATT, BRISTER; in list of three years' men, 1777.

PRATT, EDWARD; *ae.* 18, stature 5.9, dark complex., with six months' reinforcements, marched under Capt. Soper from Springfield, July 24, 1780; 220 miles from home when discharged.

PRATT, FLOYD; in eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775.

PRATT, JACOB; Lex. alarm, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776.

PRATT, JOHN; corporal with Capt. Cadwallader Ford, in Col. Brooks's regiment of guards at Camb., Feb.-April, 1778.

PRATT, JOSEPH; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776.

PRATT, PHILIP; ae. 16, stature 5.3, light complex.; enlisted April 18, 1780, as drummer, for the war; was at West Point, June, 1781, in 3rd Mass. regiment, Col. Groaton. Received state bounty of \$300.

RAMSDALL, JOHN; deacon; Lex. alarm, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776; was at Ticonderoga, under Capt. N. Hatch, with others from Malden, Sept. 1776.

RAND, EDMUND; with Capt. B. Blaney, in Col. Brooks's regiment of guards at Camb., Feb.-April, 1778.

RANFREE, JOHN; ae. 34, stature 5.10, black complex., hair, and eyes, farmer; enlisted, June 26, 1781, for three years.

ROBINSON, EBENEZER; received bounty from Wm. Waite, chairman of a class, for three years' enlistment, July 1, 1782.

RYAN, JOHN; in list of three years' men, 1777.

SARGEANT, AMOS; in eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775; joined company of Capt. Caleb Brooks, Col. Brooks's regiment of guards at Camb. Nov. 3, 1777; a seaman in the privateer brigantine "Hazard."

SARGEANT, DAVID; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776.

SARGEANT, EZRA; Lex. alarm, 1775.

SARGEANT, JACOB; Lex. alarm, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776; allowed state bounty, June 12, 1778, for one month in the lines at Boston, with Capt. Stephen Dana, Col. McIntosh.

SARGEANT, JOHN; allowed state bounty, June 12, 1778, for one month in the lines at Boston, with Capt. Stephen Dana, Col. McIntosh; fifer.

SARGEANT, NATHAN; captain in the regiment of Col. Fox, 1776; in July, 1778, he appears as captain of a company in the regiment of Col. Gerrish, in service for fifteen days at Winter Hill; commissioned, July 28, 1778, as captain, regiment not named, detailed for guard duty at Winter and Prospect Hills, in service until Dec. 14, 1778; enlisted, Jan. 26, 1779, as cap-

tain in a company of guards doing duty in and about Boston, under Maj.-Gen. Gates, service until May 20, 1779. The service at Winter and Prospect Hills was in guarding the men of the army of Burgoyne, who were encamped there as prisoners of war. Capt. Sargeant married, as his third wife, Ruth, daughter of the Rev. Joseph Emerson, and died, Dec. 1, 1798.

SARGEANT, PHINEAS; in eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775.

SARGEANT, SAMUEL GREEN; fifer, with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776.

SARGEANT, SILAS; Lex. alarm, 1775; in eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775; died about 1777.

SARGEANT, SOLOMON; in eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775.

SARGEANT, THOMAS; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776.

SARGEANT, WINSLOW; drummer at Lex. alarm, 1775; in same capacity with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776.

SELLACK (*Sallack, Select*) JAMES; enlisted, April 24, 1777, for three years or for the war; in Jan., 1781, was in service with Capt. Vose in 3rd regiment of artillery; re-enlisted, May 16, 1781, for three years, ae. 40, stature 5.10, light complex., hair, and eyes, a farmer.

SEYMOUR, THOMAS; matross with Capt. Joseph Balch in 2d co. Mass. State train of artillery, Col. Crafts, Feb.-May, 1777.

SHUKER, JOSEPH; enlisted, March 16, 1781, for three years, ae. 28, stature 5.9, dark complex. and eyes, brown hair, a farmer.

SHUTE, AMOS; sergeant, Lex. alarm, 1775; in same capacity with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776.

SHUTE, EBENEZER; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776.

SHUTE, SOLOMON; in camp at Chelsea with Capt. Samuel Sprague, Col. Gerrish, July, 1775.

SMITH, GEORGE; in eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775.

SMITH, ISAAC; naval officer; for services *vide* chapter xxiii.

SMITH, JOHN; perhaps was lieut. in the armed brigantine "Hawke," Capt. Jona. Oakes, Nov., 1776; enlisted June 30, 1781, for three years, ae. 40, stature 5.3, light complex. and hair, gray eyes, a farmer.

SPRAGUE, BENJAMIN, JR.; Lex. alarm, 1775; enlisted, April 26, 1775, in eight months' service, with Capt. Benj. Hastings, Col. Whitcomb.

SPRAGUE, JOHN (DR.); mate to Surgeon Hastings in the regiment of Col. Ebenezer Bridge, 1775; for services at sea, *vide* chapter xxiii.

SPRAGUE, JOHN; in eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775; perhaps was quartermaster of the armed brigantine "Massachusetts," lost at sea, 1778.

SPRAGUE, PHINEAS, and SPRAGUE, PHINEAS, JR.; both father and son were at the Lex. alarm, 1775; one was with Capt. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776; one was in Rhode Island service, with Capt. Stephen Dana, Col. Whitney. I cannot separate their service. Of the father, Wright (*Historical Discourse*, 24) says:—

"He was a resident in the north part of the town, and a most daring advocate of American rights. He was quite advanced in life, at the breaking out of the war; but was one of the individuals connected with Capt. Hatch's company, mentioned as starting for Concord in the night, after having lain at Beacham's Point during the day. Mr. Sprague was very deaf; but his heart was as impervious to fear, as his ears were to sound. And when the rest of his party were flying from the view of the enemy, he was seen upon a piece of rising ground swinging his hat, and shouting victory."

This probably refers to some incident during the siege, as there was no reason why the Malden men should go to Concord during the night after the Lex. alarm. Artemas Barrett (*Melrose Journal*, April 17, 1875), says that Mr. Sprague and

others made an effort to cross the Mystic during the progress of the battle of Bunker Hill, but were prevented by an English vessel in the river. "At low water there was a foot-way to the channel and a boat to cross with. Mr. Sprague, who was quite deaf but very courageous, was determined to go over, and when on his way he was shot at from the vessel. He several times dared them to fire, and they shot several nine-pound balls at him, which missed and were lodged in the bank of the river. He afterward dug one of them out and said he wanted to keep it to remember the devils by. That ball was in the possession of the writer for a long time but it has disappeared." Mr. Sprague died, Dec. 29, 1805, æ. 80. He was father of Dr. John Sprague.

SPRAGUE, SANDY (*Alexander?*); in list of three years' men, 1777.

SPRAGUE, WILLIAM; son of Phineas, above mentioned; Lex. alarm, 1775; in eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776; drafted and marched for Horse Neck, with Capt. John Walton, Col. Brooks, Sept. 26, 1776; in Rhode Island service with Capt. Stephen Dana, Col. Whitney, May-July, 1775; lost on armed brigantine "Massachusetts," 1778.

STORY, ELISHA (DR.); surgeon in regiment of Col. Moses Little, 1775, and in later service. Removed to Marblehead. *Vide* chapter xxi., note 17.

SWEETSER, JOHN; drafted and marched for Horse Neck, with Capt. John Walton, Col. Brooks, Sept. 26, 1776.

SWEETSER, JOSEPH; in eight months' service with Capt. Ephraim Corey, Col. Prescott; deserted, June 15, 1775.

TAYLOR, JOHN; with six months' reinforcements, 1780; 220 miles from home when discharged.

TUCKER, JOHN; in list of three years' men, 1777; private with Col. Brewer at Camp Valley Forge, Jan. 23, 1778.

TUFTS, ADAM; in list of three years' men, 1777.

TUFTS, JOHN; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776.

TUFTS, STEPHEN; Lex. alarm, 1775. This was the miller who afterwards owned the mill privileges on Spot Pond Brook. He then lived in the old Tufts house on the west side of Malden River, where the United States buildings now stand. He was somewhat famous as a marksman; and the following anecdote is related of him in connection with the battle of Bunker Hill.

"On the day of the battle he took his gun, or rifle, and ammunition, including seventeen balls, got into his boat, rowed down Malden River to the Mystic, thence to the shores of Charlestown, where the battle was raging, and fired away all his ammunition against the British. He thought he must have annoyed them considerably, because they finally turned and fired upon him. How he manœuvred is not known to our informant, but the foregoing, he says, was told him by the said Stephen Tufts himself. One of his sons, now living, remembers hearing him tell of firing from behind a rock at the battle, from which it is conjectured that he hauled his boat ashore under the bank of the river and fired upon the flank of the British as they advanced upon the American breastworks." *Bunker Hill Aurora*, June 16, 1866. He died in Malden, March 12, 1832, æt. 84.

TUFTS, TIMOTHY; brother of the preceding; Lex. alarm, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776; drafted and marched as 3rd corporal with Capt. John Walton, Col. Brooks, for Horse Neck, Sept. 26, 1776.

UPHAM, EZRA; Lex. alarm, 1775; joined company of Capt. Caleb Brooks, in Col. Brooks's regiment of guards at Camb., Nov. 3, 1777.

UPHAM, WILLIAM; Lex. alarm, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776; drafted and marched for Horse Neck, with Capt. John Walton, Col. Brooks, Sept. 26, 1776; in hospital, Oct. 31, 1776.

VINTON, BENONI; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776; drafted and marched for Horse Neck with Capt. John Walton, Col. Brooks, Sept. 26, 1776; in hospital, Oct. 31, 1776.

VINTON, JOHN; Lex. alarm, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney, in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776; 2nd lieut. in Col. Samuel Thacher's Middlesex regiment (militia), July 29, 1778.

WADE, JAMES; Lex. alarm, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776.

WAITE, BENJAMIN; in list, dated Nov. 24, 1779, of men raised under call of June 9, 1779.

WAITE, DAVID; Lex. alarm, 1775.

WAITE, EBENEZER; Lex. alarm, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776.

WAITE, JOHN, JR.; Lex. alarm, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney in Col. Brooks's regiment of guards at Camb., Feb.-April, 1778.

WAITE, JOSEPH; son of Samuel and Mary Waite, born April 3, 1763; unmarried; shipped on an armed vessel; taken prisoner and died on a guard ship.

WAITE, MICAH; corporal at Lex. alarm, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776.

WAITE, SAMUEL; Lex. alarm, 1775; allowed state bounty, June 12, 1778, for one month in the lines at Boston, with Capt. Stephen Dana, Col. McIntosh.

WAITE, SAMUEL, 3RD; allowed state bounty, June 12, 1778, for one month in the lines at Boston, with Capt. Stephen Dana, Col. McIntosh.

WAITE, THOMAS, 3RD; Lex. alarm, 1775; with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776.

WAITE, WILLIAM; 2nd lieut. at Lex. alarm; 2nd lieut. of 4th co. 1st Middlesex regiment, Col. Samuel Thacher, and so with Capt. B. Blaney in Point Shirley exp., June, 1776; commissary to the Convention troops (Burgoyne's) at Winter Hill, 1777; capt. in Col. Thacher's Middlesex regiment (militia), July 29, 1778.

WATERS, DANIEL; Lex. alarm, 1775; naval officer; for services *vide* chapter xxiii.

WATTS, WILLIAM; ae. 16, stature 5.2½, dark complex. and eyes, brown hair, farmer, enlisted April 27, 1781, for three years; the family of Wm. Watts received aid as a soldier's family, Jan.-April, 1780.

WHEELER, THOMAS; eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775; enlisted, Jan. 1, 1777, for three years; marched from Springfield, Oct. 26, 1780, with six months' reinforcements under Lieut. Cary, ae. 35, stature 5.5, ruddy complex.; in Jan., 1781, was with Capt. Hitchcock in 1st Mass. regiment; 220 miles from home when discharged.

WHITTEMORE, JOEL; eight months' service with Capt. N. Hatch, Lieut.-Col. Bond, 1775; arrived in camp, July 28, 1779, with recruits under call of June 9, 1779; enlisted April 11, 1781, for three years and received 250 Spanish milled dollars from the class of Joseph Perkins, then ae. 25, stature 5.5, dark complex., hair, and eyes, a farmer.

WHITTEMORE, PELATIAH; a native of Malden, res. in New Ipswich; ae. 38, stature 5.10, brown complex., enlisted April 23, 1775, in eight months' service, as sergeant with Capt. Ezra Towne, Col. Read.

WILLIAMS, GIDEON; a "Jersey lad," who was taken in 1773, by the Rev. Eliakim Willis, "from on board a vessel lying at a wharfe in Boston;" Lex. alarm, 1775; enlisted, April 25, 1775, in eight months' service with Capt. Edward Blake, Col. Brewer.

APPENDIX.

I.

ROSE HILLS NOT ROSE DUNSTER.

CHAP. VI. note 1, page 166. This note remains as it was written in 1890. The same subject was afterwards treated by William S. Hills, in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, xlix. 146. At the time of going to press the uncertainty had been removed and the true name of the wife of Joseph Hills had been found; but as the information had been obtained by the researches of others, it seemed proper that I should not use for my own purposes that which had been given to me in confidence. The matter has now been made public in a report of the Hills Family Genealogical and Historical Association. Joseph Hills and Rose Cleerke [Clarke] were married at Burstead Magna, Billericay, co. Essex, July 22, 1624. Here, where some of their children were born, they remained several years; and in March, 1630/1, they were of the parish of All Saints, Maldon, where the births of their children are recorded until August, 1637. As is elsewhere stated, they arrived in New England, July 17, 1638.

Researches made in England by an agent of the Hills Association have given information of much interest; and it seems probable that the ancestry of Joseph Hills may be found to be of considerable antiquity and importance. The work of the association should commend itself to the attention and support of the descendants of Joseph Hills, of whom not a few remain in Malden.

The intimation in the text that John Wayte may have married Mary Hills in England before 1638 is now of no force, as, if the eldest child, she would have been about thirteen years of age at that time. The records of the births of their first two children, John and Joseph, have not been found; but the third child, Samuel, was born in Malden, October 11, 1650. We may assume that they were married about 1644; and it may be that their first two children were born in England and that they came to Massachusetts Bay some time previous to the admission of the husband to the Charlestown church, January 15, 1646/7. The silence of the records strengthens this view.

II.

THE PLAN OF MALDEN.

THE plan of Malden by Peter Tufts, Jr., of which a reproduction is given in this volume, was made in accordance with a resolve of the General Court in 1794. It is the earliest representation of the town which is known to exist. Three copies of this plan, made by the surveyor, are preserved, and there may be others unknown to me. That in *Mass. Archives, Town Plans*, ii. 4, is the original. A copy in the possession of the late Albert F. Sargent shows several variations; while that in the possession of Clarence D. Richardson, from which the reproduction has been made, contains others. In the first copy six buildings are located, while seventeen are shown in the latter. In the former the head line at Reading is stated to be 136 rods, and the area of Ell Pond is 30 a. 1 r. 20 p. Harvell's Brook and the creek running easterly from the Great Swamp are shown, unnamed, in the former, but do not appear in the Richardson copy. In the state and Sargent copies the Stoneham Road runs on the south side of the brook in a direct westerly line to the town limit, which is incorrect. In the latter it is correctly shown as running northerly by the houses of Phineas Sprague and Captain Unite Cox into that part of Stoneham which, reannexed to Malden, is now known as Melrose Highlands. The state copy adds a table of distances in miles: — To Cambridge, 6; to Concord, 18; to Boston, 5.

It will be noticed that this plan is extremely meagre in details. There were one hundred and thirty-eight dwelling houses in Malden named in the United States valuation of 1798. Such roads as that from the Charlestown Road to Black Ann's Corner; that to Winnisimmet (Ferry Street); that into Chelsea bounds (Upham Street); and others are omitted. The dotted lines along the Reading Road mark the present course of Main Street, and were a later addition to the plan, as was also that line near the house of Captain Wymond Bradbury, which indicates a section that was annexed to Medford in 1817.



Fold-out Placeholder

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[Names appearing more than once upon a page are not repeated in the index; and no attempt has been made to distinguish between persons bearing the same name. Officers in Chapter XXIV., whose names are often repeated, and authors and titles given as references are not noted. Titles of respect and profession or office, excepting those of Rev. and Dr., are omitted. A few exceptions will be found. The locations of streets are indicated as follows:—Malden, M.; Melrose, Mel.; Everett, E.]

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